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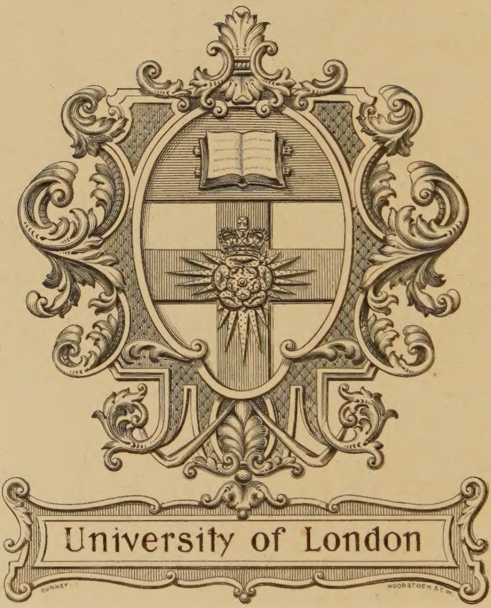
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HANSARD'S

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WILLIAM IV.

44° VICTORIÆ, 1881.

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TO

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Third Volume of the Session.

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South Africa—The Transvaal—Insurrection of the Boers—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 733
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State of Ireland—County Longford—Ploughing of Grass Lands—Questions, Mr. Montagu Scott, Lord Arthur Hill; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland 735
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Officers of Militia—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Childers 736
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Afghanistan—The Despatch of May 21—Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 737
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Thames River Bill—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain .. 740

MOTION.

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill—Vote of Urgency—Resolution—

Moved, "That, upon the Consideration of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, as amended, this day, at Ten o'clock, any New Clauses and Amendments then standing upon the Notice Paper be put forthwith,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 347, Noes 30; Majority 317.—(Div. List, No. 141.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation]—

Further Proceeding on Report *resumed* 740

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation for arms and ammunition voluntarily surrendered, in pursuance of the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the Preservation of the Peace in Ireland."

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 105]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 741

After long consideration, *Moved*, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of the Amendment to Clause 1, relating to Compensation, now standing upon the Notice Paper,"—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*:)—Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *re-committed; considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Arms Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Callan*) 774

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill to regulate and in certain cases prohibit the carrying of Arms in England and Scotland, *ordered* (*Mr. Callan, Mr. Martin*); *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—ADDITION TO SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That Dr. Cameron and Dr. Farquharson be added to the Committee,"—(*Mr. Childers*) 774

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Maintenance Law Amendment Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*) 776

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill to amend the Law relating to Maintenance, *ordered* (*Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Mr. Serjeant Simon*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 110.]

Leases Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Davey, Mr. Gregory, Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Chitty*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 108].. 776

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 11.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE—REPORT OF INTERCEPTION OF SUPPLIES—Question, Lord Ellenborough; Answer, The Earl of Morley; Observations, Earl Cadogan; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley:—Short debate thereon 776

ARMY REGULATIONS—Question, Observations, Viscount Hardinge; Reply, The Earl of Morley 785

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—MOTION FOR A RETURN—

Moved for, "A Return of the number of men invalided from the effects of the Peshawur fever and cholera in the Peshawur Valley from 1862 to 1878,"—(*The Lord Strathnairn*) 787

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION—BATTALIONS ABROAD—ADDRESS FOR RETURNS—

Moved that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return (similar to No. 70 of 1879) of all non-commissioned officers and privates of each battalion under orders for or sent to South Africa since the 1st of January of the present year, as they embarked, showing ages, length of service, and number who have not completed their drill and musketry instruction; also similar Return of all drafts to complete other battalions than those sent from home stations; also number drawn to complete for service from other than their own brigades, in tabular form similar to that of the above-named Return,—(*The Viscount Bury*) 794

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 11.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Edmonton Local Board Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 797

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Sir Henry Tyler.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

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NOTICE OF MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE (MR. BRADLAUGH)—NEW WRIT FOR NORTHAMPTON—Notice of Motion, Mr. Gorst 802

QUESTIONS.

HIGHWAY ACTS—PARISH HIGHWAYS—Question, Mr. Dundas; Answer, Mr. Dodson 802
NAVY—WARRANT OFFICERS—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 803
THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—FERMOY DISTRICT, CO. CORK—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 803
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE BRIBERY COMMISSIONS—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Attorney General 803
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—SERGEANT-MAJORS—Question, Mr. Litton; Answer, Mr. Childers 805
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT—STANDARD WEIGHTS—Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 805
LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) ACT, 1870—LORD BESSBOROUGH'S COMMISSION—Question, Colonel Taylor; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 805
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SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE—Questions, Mr. Ritchie, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 807
WELLINGTON COLLEGE—THE ANNUAL REPORT—Question, Captain Maxwell-Heron; Answer, Mr. Mundella 809
AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 809
FISHERIES—THE EAST COAST FISHERIES—DEPREDATIONS OF FOREIGNERS—EMPLOYMENT OF A GUNBOAT—Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 810
STATE OF IRELAND—SHERIFF'S SALE FOR RENT—Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 810
SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE—Question, Mr. S. Leighton; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 811
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SCOTLAND—THE SASINE OFFICE, EDINBURGH—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Lord Advocate 813
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 105]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir William Harcourt*) 829

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 255, Noes 36; Majority 219.—(Div. List, No. 152.)

Main Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 250, Noes 28; Majority 222.—(Div List, No. 153.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill do pass:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 236, Noes 26; Majority 210.—(Div. List, No. 154.)

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

ANCIENT MONUMENTS—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should take steps to provide for the protection of Ancient Monuments,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*,)—instead thereof 867

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 56, Noes 79; Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 155.)

Words *added*:—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY Committee upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

HERRING BRAND (SCOTLAND)—NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That Mr. BAXTER, Mr. BIRKBECK, Mr. BLAKE, Mr. DONALD CAMERON be *nominated* Members of the said Committee" 884

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That Mr. Robert Duff be one other Member of the said Committee:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Remaining names *agreed to*:—List of the Committee 888

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS (URGENCY)—

Additional Rules Framed by Mr. Speaker, for the Regulation of the Business of the House, while the state of Public Business is Urgent .. 888

Ordered, That the said Rules be printed [No. 73.]

Mr. SPEAKER stated, That the House having passed the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, it becomes my duty to declare, in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of the 3rd February, that the state of Public Business is no longer urgent.

Inclosure Provisional Order (Langbar Moor) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 111] .. 890

Inclosure Provisional Order (Beamsley Moor) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 112] .. 890

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Mr. Speaker having stated that until the House shall otherwise order he should feel obliged to look upon the hon. Gentleman as filling the seat for Northampton.

Mr. Bradlaugh thereon presented the Petitions.

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Navy—The Royal Marines—Pay and Pensions—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 901

State of Ireland—Process Servers in Donegal—Question, Mr. Charles Lewis; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 901

Fever and Small-Pox Hospitals (Metropolis)—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson 902

Army—Staff Paymasters—Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Childers 902

Navy—The Naval Reserve—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 903

India—Military Stations in Beloochistan and Afghanistan—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 904

Inland Revenue—Receipt and Postage Stamps—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 904

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MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (URGENCY)—MOTION—
Moved, "That the state of Public Business is urgent,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 922
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 927
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

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SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81—

(In the Committee)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(1.) £2,192, Public Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 928
(2.) £3,000, Surveys of the United Kingdom.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 931
(3.) £5,087, Science and Art Department Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 933
(4.) £800, British Museum Buildings.
(5.) £1,838, Diplomatic and Consular Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 937

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(6.) £260, Treasury.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 938
(7.) £14,000, Foreign Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 941
(8.) £1,550, Colonial Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 943
(9.) £5,500, Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 943
(10.) £1,800, Civil Service Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 948
(11.) £250, Friendly Societies Registry.
(12.) £4,976, Local Government Board.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 949
(13.) £5,000, The Mint, including Coinage.
(14.) £39,750, Stationery and Printing.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 952
(15.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £750, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" 961
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £250, be granted, &c."—(*Mr. Finigan* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(16.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £30,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, and of the Department of the Queen's Proctor for Divorce Interventions; the Costs of Prosecutions, including those relating to the Coin, and to Bankruptcy, and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by those Departments; and various other Legal Expenses, including Statute Law Revision, and Parliamentary Agency" 973
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £28,100, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(17.) £1,230, Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice (England).
(18.) £26,755, Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 981
(19.) £650, Wreck Commission.
(20.) £160, Police Courts, London and Sheerness.
(21.) £3,010, Police—Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 981
(22.) £14,624, Prisons, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 982
(23.) £5,500, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(24.) £652, National Gallery.
(25.) £500, Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 985
(26.) £256, London University.
(27.) £54, Universities, &c. in Scotland.
(28.) £41, Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 985

SUPPLY — CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81—Committee—*continued.*

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(29.) £21,730, Diplomatic Services.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 985
(30.) £4,365, Consular Services.
(31.) £12,188, Colonies, Grants in Aid.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 988
(32.) £7,800, Tonnage Bounties, &c. and Liberated African Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 990
(33.) £6,369, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 991

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(34.) £11,000, Superannuations and Retired Allowances.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 993

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(35.) £2,764, Treasury Chest.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(36.) £1,100, Temporary Commissions.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 994
(37.) £350, Miscellaneous Expenses.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 996
(38.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £5,585, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances" 997
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £4,273, be granted, &c."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor* :)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(39.) £12,000, Customs.
(40.) £18,200, Post Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1000
(41.) £9,000, Post Office Packet Service.
(42.) £34,390, Post Office Telegraphs.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1003

CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES).

(43.) That a sum, not exceeding £12,109 4*s.* 2*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1880, viz. :—[Then the several Services are set forth.]—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1004
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Lord Frederick Cavendish* :)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) Bill [Bill 91]—
Order for Committee read 1006
Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) Bill [Bill 83]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1007
After some time spent therein, Bill *reported ;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 107]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 1030
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn* :—Debate *adjourned* till *Friday.*

Exemption from Distress Bill [Bill 92]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Sir Henry Holland*) 1031
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

RAILWAYS—THE SELECT COMMITTEE—MOTION FOR AN INSTRUCTION—

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Railways Committee, that they do inquire into the existing regulations of the Board of Trade as affecting the making, opening, and working of railways, and into the Acts of Parliament which authorise such regulations, and into the manner in which such regulations are carried out and enforced,"—(*Mr. J. W. Pease*) 1036

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 9, Noes 26; Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 159.)

Moved, "That the Select Committee on Railways do consist of Twenty-seven Members:—That Mr. BARNES, Mr. CAINE, Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON, and Mr. PHIPPS be added to the Select Committee on Railways,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Poor Law Officers (Scotland) Superannuation Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 113] .. 1038

Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill—Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 1038

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 15.

Londonderry and Larne Railway Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Waveney*) .. 1039

After short debate, on question, *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS—ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY—

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of this House, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial family of Russia and with the Government and people of that country,—(*The Earl Granville*) 1042

After short debate, on question, *agreed to, nemine dissentiente*:—Ordered, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS—MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO H.R.I.H. THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH—

Moved to resolve, That this House do condole with Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia, on the heavy loss which she has sustained in the death, under circumstances of so painful a character, of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias,"—(*The Earl Granville*) 1045

On question, *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That a message of condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia; and that the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Bedford to attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness, with the said message.

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill (No. 46)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 1046

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Bill (Nos. 29, 33)—

Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 1050

Amendments made; and Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 49.)

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill (No. 44)—
Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 1052
Amendments made ; and Bill to be read 3ᵃ on *Thursday* next.

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 15.

QUESTIONS.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES—RECIPROCITY DUTIES—Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1052
PRIVATE BILLS—GAS AND WATER COMPANIES' BILLS—THE COURT OF REFEREES—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain .. 1053
LAW REFORM—RULES OF PROCEDURE—Question, Mr. Gregory; Answer, The Attorney General 1054
AFGHANISTAN—RETENTION OF CANDAHAR—Question, Sir William Palliser; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1054
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE REVISED VOLUNTEER REGULATIONS—Question, Mr. Maclver; Answer, Mr. Childers 1055
ARRESTS UNDER THE PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT—Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 1055
ARMY—SMALL ARMS—MAGAZINE RIFLES—Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. Childers 1056
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HIGHWAYS—Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1056
THE ASSESSMENT OF LANDS—Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1057
INDIA—THE EAST INDIAN LOAN OF £2,000,000—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish 1057
SCIENCE AND ART—BRITISH POTTERY AT THE BETHNAL GREEN MUSEUM—Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1058
LAW AND JUSTICE—THE JUDGE OF THE NORFOLK COUNTY COURT—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1059
INDIA—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1060
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1061

MOTIONS.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS—

Ordered, That the Notices of Motions be postponed until after the Notices of Motions for an Address to the Crown and a Message to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh on the Assassination of the Emperor of Russia,—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA—ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the Assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of Her faithful Commons, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial Family of Russia, and with the Government and people of that Country,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1062
On Question, *agreed to, Nemine Contradicente*:—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA—MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO H.R.I.H. THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH—

Moved, "That it be ordered, that a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, and that the Marquess of Tavistock and the Earl Percy do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said Message,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1066

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That this House do condole with Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia, on the heavy blow which she has sustained in the death, under circumstances of so painful a character, of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

Ordered, That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, and that the Marquess of Tavistock and the Earl Percy do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said Message.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Observations, Mr. Gladstone; Postponement of Motions, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. J. W. Pease .. 1067

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-1—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £6,883, Local Government Board, Ireland.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1068
(2.) £1,800, Public Works Office, Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83" .. 1083
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,500, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Parnell:*)—After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 20, Noes 153; Majority 133.—(Div. List, No. 160.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(4.) £3,500, Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1128
(5.) £1,103, Land Judges' Offices, Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1130
(6.) £50, Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland.
(7.) £2,500, County Court Officers, &c. Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1131
(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £28,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Constabulary Force in Ireland" 1131
After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 189, Noes 16; Majority 173.—(Div. List, No. 161.)
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Inclosure Provisional Order (Wibsey Slack and Low Moor Common) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 114] 1145

Inclosure Provisional Orders (Scotton and Ferry Common) Bill—*Ordered Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 115] 1145

Copyright Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Sir Gabriel Goldney*) .. 1145

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QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES—VOTE ON ACCOUNT—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1146
INDIA—THE RETENTION OF CANDAHAR—Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1148

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—AFGHAN WAR (GRANT IN AID)—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £500,000, Afghan War (Grant in Aid).—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1148
(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £3,560,250, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, viz.:"—[Then the several Services are set forth] 1210
After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Maintenance of Children Bill [Bill 59]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Hopwood*) .. 1214
After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Lewis:*)—Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Brodrick:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 71, Noes 141; Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 162.)
Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question" 1218
After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 117] 1219

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 17.

THE COMMITTEE ROOMS OF THIS HOUSE—THE JUDGES—Observation, The Earl of Redesdale; Reply, The Lord Chancellor 1219
STANDING ORDER, No. IV.—THE JUDICIAL BUSINESS OF THIS HOUSE—Resolution, The Lord Chancellor 1220

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill (No. 44)—
Bill read 3ª (according to Order) 1221
After short debate, Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

TURKEY AND GREECE—THE FRONTIER QUESTION—ADDRESS FOR PAPERS—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies of the remaining despatches from the French Government on the differences between Greece and the Ottoman Empire,"—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) .. 1223
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

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PRIVATE BUSINESS.

West Ham Local Board Bill (by Order)—
Bill as amended, *considered* 1225
After short debate, Bill to be read the third time.

Great Eastern Railway Bill (by Order)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 1226
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

QUESTIONS.

Valuation of Land (England) — Question, Mr. Ramsay; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1226
Assessment and Redemption of Tithe—Extraordinary Tithe Rent Charges—Question, Mr. Inderwick; Answer, Sir William Harcourt.. 1227
Controverted Elections—The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868, and the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Acts, 1879 and 1880—Evesham and Oxford Elections—Questions, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Attorney General .. 1228
Minister of Commerce and Agriculture — Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1229
Municipal Corrupt Practices Act—Liverpool Municipal Election—Questions, Mr. Williamson, Viscount Sandon; Answers, The Attorney General 1230
State of Ireland—The Ballinakill Relief Expedition—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1232
State of Ireland—The Constabulary—Private Work—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1233
State of Ireland—Sheriff's Sale for Rent—Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1233
Treaty of Washington—The Halifax Fishery Commission—Alleged Frauds on Dr. Hind—Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1234
Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Treatment of Arrested Persons—Questions, Earl Percy, Mr. Callan, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 1235
Army — Recruiting—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Childers 1237
Canal Boats Act, 1877—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1238
Post Office—The New Postal Orders—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1238
India—East India (Ecclesiastical Department)—Ecclesiastical Grants in Ceylon—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff .. 1239
Post Office—Woolwich District Telegraph Office—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1239
Rules of Debate—Obstruction—Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1239
Central Asia—The Russian Advance on Herat—Question, Sir William Palliser; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1240
West London Extension Railway—Dangerous Crossing—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1241
Afghanistan—Retention of Candahar—Question, Mr. Shield; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1242
Army—Quartermasters—Question, Mr. Ross; Answer, Mr. Childers .. 1243

ARMY—PURCHASE—OFFICERS KILLED IN ACTION—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Childers 1244
ARMY ORGANIZATION — THE NEW TERRITORIAL SYSTEM—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Childers 1244
SUMMARY JURISDICTION ACT—MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN IN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS—RECOVERY OF COST—Question, Mr. Thorold Rogers; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1245
THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1245
VACCINATION—SUPPLY OF LYMPH—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answers, Mr. Dodson 1246
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT, 1880—ELECTION CHARGES—Question, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Answer, The Attorney General 1246
ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA—NIHILISTS IN LONDON—Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1247
LOBBY OF THIS HOUSE—MEMBERS' REFRESHMENT BAR—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1248
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT—PROSECUTION AT DUMFRIES—Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1248
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THE INDIAN ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1249
METROPOLIS—ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP THE MANSION HOUSE—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1250
SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL — THE NEGOTIATIONS—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1250
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — Observations, Mr. Trevelyan, Colonel Barne, Mr. Gladstone 1251
PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Speaker .. 1251

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

ARMY—ARMY ACCOUTREMENTS—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the present conspicuous and tight-fitting dress and accoutrements of the British Army places it at a serious disadvantage when opposed to troops armed with weapons of accuracy, and causes the unnecessary loss of many valuable lives,"—(*Colonel Barne,*)—instead thereof 1252

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

ARMY—PROMOTION BY SELECTION—Observations, Sir Henry Havelock-Allan 1255

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 134,060, Number of Land Forces.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1255
(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,436,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of the Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad (exclusive of India), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882" 1259
After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

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AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—Questions, The Earl of Beaconsfield; Answers, Earl Granville 1349

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS—Her Majesty's Answer to Address *reported* 1350

AFGHANISTAN—GIFT OF MILITARY STORES TO THE AMEER—Question, Observations, Lord Waveney; Reply, Viscount Enfield 1351

Peace Preservation (**Ireland**) **Bill** (No. 46)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 1352

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed.*

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 18.

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CASTLEBAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. W. Corbet; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1358

ARMY—ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Childers 1359

NAVY—THE COASTGUARD PAY AND PENSION—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1360

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE—THE NEW FRENCH TARIFF—Questions, Mr. Brinton, Mr. W. Holms; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 1361

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—TELEGRAPH CLERKS—Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1362

NAVY—GOOD CONDUCT MEN—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1363

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE NEGOTIATIONS—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Chaplin; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1363

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1364

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA—Her Majesty's Answer to Address *reported* 1365

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EASTER VACATION—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1366

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1367

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—IMPORTATION OF CATTLE FROM THE DOMINION OF CANADA — Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1367

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED MAN AND DOG FIGHT—Question, Mr. Slagg; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1367

THE NAVY ESTIMATES — ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS—WITHDRAWAL OF MOTIONS—Observations, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Errington; Questions, Sir John Hay; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1368

TURKEY AND GREECE — THE BOUNDARY QUESTION — Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1369

FISHERIES—THE EAST COAST FISHERY—DEPREDATIONS OF FOREIGNERS—Questions, Colonel Barne; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain 1369

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY — *considered* in Committee — NAVY ESTIMATES—DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 58,100 Men and Boys.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1370
(2.) £2,704,226, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.
(3.) £180,583, Admiralty Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1461
(4.) £194,481, Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1462
(5.) £120,382, Scientific Branch.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1463
(6.) £71,917, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.
(7.) £65,969, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.
(8.) £22,138, Marine Divisions.
(9.) £70,460, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.
(10.) £10,069, Martial Law, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1468
(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £127,421, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of various Miscellaneous Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882" 1468
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) Bill [Bill 83]—
Order for Third Reading read 1472
After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 107]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1474
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Maintenance Law Amendment Bill [Bill 110]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*) 1476
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words, "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Whitley*:)—Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time.
Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee,"—(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

Teinds (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 118] 1480

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 21.

AFGHANISTAN (MILITARY EXPENDITURE)—CANDAHAR—Statement, Viscount Enfield:—Short debate thereon 1481

SOUTH GARSTON DOCK AND RAILWAY BILL—MOTION—
Moved, "That the order made on Thursday the 3rd instant 'that the Bill be not further proceeded with during the present Session' be discharged and the Bill re-committed to the same Select Committee for the purpose of considering the question of awarding costs to the petitioners who appeared before the Committee,"—(*Earl Cadogan*) .. 1483
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Further debate upon the said motion adjourned till *To-morrow*.

COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 21.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dundalk Water Bill (by Order)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*) 1485
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Callan*:)—Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*:—Words *added*:—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*:—Second Reading *put off* for six months.

QUESTIONS.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875—BENEFIT SOCIETIES—Question, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish 1492

POST OFFICE — LETTER-CARRIERS' CHRISTMAS-BOXES — Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1493

STATE OF IRELAND—THE LAND LEAGUE—PROHIBITED MEETING AT ROCKCORRY, CO. MONAGHAN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1494

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ALLEGED MISMANAGEMENT OF THE BELFAST WORKHOUSE—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 1495

SCOTLAND—OFFICE OF SASINES, EDINBURGH—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1497

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MINISTERIAL STATEMENT—Questions, Mr. Baxter, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1497

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT (RETIREMENT)—Question, Mr. Findlater; Answer, Mr. Childers 1498

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SPALDING SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION—Question, Mr. Mellor; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1499

CUSTOMS' BENEVOLENT FUND—THE "BILL OF ENTRY"—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. J. Holms 1500

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1500

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (METROPOLIS)—NOMINATED GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1501

JURIES (IRELAND)—LIMERICK ASSIZES—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Lord Elcho, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster, The Attorney General for Ireland 1501

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND)—DEAL AND DOVER RAILWAY—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1504

STATE OF IRELAND — RIOTOUS CONDUCT OF SOLDIERS — Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1504

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY ACT, 1881—SERVICE OF WRIT IN KILMAINHAM PRISON—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1505

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT—DRAINAGE, &c., WORKS AT DUHALLOW, CO. CORK—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster.. 1506

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—STRATFORD-ON-AVON SCHOOL BOARD—Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1506

AFGHANISTAN — CANDAHAR — Questions, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Bourke, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Elcho, Lord John Manners; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1507

ARMY—LONG AND SHORT SERVICE—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Childers 1510

INDIA—MILITARY EXPENDITURE—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1510
AFGHANISTAN—FORTIFICATION OF CANDAHAR—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Childers 1510
COMPANIES ACTS, 1868—TRINITY COLLEGE, LONDON—Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1511
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—STATUE OF EARL RUSSELL—Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1511
SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE NEGOTIATIONS—Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Charles Lewis, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Childers .. 1512
PARLIAMENTARY OATH—MR. BRADLAUGH—Questions, Earl Percy, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Gorst 1514
THAMES RIVER BILL—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain.. 1514

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PRIVILEGE—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Mr. Chairman of Committees, in the proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, on Tuesday March 8th, was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell,*)—instead thereof .. 1515

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—

(In the Committee)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £446,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for meeting Additional Expenditure beyond the amounts already granted for Supplies and Warlike Stores for the Army" 1538

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £146,000, &c.,"—(*Mr. T. D. Sullivan:*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed 1552

After short debate, Original Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 109, Noes 6; Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 163.)

NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £210,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for Extraordinary Transport Services in connection with the Outbreak of Hostilities in the Transvaal" 1554

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 82, Noes 10; Majority 72.—(Div. List, No. 164.)

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1881-2.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(3.) £35,739, to complete the sum for Royal Palaces.
(4.) £1,797, to complete the sum for Marlborough House.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1881-2—Committee—*continued.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £90,926, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens" 1555

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £80,926, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler*:)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 34, Noes 150; Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) £27,260, to complete the sum for the Houses of Parliament.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1580

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £99,428, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon" 1597

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £92,678, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Gorst*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [18th March] *reported*, and *agreed to* .. 1613

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide during Twelve Months for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army.

Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 123.]

Poor Law Officers (Scotland) Superannuation Bill [Bill 113]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 1614

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 31st March.

WAYS AND MEANS—.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st days of March 1880 and 1881, the sum of £1,536,571 4*s.* 2*d.* be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) *Resolved*, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, the sum of £11,819,046 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Inclosure Provisional Order (Thurstaston Common) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 122] .. 1614

Union Justices (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. O'Sullivan, Major Nolan, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Metge*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 124] .. 1615

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 22.

South Garston Dock and Railway Bill [H.L.]—

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned Debate on the Earl Cadogan's motion [March 21] read, and *discharged*, and motion, by leave of the House, *withdrawn.*

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS)—Question, Earl Cadogan; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley 1615

Court of Session (Scotland) Bill (No. 42)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 1616
After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*The Lord Moncreiff:*)—Motion *agreed to :*—Further debate on the said motion adjourned *sine die.*

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS) — Observations, The Earl of Kimberley 1637

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 22.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Great North of Scotland Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Dr. Webster*) .. 1639
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 227, Noes 36; Majority 191.—(Div. List, No. 166.)
Main Question put, and *agreed to :*—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ARRESTED PRISONERS—Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster 1650
POOR LAW (ENGLAND)—THE STRAND UNION—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1651
THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY—NEGOTIATIONS—Question, Mr. Birley; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1651
VACCINATION ACTS—NEW ANIMAL LYMPH—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1652
INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION (LONDON) 1862—METALLURGICAL COLLECTION —Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1652
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS, 1866-9—LONDON LOCK HOSPITAL—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Osborne Morgan 1653
POST OFFICE—FORGING IMPRESSED STAMPS—Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1653
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — RURAL SCHOOL BOARDS — Question, Mr. Roundell; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1654
THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE CROWN—CO-OPERATIVE SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS —Questions, Mr. Firth, Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 1654
PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT—THE REV. S. F. GREEN—Question, Colonel Makins; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1655
CUSTOMS—THE PORT OF MALDON—Question, Mr. Round; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish 1656
STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—WOOD PAVEMENT IN PICCADILLY—Question, Mr. Carington; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg .. 1656
THE CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish 1657
AFGHANISTAN—THE MAHSOOD WAZIRIS—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1657

TUNIS—THE ENFIDA CASE—Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1658

PUBLIC HEALTH—METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD—Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1659

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS)—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. J. R. Yorke, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1659

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—MISSING DESPATCHES—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Fawcett, The Marquess of Hartington 1661

MOTIONS.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That this House is of opinion that the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease has been entirely caused by the importation of diseased animals into this Country from abroad:

"That it is proved by experience that compulsory slaughter on landing does not afford security against the introduction of contagious cattle diseases from Foreign Countries:

"And that the landing in England, Scotland, or Ireland of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from countries which are known to be infected, or as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the Laws thereof relating to the Importation and Exportation of Animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased into this Country,"—(*Mr. Chaplin*) .. .. : 1662

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 147, Noes 205; Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [21st March] *reported* 1729

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker 1729

Resolutions *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—
Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill

Resolution [March 21] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Playfair*, *Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Lord Frederick Cavendish*); *presented*, and read the first time .. 1730

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bill [Bill 10]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Chaplin*) .. 1731

After debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Rodwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now,' stand part of the Question:" —After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Leases Bill [Bill 108]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Davey*) .. 1782

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Sligo Borough Re-enfranchisement Bill [Bill 62]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Sexton*) .. 1782
After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 30, Noes 180; Majority 150.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill—

Order for Second Reading read 1785
After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

Parliament—Order of Business—Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote; Reply, Mr. Childers 1785

Inland Revenue Buildings Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Lord Frederick Cavendish*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 125] 1786

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 24.

South Africa—The Transvaal (Negotiations)—Question, Observations, Lord Brabourne; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley 1786
South Africa — Basutoland — Observations, Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley; Observations, Viscount Bury, Lord Brabourne 1789
Parliament—The Easter Recess—Question, The Duke of Somerset; Answer, Earl Granville 1798

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 24.

QUESTIONS.

Evictions (Ireland)—Questions, Mr. Thomasson, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster 1799
Scotland—The Lottery Acts—A "Whisky Wapinschaw"—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1800
Compensation for Malicious Injury (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1800
Western Australia—The Labour Question—Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1801
Public Health—Small-Pox (Boxley, Kent)—Question, Mr. Ross; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1802
Education Department — Voluntary and Board Schools—Question, Mr. Lyulph Stanley; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1803
Sugar Bounties — International Conference—Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1804
Railways (England)—Landslip on the South Eastern Railway—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain .. 1805
High Court of Justice—The Cause Lists—Question, Mr. Mellor; Answer, The Attorney General 1806
Post Office—Postal Notes—Question, Mr. Spencer Balfour; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1806
Unoccupied Lands (England)—Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1806
Solomon Isles—The Murder of Lieutenant Bower—Cruise of the "Emerald"—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1807
Education Department—Bye-Laws of School Boards—School Fees—Question, Mr. Tillett; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1807

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AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR (POLITICAL SITUATION)—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Dalrymple, Viscount Sandon, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1808

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. DILLON—Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster; Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan [No reply] 1812

STATE OF IRELAND—KERRY ASSIZES—THE TRALEE LAND LEAGUERS—Question, Mr. Beresford; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1813

ARMY DISCIPLINE ACT—COURTS MARTIAL—Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Childers 1814

ARMY—NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF ENGINEERS—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Childers 1814

PARLIAMENT — PREMATURE PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS—Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1815

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL—Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Sir William Welby-Gregory, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Borlase; Answers, Mr. Mundella .. 1815

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS)—Questions, Mr. Grantham, Captain Aylmer, Mr. Murray, Lord John Manners; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1818

POST OFFICE—THE TELEGRAPH CLERKS—Question, Mr. Maclíver; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1821

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—CANONRY IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL—Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1823

INDIA—THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1823

INDIA—THE RAID OF THE WAGEEREES ON THULL—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Baron Henry De Worms; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Marquess of Hartington 1824

TURKEY AND GREECE—THE BOUNDARY QUESTION—SPEECH OF M. TRICOUPIS AT ATHENS—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1826

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—

Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to Afghanistan,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1826

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*.

AFGHANISTAN — THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the true and permanent interests of India,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope*) .. 1831

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*:)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question again proposed:—After further debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Lord George Hamilton*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 104]
Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Monk*) 1916
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* 3rd May.

MOTIONS.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices Commissions)—Motion for an Address—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, a Return to be made by the Commissioners who have recently sat or are still sitting for the purpose of inquiring into Corrupt Practices in the Cities of Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, and Oxford, and in the Boroughs of Boston, Knaresborough, Macclesfield, and Sandwich, of the actual places or premises in which bribery has been carried on, specifying shops, private houses, public institutions, public houses, stables, solicitors' offices, the open street, and all other places and premises (if any), and giving the number of persons bribed, and the amount of money laid out in bribery in each kind of place or premises respectively,"—(*Mr. Warton*) 1920
After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Presumption of Life (Scotland) Bill—
Select Committee *nominated:*—List of the Committee 1921
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor:*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 25.

South Africa—The Transvaal (The Negotiations)—The 94th Regiment—Questions, Viscount Bury, Earl Cairns; Answers, The Earl of Kimberley 1923
South Africa—The Transvaal (The Negotiations)—"Suzerainty"—Question, Observation, Lord Lamington; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley 1925
Tunis—The Enfida Case—Questions, Observations, Earl De La Warr, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Earl Granville 1926
Parliament—The Easter Recess—Observations, The Earl of Redesdale, Earl Granville 1928

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 25.

QUESTIONS.

Public Health (Metropolis)—Small-Pox Hospital, Fulham—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson; Observations, Mr. Firth .. 1929
State of Ireland—Riotous Conduct of Soldiers at Castleisland, Co. Kerry—Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 1930
Army—Adjutants of Volunteers—Question, Mr. Rowley Hill; Answer, Mr. Childers 1931
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary (Retirement)—Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1931

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THE ROYAL MINT—THE ANNUAL REPORT—Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish 1931
EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1878—EXAMINATION OF HIGHER CLASS SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. J. Campbell; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1932
STATE-AIDED EMIGRATION—Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1932
SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS)—Questions, Sir John Hay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1933
PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—FEVER HOSPITALS AND CONVALESCENT HOMES—Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Dodson .. 1934
NAVAL AND GREENWICH HOSPITAL PENSIONS—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1935
FLOODS (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW—Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1935
PARLIAMENT—SECURING SEATS IN THIS HOUSE—Questions, Mr. Montague Guest, Mr. Macartney; Answers, Mr. Speaker 1936
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1937
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE THAMES RIVER BILL—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1937

MOTION.

ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Moved, "That the Standing Order relative to Supply or Ways and Means standing the first Order of the Day on Friday be read and suspended:—That the Committee of Supply be deferred until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Afghanistan,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1937

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

AFGHANISTAN—THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN—RESOLUTION [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [24th March]:—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1938

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 216, Noes 336; Majority 120.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 2032

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill [Bill 85]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Woodall*) 2036

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

Land Tax Commissioners' Names Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. John Holms, Lord Frederick Cavendish*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 126] 2038

COMMONS.

NEW WRIT ISSUED.

MONDAY, MARCH 7.

For *Coventry*, *v.* Sir Henry Mather Jackson, baronet, one of the Justices of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, MARCH 3.

Cumberland County (Eastern Division)—George James Howard, esquire.

MONDAY, MARCH 14.

Coventry—Henry William Eaton, esquire.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

IN THE

Second Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

THIRD VOLUME OF SESSION 1881.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 2nd *March*, 1881.

Their Lordships met at half past Ten o'clock.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 40.)

(*The Lord President*)

THIRD READING.

Bill read 3ª (according to Order), and *passed.*

ASH WEDNESDAY — The House adjourned to Five o'clock post meridiem, in order to proceed to the Abbey Church to solemnize this day.

Post Meridiem.

COMMISSION.—The following Bill received the Royal Assent:—Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) [44 *Vict.* c. 4].

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 2nd *March*, 1881.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report*— Public Accounts [No. 111].

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Metropolitan Commons Supplemental * [99].

First Reading—Solicitors' Remuneration * [100].

Second Reading—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98]—*First Night, debate adjourned;* Exemption from Distress * [92].

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

SECOND READING. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Second Reading read.

MAJOR NOLAN rose to a point of Order. He had the Bill for an hour, and several hon. Members had only had it for half-an-hour; in fact, it could not be obtained before 9 o'clock that morning;

and he wished to know whether it was in accordance with the usual practice of the House, in the case of measures of such importance, that the second reading should be taken so soon after it had been put in circulation, being only three hours after its delivery?

Mr. SPEAKER said, it was quite out of the question that he should interpose between the House and the consideration of the Bill, as the House itself had ordered it to be set down for second reading that day. It had been delivered, and he certainly did not propose to interpose.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY rose to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Major Nolan) had just done good service in calling attention to the peculiar and extreme haste with which the measure was pushed forward by the Government, and to the danger of it being made a new precedent when they had a Bill which had only just been printed and put into their hands brought forward for second reading. But he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was afraid they had got into a way of making so many new precedents with regard to the Bill that it was hardly worth while to make a difficulty about raising another. He could hardly suppose that any objection so comparatively small as that would be allowed to interfere with the rapid progress of the Bill, when they considered the more grave and portentous departures from usages, traditions, and precedents which had had to be accomplished in order to enable the House to make progress thus far. If he had no other reason to justify him in moving that the second reading of the Bill be deferred for a few months, it would be enough to remember the language and attitude with which it had been introduced, and to remember certain new sayings and doings which preceded its introduction. Owing to the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland a new figure had risen on the political horizon in connection with the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had taken charge of this new portion of the coercion scheme. They all admired the ability and eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman. On one remarkable occasion the Leader of the great Conservative Party now in the House of Lords, wishing to pay a tribute to the right hon. Gentleman's powers of speech, complimented him on what he called his "Rhodian eloquence." A good many hon. Members of the House and a good many persons outside, not having all their classics at their fingers' ends, and not remembering certain passages in Plutarch, were rather puzzled to know what Rhodian eloquence meant; and an hon. Member of the House suggested that the noble Earl had spoken of Rhodian eloquence because he thought the right hon. Gentleman's style of speech was exactly the sort of tall talk which might be expected to come from the Colossus of Rhodes. However that might be, the Rhodian eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman on this occasion had been employed in a manner not only impolitic, but also most unjust and unfair to the interests of either Ireland or this country. He had employed his Rhodian eloquence for the purpose of inflaming the passions of this country against Ireland, and against the Representatives of Ireland, and for the purpose of raising such a spirit among the Irish magistracy and the Irish officials as must render it all but impossible that a measure of this kind should be fairly carried out. He (Mr. M'Carthy) was compelled, for the purpose of showing the justice of his argument, to refer to one or two passages in the previous history of this coercion scheme. The right hon. Gentleman, since he had had charge of this measure, in order to hasten it on, had lost no chance of charging Ireland and the Irish Representatives with entering into a combination with some of the worst, most malignant, and most diabolical organizations that had ever been talked of or dreamed about in political history. The right hon. Gentleman had never failed to endeavour to make the House believe that the Irish Members were themselves engaged and confederated in a most odious conspiracy which the right hon. Gentleman believed to exist, or persuaded himself had existed. It was not so very long since, on an occasion where an hon. Friend of his (Mr. M'Carthy's) made some remarks about the Irish-Americans and their purposes, that right hon. Gentleman rose and distinctly charged, by implication, his hon. Friend with a perfect knowledge of the Fenian conspiracy, and of all it was doing; and he implied again and again, in slow and measured tones, with the most manifestly deliberate purpose, that the hon. Gentleman who spoke was actually in co-operation with that Fenian conspiracy. It was not long after that that the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to a Question, which he might have dramatically arranged, as to whether he had recently come to know anything about the movements of the former Fenian head-centre, James Stephens, said, in a solemn, theatrical manner, meant to convey a world of meaning, that he had made the astonishing discovery that James Stephens was at that moment in Paris. Everyone in the House knew what the right hon. Gentleman meant to convey. Everyone knew that the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell) had just gone to Paris, and that the right hon. Gentleman meant to convey that the hon. Member for Cork City and Mr. Stephens were then, by a concerted arrangement, in political combination. The right hon. Gentleman did not mention to the House, and, if he did not know it, he showed a singular lack of information he might have had officially—he did not mention the fact that Paris had been the residence of Mr. Stephens for a great number of years, and that his returning to Paris was just about as remarkable as the hon. Gentleman's occasionally returning to London. This effort to show that there was a certain distinct cohesion between the Irish Representatives and conspiracy was carried still further in the most recent utterances of the right hon. Gentleman; and it was only yesterday, in answer to a Question, that he distinctly and emphatically charged certain Irish Representatives of the Land League with being in confederation with some persons in plots for assassination and inciting to commit murder. These charges he made as expressive as he could, not only by all the authority of his official position, but by every aid of intonation and gesture; and he endeavoured to impress on the House, three-fourths of whom probably knew nothing of the matter whatever, that the leaders of the Land League were the confederates and fellow-conspirators of a person called John Devoy, whom he accused of being an assassin, and a man who incited to assassination. He (Mr. M'Carthy), therefore, distinctly charged the right hon. Gentleman with having used his high position, and the supposed accuracy of knowledge which his position gave him, for the purpose of impressing on the House and on the country, and particularly on Ireland, the belief of Her Majesty's Government that the Irish Representatives, or their Leaders, were the fellow-conspirators of Fenian rebels and assassins. If he (Mr. M'Carthy) had no other reason but that for objecting to intrusting powers such as this Bill conveyed to Her Majesty's Government, the fact would be enough that such charges had been made by a right hon. Gentleman in such a high position as the Secretary of State for the Home Department. A Government which contained anyone who could so misuse his high position as to make or authorize such charges as these, was unfit to be intrusted with any arbitrary powers over the liberties of any portion of the Queen's subjects. The right hon. Gentleman was the head of the official Department of which the Chief Secretary for Ireland was only a Member. He presided over the Irish Department as well as the English, and was chief of all the organization which was to be intrusted with powers by that Bill, and his language proved that he was not a fit person to be intrusted with any powers over the liberties of even the least important of Her Majesty's subjects. That, if there were no other reason, would induce him to oppose the passing of the Bill. It would compel him to oppose the intrusting the liberty of any person whatever in the hands of a Minister so reckless, and yet so deliberate in his statements, as the right hon. Gentleman. He need scarcely say that for himself, and for those with whom he acted, he utterly repelled the extravagant charges of the right hon. Gentleman; and he declared deliberately that they had no more to do with these schemes, these plans and plots he talked of, if they existed, which were more foul and diabolical than any recorded in history, than the right hon. Gentleman himself and the Ministers who sat on the Treasury Bench with him. He was not surprised to find that in "another place" the style of argument started by the right hon. Gentleman had now found a rival and superior in the mouth of one who was even a greater master of Rhodian eloquence than the right hon. Gentleman himself. The chain of conspiracy by which the right hon. Gentleman connected the Fenians with Stephens and Devoy, and through them with the Irish Members and the Irish people, had had another link added to it by the noble Earl (the Earl of Beaconsfield), who stretched it to much more exalted aim, and attached it to the movements and eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman himself and his Leader the Prime Minister. They had this chain lengthening at each remove, so constructed as to show John Devoy and Stephens at one end and the Prime Minister at the other. He knew that the noble Earl traced all the disturbances in Ireland, and all the machinations that were going on in and out of Ireland, not to the existence of the melancholy ocean, but to the eloquence and statesmanship of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and his Colleagues. For his own part, he was not sorry to find the argument of the right hon. Gentleman thus reduced to that absurdity; and he was rejoiced to find on the latest authority—that of the noble Earl to whom he had referred—that if his hon. Friends were the fellow-conspirators of Devoy and Stephens, at least they had the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and his Colleagues as their companions in the band. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had recently quoted Cicero. Naturally, as coming from him, the quotation was a somewhat familiar one, as he rarely taxed the memory with very recondite quotations. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was not surprised to find that the quotation was not perfectly accurate, or, at least, was somewhat incomplete. He presumed the right hon. Gentleman had of late been seized with the ambition to play the part of Cicero. He already rivalled him in eloquence—at least, he himself, doubtless, thought he did. Perhaps he was also anxious to rival him in playing the great part of the saviour of society. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was sure that the right hon. Gentleman was convinced that he had equalled Cicero in that respect; but he forgot there was one point of difference between himself and Cicero in regard to the situation which he endeavoured to conjure up. Cicero had his antagonist face to face before he began to denounce him. He assailed him in his presence, and it was the overpowering eloquence of Cicero which led to the remarkable "evasion" to which the right hon. Gentleman alluded. But the right hon. Gentleman, who aspired to be the modern Cicero, waited until his antagonist was out of the way before he began his denunciation, and that series of astonishing charges given out in such un-Parliamentary and unusual language, which, he thought, would never have been made if his opponent had been present. He was strongly opposed to giving the enormous powers which the Bill would confer into the hands of a statesman who was, apparently, determined, at any cost, to attitudinize before the country in the character of the modern Cicero saving society. He opposed the Bill, further, because it was to be extended over an extraordinary length of time. The right hon. Gentleman was to save society, if the country maintained him in Office for five years, by exercising the most arbitrary powers over the people of Ireland. The Constitutional powers which were supposed to belong to Parliament were to be suspended for five years, and during that period no chance was to be given to Parliament to re-consider the position of affairs. He objected to so startling a departure from the practices of their statesmanship. Why was the House asked to give up for that extraordinary period its right of reversing or continuing this arbitrary rule of the Government in Ireland? Then there was a portion of the Bill which was spoken of as mitigating the general powers of former measures, and which he protested against—namely, the summary jurisdiction which would be given over anyone contravening the Act. They were to be liable to a fine of £20, and imprisonment; but it would be observed that under the Bill any man charged would be placed at the mercy of the magistracy of Ireland, upon whom the duty of saving Ireland was to be imposed. No opportunity was to be given to the man to appeal, or to have his case taken before a jury. He would be sent before a body of men who, roughly speaking, represented only one class of the community, and who were the determined and avowed enemies of the Land League and those who supported it. That was a portion of the Bill which, to do justice to all, must undergo some revision; and he could not imagine a better justification than that for resisting the passing of such a Bill to the utmost. There must be an opportunity given to a man to get a trial before a jury. Besides that, he objected to the Bill because it would be utterly useless for the very purpose for which the right hon. Gentleman told the House he wished it introduced. It was intended to enable the Constabulary to search for and obtain possession of arms held for unlawful purposes. But after the warning now given all the rifles and revolvers would be concealed. He would assert that not one single revolver or gun held for unlawful purposes by anyone in Ireland would ever, under the Bill, come into the possession of the Government; and, what was more, he believed the Ministers themselves were of the same opinion. Let them pass the Bill with whatever rapidity they liked, the mere notice of the introduction of it was surely warning enough to all persons supposed to have arms for unlawful purposes. He remembered the Rebellion of 1848 and the Arms Act of that time. There were many weapons in the hands of the people of Ireland at that time, and there was, what there was not at the present day, an organization in the country having for its object armed rebellion. And yet, at that time, the police came into the possession of none of the arms which were intended to carry out the rebellious movement. It was known the Government were going to move. All those who had weapons took care to put them in places of concealment, and to bury them in the ground. In the present day he knew many parts of Ireland where down under the turf there were corroding and rotting away the obsolete weapons with which, at that time, certain young enthusiasts hoped to drive the Saxons into the sea. All the weapons that Government would get hold of would be the guns with which farmers frightened the crows off their farms. For the reasons which he had stated, amongst others, he objected to the Bill, and maintained that there was no reasonable excuse or necessity for such a measure. But the right hon. Gentleman said, although he had no great hope of getting vast stores of rifles in Ireland, at least he would be able to prevent men who had the weapons from making an ostentatious parade of them in the open country. Were there, then, not powers enough in the ordinary law to enable the Government to put down any such lawless act, if the Ministers only chose to exercise those powers? The right hon. Gentleman had said that bands of men armed with rifles had paraded the roads, breaking into houses, frightening people, and firing shots. But if they had got in Ireland a vast number of military and constabulary, and a swarm of magistrates and officials of all kinds, and could do nothing to stop such proceedings, what was the use of their authority? How were they to do it under the new Act? How would a power to search for weapons enable him to prevent such things? He opposed the Bill because it was unnecessary for every purpose which the measure was intended to compass, and he opposed it because, even if some Bill were necessary, the measure was in itself imperfect; and even if there were the greatest urgency and most imperative occasion for a stringent measure of some kind, that was not the kind of measure which they could safely intrust to the hands of Her Majesty's Government. He objected to it at the present time, because, inflamed as the passions of people had been, it was not safe to intrust the powers given in the Bill to the magistracy of Ireland. He objected to it because of the manner of its introduction, because it had been made to seem one part of a necessary scheme of legislation to put down some dark, gigantic, and monstrous conspiracy which the right hon. Gentleman would fain have them believe was in existence, and in which he charged hon. Members of that House with being partners and confederates. Every argument as to the want of necessity, as to the unfitness of the time, and of those who introduced it, all applied with great force to that most unfortunate measure which Her Majesty's Ministers were striving to pass. No doubt they would gain their object. The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues were armed with such powers, they had brought the House into such a condition, that he believed there was nothing whatever they would ask which would not be granted. He believed there was no sacrifice whatever of public liberty and Constitutional rights which they might not have if the right hon. Gentleman would only arise in his place and make some portentous allusion to conspiracy and assassination at the expense of its best and most Constitutional traditions. He would say, in conclusion, that they would have their success now as they had had their triumphs before; they were the saviours of society; they had had their *coup d'etat*; they had had their 2nd of December; for the present they could attitudinize and swear that on a certain day they saved the State. But they could not buy that magnificent success without some sacrifice, and the sacrifice was, that the greater triumph they won, the greater distrust they inspired in the minds of all reasonable men who loved Constitutional ways, and all the greater—some time or other—would be the re-action against their policy, their measures, and the whole spirit in which they had endeavoured to carry those measures into practical operation. For himself, he felt a pride in opposing that measure, as he opposed the measure which was lately brought in; and he believed some day all who took part in opposing it would be regarded by the country as having done an honest and spirited public duty. He opposed that measure, as he opposed giving any despotic powers into the hands of a body of men who had shown that they were willing to sacrifice the best traditions, the dearest Constitutional privileges and principles of the people, for the purpose of obtaining a temporary triumph, of serving an Opposition, whom they had made their masters, and of forcing an unfair and despotic measure down the throats of a people who ought to be free; but whom their policy and their legislation, or, rather, their want of true policy of legislation, had placed at their mercy. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the rejection of the Bill.

Mr. SEXTON seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Major O'BEIRNE said, he also rose to oppose the Bill, but for different reasons to those put forward by the hon. Member (Mr. M'Carthy). He opposed the second reading, because there was a law in Ireland which enabled the Government to require persons who carried arms to take out a licence, for which 10*s.* had to be paid. The magistrates and landowners of Ireland had complained, over and over again, that that law had not been enforced—perhaps from selfish reasons—but certainly the police force, which had been described as "an army of occupation without any occupation at all," might have been employed in carrying out the law which existed. Probably the cause of that law not having been enforced was that it it would have interfered with sporting. He agreed that the right to carry arms should be limited. In some parts of America it was so, and he did not think that the Irish people would object to it. He believed that his constituents were extremely indifferent whether the Bill were passed or not; but if he should be in the House when the division took place he should vote against the second reading.

Major NOLAN said, that, in his opinion, the Bill ought, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to have been introduced by one of the Law Officers in Ireland, who perfectly understood the wants of the country, because the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who had evidently not read the previous Acts, was betrayed into the remark that this was an easier Bill than all the others in the same direction. There were, at least, three other Bills which it would have been necessary to have read in order to have an accurate understanding of what the law was—namely, the Act of 1875, and the former Acts of 1870 and 1871. He (Major Nolan) had to complain that the second reading had been taken before they had had an opportunity of studying the Bill; he thought that that was a dreadful precedent to set up. He wished to point out that the House did not adjourn until 2 o'clock that morning, and he received a copy of the Bill at 9 o'clock, giving only three hours to devote to studying its details. He did certainly read it through, and compared it as well as he was able with the former Acts; but he had not had proper time to study the measure. However, from the short examination which he had been enabled to make of it, he had no hesitation in saying that this was a much more severe measure than the old Acts. For instance, under the old Acts the Lord Lieutenant could proclaim a barony, or half a barony; but under the Bill, taking its very first words, "in a proclaimed district," there was no definition given of a "proclaimed district," consequently the Lord Lieutenant would be able to proclaim any district, and very probably he would not proclaim less than a county, so that a much larger number of persons would have to be brought under the operation of penal laws than there was the slightest necessity for bringing under their operation. In the old Act of 1870, which was referred to, and in the Act of 1875, a large number of people were exempted. All magistrates were exempted, and all military and constabulary officers, and, he believed, all civil servants. He believed that practically the non-exemption of magistrates would act very severely on many persons who were not magistrates; and he would say that the principles of a Bill of that kind, particularly under a Liberal Government, ought to have gone in the direction of extending the exemptions from its operations; but the present measure actually did away with all exemptions. He wished not only that magistrates, but some other classes, say the jurors of the country, were exempted; and thus, by degrees, the exemptions would be so numerous that, practically, every person would be allowed to have arms. He thought it was not a good thing to leave anything to the Lord Lieutenant, except some details of the Bill. Under the old Act any two justices of the peace could grant licences to carry arms to any occupiers of agricultural holdings within the petty sessions jurisdiction of such justices; but, under this Act, there was no such power. That omission alone would make the Bill a very much heavier one than the preceding Bills; and, in his opinion, it was a serious objection to it, which he should endeavour to amend in Committee. It also gave power to the police to search any person who was suspected of having arms. That was a most terrible power to give, and he was not aware that there was any precedent for it in the English Constitution. Probably that power would not be exercised in the case of respectable people; but still it would give the greatest annoyance and trouble unless the Lord Lieutenant gave special instructions on the subject. He was quite sure constables would use this power for the purpose of annoyance, and also for the purpose of showing their zeal, if not their superiority. Among the other grounds on which he objected to the Bill, as being unusually severe, was the fact that it did not give to magistrates the same power they had under previous legislation to summarily dismiss nominal offences against the Act. He could not say that he had studied the Bill; but the little attention he had been able to bestow upon it had enabled him to discover the difference from the old Acts which he had enumerated; and he had no doubt that, if time was given, many other important differences would be found. He should like either of the Law Officers of the Crown to show them any point in the Bill which was more lenient than the Peace Preservation Act of 1875. They could not do that, for the Bill was a much more severe and vexatious measure than the old Act. He hoped the Government would see their way to consent to a few modifications. The Bill ought to be thoroughly considered in Committee; and he would advise the withdrawal of any very strenuous opposition to the second reading, in order that they might impress upon the Government the desirability of making one or two concessions in Committee. He must oppose the second reading of the Bill.

MR. SEXTON, who seconded the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, said, he only received a copy of it 20 minutes before he came down to the House that morning, and it was not for him to say whether 20 minutes was considered by the House to be a proper Constitutional period in which to study a difficult measure like this. He could not understand its introduction at all; but he supposed the Irish Members ought not to be surprised at anything done in the way of repressing Ireland, after the example they had lately had of coercive legislation. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had quoted Shakespeare in his speech last night; but it appeared that the taste for despotic power shown by the right hon. Gentleman had "grown by what it fed on." He (Mr. Sexton) could not see how that Bill could be regarded as a supplement to the Protection of Person and Property Bill. Once firearms were taken from a person, it might be conceivable to supplement the action by sending him to gaol. But as the Government had already passed a Bill enabling them to put persons disagreeable to them, and whom they might suspect of being evilly disposed, in gaol, he thought that Bill was utterly superfluous and unnecessary. When a man was imprisoned, it was quite unnecessary to take any action with regard to the possession of arms. The main points of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department's speech appeared to be the Charge of Judge Fitzgerald with regard to Ireland. He (Mr. Sexton) thought objection might justly be taken to the continual quotations here from the Charges of Judge Fitzgerald and others, and to that extraordinary importance which official speakers in that House appeared to attach to the language of those gentlemen. That was not the first time that the Charges of Irish Judges had been quoted in support of coercive measures by Ministers. The House, however, should bear in mind that Irish lawyers were brought up to be subservient to the Administration, because they knew the Government could exercise a most important influence upon their career, and that their promotion depended, not so much upon legal ability, as upon political services; and they knew, also, that even when they had reached the Bench their success depended upon the same service. In the discussion of a great question of that kind, which involved the freedom and the liberties of a whole people, it was unphilosophical and unstatesmanlike to look at it from the point of view of a Criminal Judge, who fixed his attention upon an isolated crime, instead of taking in at one glance a large and adequate view of the whole condition of society. Greatly exaggerated statements, made by Irish Judges, were repeated in support of the Bill, notably one by Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, to the effect that "Every farmer's boy, every farmer's son, and persons of that class, appeared to be armed with either a rifle or a revolver." It must be perfectly evident to any reasonable man, whether he were acquainted with Ireland or not, that that sentence was not one conceived in a judicial frame of mind; that it ought not to be quoted, and ought not to be depended upon as an argument in favour of a measure involving the liberties of 5,000,000 people. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department opened his remarkable speech by the expression of a hope that they would hear no more of recriminations; but he followed up the expression of that pious and chivalrous hope by one of the grossest, most venomous, and most flagrantly unjust attacks which had, within his (Mr. Sexton's) brief experience, been made upon a Member of that House. The injustice and unmanliness of the attack was only aggravated by the absence of the Member most concerned, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). That absence might be well excused, if the hon. Gentleman found he could do more useful work elsewhere. If the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), or the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India were absent, no doubt their absence would be of more importance than that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but the latter felt that he had no influence on the legislation of that House, and he (Mr. Sexton) believed that if he had as sweet a voice as the Seraph Ithuriel he would be unable to add more than a cypher in that House to useful legislation for Ireland. Therefore, finding work more useful to do elsewhere, he had chosen to go there and do it, rather than attend the House. That was his crime; but the attack which had been made upon the hon. Member for the City of Cork would make him the more prized by the people of Ireland, who knew that, with great energy and with complete contempt of his own comfort, he was absent from Parliament in order to obtain, wherever he could, friends for them and their tenantry. Neither would it lower him in the eyes of the same people that he had been attacked while upon that mission by a Member of the Government they hated. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was, no doubt, the foremost rhetorician of the Government; he was, in fact, the Chief Wrangler of the Treasury Bench, and his speech last evening was evidently delivered in pursuance of a transparent device by which the strong man was thrown forward in a moment of emergency, to give an appearance of strength to prevailing feebleness. The right hon. Gentleman praised the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) in order that he might, by his artistic rhetoric, make a gloomy contrast between the hon. Member for Tipperary and the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He (Mr. Sexton) was persuaded, if he knew anything of that hon. Member, that when he saw the report of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, he would examine his conscience, and wonder whether, as Daniel O'Connell did when he was complimented by *The Times*, he had not done something unpatriotic, and against the interests of his country, to cause him to be so complimented. The right hon. Gentleman copied from the Chief Secretary for Ireland a method of argument which was certainly extremely illogical. He gave them particular instances of everything, and from them established a general theory. Upon an explosion at Salford, or a speech made in New York, or an article written in an American paper, or upon the defection of one solitary Irish priest, the right hon. Gentleman was quite ready to found a general and universal theory. If the right hon. Gentleman was now pursuing his studies of logic at school, and were to argue in such a manner, he would stand a good chance of having some of the provisions of the Whiteboy Act applied to him by his master. But the fact was that the right hon. Gentleman had wholly misrepresented the speeches of the hon. Member for Tipperary when he inferred from them, with very faulty logic, that the Land League and agrarian crime were causably connected. No doubt his hon. Friend had suggested organization, and that the young men should attend the meetings in military order; but he (Mr. Sexton) could see no objection to that advice to organize themselves. In any public movement, no matter how peaceable it might be, organization was of the utmost value; and he could conceive that, in certain cases, the possession and knowledge of the use of arms might act as a useful influence even upon measures of reform to be proposed by a Constitutional Government. He did not mean to say that the arms need be used; but that the fact of their existence might be a conceivable element in obliging a Government, otherwise apathetic, to introduce some measures of reform. The young men of Ireland had been advised to organize, and to be "afraid of no one." That in itself was very reasonable advice. Again, the right hon. Gentleman referred to that part of the hon. Member for the City of Cork's speech where he recommended the people to organize, and so paralyze the hands of the Government, and prevent them enacting such laws as would throw the men who organized into prison. Any Government guilty of a sin against public interest and Constitutional principle well deserved to be impeded and paralyzed. The right hon. Gentleman said that in September last crime began to follow the teaching of the Land League. Did not the right hon. Gentleman know that September opened the winter quarter; that in this year the greatest distress prevailed, and that development of crime was to be attributed to this fact? Did he not remember that the evictions in the March and June and September months of last year far exceeded the usual average? Did he not know that these evictions left their sediment of vengeance in the minds of the people; and did he not know that two-thirds of the whole agrarian crime of last year occurred during a period of the greatest distress? He (Mr. Sexton) earnestly protested against the endeavour to cover the character of the Land Leaguers with conspiracy and crime. They had been called cowards and poltroons; but the men who did join the Land League, and attended its meetings, required to have moral courage, because they were marked by the landlords and the magistrates. He ventured to say they might with truth have been accused of cowardice and poltroonery if, after finding the Government tamely submitting to the despotism of the House of Lords after they had made an abortive attempt to relieve the people of Ireland, Irish Members had left the people to their own devices in the face of a powerful and infuriated class of landlords. If this had been the course they had adopted, he had no hesitation in saying that instead of there being 100 evictions in the December quarter, there would have been at least 1,000, because there were now in the hands of the sheriffs fully that number; and for every 100 crimes now on the record there would have been 10 times that number. He and his hon. Friends knew that by organizing, by enforcing upon the people the necessity of peaceful action, and by winning them from crime, they would decrease crime. They knew that if they did this, the landlords and the Government would by-and-bye come forward and charge them with the responsibility of crimes that might be committed. It would have been perfectly easy for him (Mr. Sexton) to stand aloof from the movement, to let the people go into their own desperate ways, to let crime prevail over the land, and perhaps bloodshed itself. The House could conceive that in doing so he would not have subjected himself to an attack by any skilful Minister, and to a charge of cowardice or poltroonery. The Irish Members, however, in a spirit of moral courage, decided to stand on the side of the people; and as long as their own conscience approved their own action, he believed they could regard with indifference the denunciations of even so powerful a master of rhetoric as the right hon. Gentleman. He would ask whether, if any public organization in England were now engaged in an open and candid struggle for a reform of the law upon grounds admitted by the Government themselves to be ample, any Minister would come down to the House and endeavour to attach the responsibility of crime to the leaders of that organization? The moral sense of the country would revolt against such a proceeding, and the manliness of the English race would repel it as an insult. There were other points as to which the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman seemed very inadequate. He had said that if the Arms Bill were passed armed gangs would not be able to march along the roads. It was a very remarkable fact that if armed gangs had been marching upon the roads, the police had not, in one solitary instance, been able to encounter them. It was as unlawful now for armed bodies of men to march along any thoroughfare as it would be were that Act passed; and if such bodies were seen at the present time it would be the duty of the police to challenge them and call them to account. Then the right hon. Gentleman had quoted from the newspapers of the day before, no item of which could, at the time, have been contradicted; and he had mentioned the attempted murder of Mr. Hearne by way of giving the last tint of colour to the picture he had drawn. Unfortunately for the right hon. Gentleman, the very latest news put quite a different complexion on the case, and showed that the crime was not agrarian, or, at all events, that it was not supposed to be so by Mr. Hearne himself. But, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman knew best after all. One of the London papers that day had spoken of the revolver taking the place in England of the old blunderbuss and horse pistol. An outrage quite as atrocious as any that had occurred in Ireland had lately been committed in Essex. A woman was threatened in her bed, and robbed of £30 in money, and some valuable credit notes; but there was no proposal to bring in an Arms Bill for England, and why? Because the English people would not stand it. The right hon. Gentleman, in introducing the Bill, had read passages from the play of *King John;* but he (Mr. Sexton) was at a loss to understand in what way the people of Ireland were concerned in the doings of King John. He could not conceive what bearing upon the present state of Ireland any quotation, however elaborately and well delivered, had to the connection between a certain English ruffian of byegone days and a disreputable English King. He truly believed the right hon. Gentleman had missed his vocation. The right hon. Gentleman delivered the quotation very effectively; and it suggested the reflection that while the State, had no doubt, gained an able servant, the stage had lost an admirable actor. He could, perhaps, discern the drift of that passage from *King John;* but he wholly refused to admit its appropriateness. It implied that the leaders of the Land League had a foreknowledge of the crimes that followed its meetings, though it was obvious that no one but a Cagliostro could have any such power of prevision. So much for the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Sexton) protested against the Bill because he believed it to be superfluous; for, in the power they had already received to imprison any man they pleased, the Coercion Bill had given to the Government power as extreme as any despotic Government could demand. Having obtained that power, he would have thought the Government, after their effort last year, after the general effect of their policy last year, and after the declarations made during the Recess by some of their eminent Members, would have thought it their duty to have commenced the present Session by the introduction of a remedial measure. Unfortunately that hope was not realized. They had obtained one Coercion Act, and now they were proceeding in a still further repressive direction. He objected to the Bill on that ground, and also on the ground of its provisions. It gave the Lord Lieutenant power not to deal only with evil-doers, but with the people of the whole of Ireland alike; and it also explained the fact that after 80 years of Union with England, a Liberal Government, supported by a strong infusion of Radicalism, had to resort to the complete disarmament of the Irish people, without even foreshadowing the promised remedial measures. The next provision, which referred to the power reposed in the resident magistrates, was one of the most shocking that ever came under his notice. It provided that not only every person taken up under the Act should be deprived of the privilege of proving his innocence before a jury of his fellow-countrymen; that he should not only be summarily convicted, but that he should be convicted by one man—not even by a bench of magistrates. That one man would be the stipendiary magistrate—the paid servant, and the obedient slave of the Administration. When the authorities of Dublin Castle thought it well to arrest any man under the Act, the resident magistrate—the paid servant of the Crown—would deem it almost as a matter of official duty—in fact, as dependent upon the earning of his salary—to follow up the *primâ facie* case of the Government by a conviction of the person brought before him. Any man in Ireland might, in fact, make up his mind, if he was arrested under the Act, that his arrest would amount to a sentence and a conviction. He further objected also to the term for which this Act was to operate. In former times, when this country was governed by Whigs and by Tories, one or two years at the most was deemed sufficient for such an Act to operate; in fact, that was done for the express purpose of enabling the Representatives of the people to scrutinize it at their earliest assembly at the beginning or ending of each Session of Parliament. Indeed, it had been the lot of Tory Governments even to limit the operation of such Acts only to one year. In this case, however, the Bill was based upon the crimes of a single month last year; and in order to neutralize the crime of the month, the first right of free men—the right to bear arms—must be taken away for five years. He might be disposed to imagine that after the Bill had been in operation for one year or for two years, the Government might, by-and-bye, claim that they were performing an act of grace by cancelling it; but he thought that they would not be enabled to do this as, from the aspect of affairs at present, it was not unlikely that the irony of politics would be once more illustrated, as it was in the matter of the Peace Preservation Act of 1870, and it would fall to the lot of a Tory Administration to cancel the Whig-Radical Arms Act of 1881. He objected to the Bill, because he was convinced, by actual experience, it would be utterly useless for its purpose, seeing that no Arms Act had ever effectively operated for the repression of crime in Ireland. He would test that statement by actual figures; and he would challenge the right hon. Gentleman to refute his arguments on the point. Arms Acts had not infrequently been passed by that House; in fact, 30 of them had been brought forward within the last 100 years. On the 16th July, 1830, an Arms Act was passed by the House. It was a very stringent measure; and, in order to prove the fact to the House, he need only say it was objected to even in the House of Lords as vexatious and oppressive, and the Duke of Wellington defended it by stating that it was merely a Continuance Bill; but he had to acknowledge that it was a renewal of a Bill passed so very long previous as 1707. That Bill was considered sufficient, although it imposed severe restrictions; and on the 15th October, 1831, it was followed by an Act, which was well known to them all as "Stanley's Arms Act." That Act embodied very stringent penalties, and even awarded transportation as punishment for the possession of unregistered arms; and it had to be renewed in 1834. They should consider that five Acts, one exceeding the other in stringency, and including almost every provision in the matter of penalties that the wit of man and the ingenuity of lawyers could devise for the unregistered possession of arms, had all failed in their purpose. Lord Althorp, in introducing Lord Grey's Coercion Bill in the House of Commons in 1833, stated, with regard to crime in Ireland—

> "I shall confine myself to cases of serious crimes which are either committed by use of firearms, or else those serious crimes committed by persons who have arms upon them at the time they commit the crime."

What was the effect? In the three months of the year 1829, before the passing of the Arms Act then in force, Lord Althorp stated there had been 10 murders committed; in the corresponding months of 1830, the year of the passing of the Act, there were 15 murders; in 1831, with no less than two Arms Acts in force, there were 47 murders; and in the year 1832 there were four times as many murders committed as in the year 1829, before the passing of the Arms Act. Now, let them turn to highway robberies, which were usually effected by persons with arms in their possession. In the year before the passing of the Act these numbered 69; the year after, 154; the year after that, 152; and the third year after the passing of the Act they amounted to 173. The total number of crimes of an insurrectionary character were—in the year before the passing of the Act, 300; in the year of its passing, 499; the year after, 814; and the year after that, 1,413. The total number of offences against the person was—in the year before the Act, 4,446; in the year of its passing, 4,783; in the year after, 4,180; and when it had been two years in operation, 5,549. This was the result, as stated by the responsible Minister in that House—that in four years after the passing of the Act the amount of crime of this kind committed was five-fold what it had been in 1829. He (Mr. Sexton) stated in the House, on the strength of these figures, that it was entirely futile to endeavour to restrain the class of crime against which these Acts were directed by such enactments. In 1835 these Coercion Bills were allowed to drop, and a remedial measure was passed, relieving the people from some of the most painful incidents connected with the collection of tithes; and two years after that Lord Mulgrave, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, said that the lapse of these Acts had removed many provocations to crime, and the friendship of the people had been conciliated by large acts of mercy. These words indicated the true policy which should be pursued by the Government at the present juncture, and by which they would have been saved the egregious error of endeavouring to render law in Ireland more effective, by making all law, and the name of law, hateful to the people. The next period when an Arms Act was passed was in 1843, and it was vehemently resisted by the Irish Members; but, despite that opposition, a very stringent measure was passed, giving uncontrolled and plenary powers to the Lord Lieutenant with reference to the treatment of persons found in possession of unregistered arms. What was the effect of the Act upon crimes committed with deadly weapons? In 1844, there were 146 homicides; in 1845, 139; in 1846, 170; and in 1847, four years after the Act was passed, 212, or 50 per cent more than in the year immediately succeeding the passing of the Act. With regard to firing at the person, the cases were, in the year after the passing of the Act, 93; in the second year after, 138; in the third year, 158; and in the fourth year, 264. The highway robberies were, in 1844, 73; in 1845, 96; in 1846, 258; and in 1847, 343, or nearly five times as many as in the year after the passing of the Act. The cases of bearing arms were, in 1844, 79; in 1845, 89; in 1846, 138; and in 1847, 206. Could figures more clearly show the utter futility of Arms Acts to disarm those who wished to keep arms in their hands? As to firing into dwellings, the number of cases was, in 1844, 77, and in 1847, 257. In 1870, the Peace Preservation Act was passed, one of the most stringent Coercion Acts ever applied to Ireland, and what were its results? In the year 1869 the number of murders and manslaughters was 77; in the year in which the Act was passed they were also 77. The year after the Act was passed they were 71; in the next year they were 87; in the year following, 81; in the year 1874 they were 84; and in 1875 they had the extraordinary fact to face that the number of homicides was 111. Highway robberies also showed an increase during the operation of the Act, being in 1869, 23; in 1870, 32; in 1871, 30; and in 1873, 27. Without a single exception, he claimed, upon the indubitable arguments of these figures presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty, that he established the fact that these Acts, whether simple or complex, whether stringent or easy, had assisted in a continuance of progressive increase of the class of crime against which they were directed. The opposition which the Irish Members had given to these measures had provoked a good deal of animadversion, and both in the House and in the Press condemnatory remarks had been made with regard to them which could not be heard by any sensitive man without a feeling of pain; but the Irish Members had no other course to pursue than that which they had taken. They found the liberties of their people attacked by all the wantonness of despotic power, and they could not think of relaxing their opposition to those measures on the promise of any political bribe to be for hereafter in the shape of remedial legislation. In view of those attacks, they could but act on one principle—to stand up in behalf of the helpless. The Poet Laureate had said—

> "And statesmen at her Council met,
> Who knew the seasons when to take
> Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet."

If the poet had confined those lines to England, they might have some application; but he did not think of Ireland when he wrote them. In Ireland statesmen did not widen the bounds of freedom; they rather narrowed that share of liberty which the people were suffered to enjoy. In doing what they had done, he and his hon. Friends had recognized but one rule of conduct—namely, that they had no choice but to assert their right to those liberties, whatever might be the opinion entertained in that House or the country of the course which the Irish Members had taken. He believed they were justified in protracting the conflict, and they would have laid themselves open to the charge of being called cowards and poltroons if they had taken any other course. No doubt it had been a contest between David and Goliath; but, owing to the intervention of superior powers which he need not more specially define, the hapless David in the present case had to fight without a sling. However, they had fought the contest with such powers as in them lay, and they would leave the verdict not to that heated Assembly, but to the judgment of all generous men whose emotions and consciences lifted them out of the sphere of Party passion, Party intrigue, and mere Party conflict. Perhaps, by-and-bye, when reflection came back to those who now opposed them, they would think more generously of their actions, and consider that, if they had been placed in the same position themselves, they would have acted in the same manner. Finally, with confidence drawn from all he had read and learned of the record of human struggles against injustice, knowing that the part they had taken was shameful only to their adversaries, he left the verdict upon their conduct in all those transactions to the calm and impartial view of the country.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, this Bill was not quite the same as the last. They had recently been engaged in discussing a Coercion Bill, which, he understood, had been passed in "another place" at an early hour that morning, and which was one to suspend the liberties of the entire Irish people, and to put them under the foot of the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and now they were called upon to consider another coercive measure, though, as he thought, of a much less objectionable character. It simply enabled the Executive to deprive those of arms who possessed them without a licence from the magistrates. Had the present Bill been introduced at the commencement of the Session, and had it not been preceded by that very strong Coercion Bill to which he referred, he did not know that he should have supported it; but he certainly should not have offered any strenuous opposition to it. There was always a great advantage in the possibility of the Executive being able to deprive the criminal class of arms; for they often committed deeds of violence with them, and they would not be half so dangerous if they had not arms in their hands; and if the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had brought in a Bill to prevent the dangerous classes from having possession of arms or dynamite without a licence from the Government he should not have opposed it. But the main objection to such a measure as the one before the House was that it was ill-timed, and that it legislated specially for Ireland in a different way from England. Now, why was that distinction drawn between England and Ireland? Right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury

Bench frequently complained that there was a Party in Ireland that desired disunion and separation from England: but it seemed to him that those right hon. Gentlemen encouraged that by making these distinctions between the law in England and that in Ireland. He wanted everyone to have the widest guarantee for freedom, and why should freedom be invaded in Ireland if not in England? The Bill would continue in force for five years, and during that period certain privileges and rights, which were possessed by Englishmen, were to be denied to Irishmen; and it should be remembered that the Representatives of the majority of the Irish people declared their deliberate opinion that those attacks upon the privileges and liberties of Ireland were entirely unwarranted. The last Bill was passed over the heads of the Irish Members, and that, he thought, was one of the most undesirable things that could happen, for as long as it continued there would continue alienation towards the English connection with Ireland, and ill-feeling towards England itself. He submitted that the right hon. Gentleman had not shown any case for the Bill. If he had told them that a rising was expected in Ireland, and that a large number of persons with arms were to meet together to bring about a revolution, if the powers sought were not granted, they must have accepted his statement and agreed to pass such a measure. But the right hon. Gentleman had done nothing of the sort. He did not base the Bill on the slightest possibility of an insurrectionary movement taking place in Ireland; but upon the fact that certain outrages had been committed. He did not even say that those outrages were being committed at the present time. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did.] The right hon. Gentleman said he did say they were being committed; but he did not prove it. He only proved that they were being committed by saying that they had been committed. The right hon. Gentleman fell back upon those old Blue Books which, he (Mr. Labouchere) thought, had been sufficiently exploded. If the Government considered it unnecessary last year to bring in a Continuation Bill in reference to the expiring Peace Preservation Act, the right hon. Gentleman should show that outrages were being committed now in such numbers as would make justifiable what he and his Colleagues considered last year was not justifiable. The right hon. Gentleman had fallen back on the old argument that the Land League was responsible for the outrages, and he referred to a speech delivered by the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) a considerable time ago; but he (Mr. Labouchere) could see no incitements to insurrection in the speeches of the hon. Member for Tipperary, for only the other day the same hon. Gentleman had strongly discouraged the commission of outrages, and recommended only passive resistance, which would be continued whether the people had arms or no. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not deny the existence of outrages; but they had never been brought home to the Land League. But outrages did not exist in Ireland only, or more than in England. They ought also to remember that Ireland was being governed by a very exceptional law. They had given to the Chief Secretary for Ireland enormous powers—such as used only to be given to a Russian Governor of Poland. He had power to imprison any man on mere suspicion; and really, if he could not govern the country without more coercive measures, he (Mr. Labouchere) was inclined to think that it was the workman, and not the tools, that were in default. He was inclined to think that the ordinary law was very good, but the workman required change. There was a clause in the Act of 1870 which enabled a man brought before a magistrate for being in possession of arms to appeal to a jury, on the understanding that if convicted he should be liable to two years' imprisonment. He believed that in the Act passed by the Conservatives that jury clause was continued; but the Conservatives reduced the term of imprisonment to one year. The present Government got rid altogether of the appeal to a jury. It was true, it was provided that a stipendiary magistrate was to be on the Bench; but it was also true that any number of non-stipendiary magistrates might go and outvote the stipendiary magistrate. Was it a great concession to allow anyone accused of having arms to claim the right of being tried by a jury, on the understanding that if he were convicted he would be subjected to one year's imprisonment? Very few would risk that unless they were innocent, or unless they had a fair and reasonable explanation to offer. He had exceedingly little confidence in the magistrates of Ireland, mostly Protestant landlords, who regarded the majority of the people as personal enemies for having refused to pay their rents. There ought to be some sort of appeal from the Magisterial Bench to a higher tribunal. There was an understanding last week that this Bill was to be withdrawn. That impression was conveyed to the public in the ordinary way, and those who supposed it would be withdrawn were justifiably in error. Liberal Members were glad to hear it; but there was regret among the Opposition, who began to clamour for their bond. The Government considered it was desirable to have the support of their opponents, and so the Bill was then brought in, to the great delight of the Conservative Opposition, but to the regret of the majority of the ordinary supporters of the Liberal Government. Did the Government really suppose they were obtaining the support of the Conservatives on general principles? The Opposition were exceedingly wise in their generation. They had distrust of the future legislation of the Government. They were not exceedingly anxious for a Land Bill for Ireland; certainly not for a Land Bill for England; nor were they in love with a Bill for the re-distribution of seats, or for the extension of the franchise, or for a Bill to put an end to corrupt practices. The support given by the Opposition to the Government, consequently, was an insidious support; for they knew that Coercion Bills would provoke a great amount of debate, if not of Obstruction, which would delay the introduction of the Liberal measures for the passing of which the Government was placed in power. Therefore, Ministers ought not to yield to hon. Gentlemen opposite in order to obtain their support, when the object of that support was secretly and insidiously to encourage Obstruction and prevent sound Liberal Bills being brought in. Moreover, possibly they thought that in the event of a General Election they might catch part of the Irish vote by widening the breach as much as possible between Liberals and Irish Members.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was now passing into a line of argument which was not in any way connected with the Question before the House.

Mr. LABOUCHERE continued that it seemed to him remarkable that, on Friday last, they were allowed to suppose that the Bill would be withdrawn; and on Monday they found themselves mistaken, and during that interval the Chief Secretary for Ireland had gone to that country. These facts seemed to support the theory that these Coercion Bills were forced on the right hon. Gentleman by the English garrison in Ireland. It would be interesting to know what communications had passed between the Government and the right hon. Gentleman since his return to Ireland. So long as he was here, it seemed to be felt by him and his Colleagues that the Bill was not necessary; but when he went over to Dublin he was seized by the permanent officials there, and he had induced his Colleagues again to make the sad mistake they had made before, of bringing in a Coercion Bill at the desire of the English garrison in Ireland. He (Mr. Labouchere) hoped the Government would, as soon as possible, break away from their connection both with the garrison in Dublin and with right hon. and hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Conservative Benches. They might depend upon it they would never obtain sound legislation on Irish or on English matters until Ministers ceased to be hoodwinked by the permanent officials, or be humbugged by the Conservative Leaders in that House.

Dr. COMMINS objected to the manner in which the Bill had been introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. In doing so, the right hon. Gentleman had made use of several quotations from their great dramatist; but there were many passages in his works which it would not have suited the right hon. Gentleman to cite in reference to legislation for Ireland. He could not help thinking that a more appropriate one would have been found in the words addressed by the Chancellor in *Hamlet* to his son—"My son, with how little wisdom this world is governed." The quantum of wisdom which had directed the introduction of the Bill was even less than that which usually governed the world. They had been treated to a great deal of histrionic display, and a large amount of simulated indignation;

but no facts had been furnished to justify such a measure. The word poltroon had been applied by the right hon. Gentleman; but the man who, from the safe entrenchment of the Treasury Bench, launched at an absent man language which he would not launch when present, who used words which he would not use in the Lobby, and dare not use in the street, or in the club, the man who would do that, was more in accordance with his (Dr. Commins') idea of a poltroon. The public would judge between the absent and the right hon. Gentleman as to who most deserved the name of poltroon.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member applies the expression "poltroon," as I apprehend, to a Member of this House, I must call upon him to withdraw it.

Dr. COMMINS said, he did not apply the term to any Member of the House. He was discussing the use of it on a certain occasion by the right hon. Gentleman opposite; and, unless any Member wished to apply it to himself, he (Dr. Commins) did not apply it to anyone. With reference to the quotation made by the right hon. Gentleman from the Charge of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, he would ask the permission of the House to cite from a volume of *Hansard* for 1834 a condemnation by the Solicitor General of that day of the introduction of politics into the Charges of the Judges.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must invite the hon. Member to address himself to the Question before the House. He is now calling in question the conduct of a Judge; and that is not the Question before the House.

Dr. COMMINS said, that he was sorry if, from his inability to express himself, the right hon. Gentleman did not catch the argument which he wished to address to the House. He was alluding to the quotation which had been made from the Charge by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He found fault with that quotation; and, in support of his objection, he desired to read what had been said by a former Solicitor General with regard to the introduction of politics into the Charges of Judges.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must again distinctly call upon the hon. Member to address himself to the Question before the House.

Dr. COMMINS said, that, of course, he must submit to the ruling; but the language he desired to quote was much stronger than any he could use. The Bill was one that appeared very innocent; but it laid traps for the unwary. In all previous Arms Bills the powers given to the Lord Lieutenant were strictly defined; but the present one gave him power to do almost anything. By this Bill the Lord Lieutenant might call any agricultural implement an arm. He might bring the carrying of a pitchfork under the Act. It might be said that the Lord Lieutenant would not do anything so absurd; but they could not fix a limit to the absurdity to which he might go. Besides, little guarantee against abuse was furnished even by the resident magistrates, very few of whom were barristers of any standing, while the majority were ex-policemen and ex-military and naval officers. He objected to the principle of giving increased summary jurisdiction to magistrates who were not lawyers, without allowing an appeal to be had to a Superior Court, where the services of a trained and skilful Judge and a jury would be available in the investigation of a case; the tendency in this country at present being further to enlarge the limits of trial by jury rather than to narrow them, as they were now sought to be narrowed by the Bill before the House in the case of Ireland. The Bill, too, entirely disregarded the Constitutional guarantees which were the right of every British subject. It would, no doubt, pass into law; but it would be entirely ineffectual. Would it, he asked, do anything whatever towards preventing crime, or restoring the order which ought to exist in the country, and which he said did not exist in it? No one had yet gone so far as to say that the majority of the people of Ireland were criminal, or were criminally disposed. The measure was directed against a small minority of the people; but it would apply equally to the well-disposed and to the ill-disposed. It had been conclusively shown in the course of the debates on the Coercion Acts that they had been invariably followed by an increase of outrages. The parties who were sought to be restrained by the Act would be sure to put their firearms beyond the reach of the police. The Government would, in fact, put a premium upon lawlessness, by the fact that the law-abiding people would be disarmed, and that thus the restraining power of the fear of individual resistance would be taken away. He opposed the Bill also because it was unnecessary. People were to be deprived of firearms, because it was suspected that they intended to commit acts of violence or intimidation. But the Bill which had been recently debated was sufficient to deal with that class of offence. The Lord Lieutenant had full power to act in such cases, even if arms were not found; and he could not see what additional powers were necessary, or what greater powers this Bill would confer. For his part, he believed that mischievous effects would result from its operation, and no good ones. The search for arms would create feelings of resentment against the law. The great misfortune of Ireland was that the people did not look upon the law as their protector, or upon its administrators as their friends; and when the law was put in force needlessly bad results would assuredly follow. In 999 out of every 1,000 cases of searching for arms, the search would be fruitless and the law regarded with the utmost disfavour. Remedial measures alone could produce respect for the law. In the year 1833 a Coercion Bill was introduced into that House, and what said the then Solicitor General, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Campbell in reference to it? He pointed to it as a proof "how essentially Ireland was hated by the English nation," and

> "What a lenient view was taken of measures of this kind which tended to degrade the mass of the Irish people."

Those weighty words, which ought to be well considered by the House and by the Government, were re-produced by Lord Campbell in his autobiography. Again, he wrote, in March, 1833, while the Bill was yet in progress—

> "The Irish Coercion Bill places me in a most distressing situation. My constituency are all in a flame. I shall not be at all surprised if it prove the ruin of the whole Party. Loss of Office I should care little about, if we fell with dignity; but it is rather disgraceful to be turned out for grasping at arbitrary power."

Lord Campbell afterwards verified that foreboding. They did not now seem to have any Member of the Government who took the same view Lord Campbell did, or who regarded the passing of such a Bill, as he did, with mortification. In 1841, reviewing the situation, his Lordship put on record the causes of the fall of Lord Grey's Government. The first, he said, was the appointment of the Speaker; the second, and principal, was, he said, "a much more serious error, the famous Coercion Bill." He added—

> "Ireland certainly was in a dreadful state; but a better remedy might have been expected from the champions of liberty than a suspension of the Constitution and trial by court martial as a substitute."

Such was the deliberate opinion of a great Liberal official. With respect to the present Bill, he (Dr. Commins) hoped Her Majesty's Government would recognize the truth of those words, and see that conciliation, not coercion, was the true remedy, as no law could be effectual which had not the support of the mass of the community. If an assurance were given to the House by the Government that, in Committee, they would mitigate the severity of the Bill, he and his Friends, knowing that the measure would become law, whatever they might say or do, would cease to fight a useless battle. If the Bill was to be carried without change there would be no remedy, because he did not anticipate any other remedy; for even if remedial measures passed the House, he doubted whether they would pass the House of Lords for the grievances under which Ireland was labouring. He could only say that if Coercion Bills were to be the only outcome of the professions of the Leaders of the Liberal Party, it would be a sad thing for Ireland, if not for Her Majesty's Government.

MR. FINIGAN said, he rose to oppose that measure as one not calculated to effect the object which the Treasury Bench said was to be attained. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and shared his regret that he had been intrusted with the Bill in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, because he (Mr. Finigan) would not do the Secretary of State for the Home Department the injustice of accusing him of knowing anything of Ireland, or of the government of Ireland. Therefore, he readily excused the right hon. Gentleman, because he was holding a brief which he, doubtless, was bound to speak from. The right hon. Gentleman, with even less discretion than he (Mr. Finigan) thought him capable of, made statements which he would show were not founded on truth or justice. He spoke of the desertion of the Land League by the priests, and boasted that a certain Father O'Connor, of Cork, had resigned his position in the Mallow branch of the National Land League, and stated that that was a proof that they were leaving that organization. Instead of dealing with the Land League, and with the Bill, in a spirit of justice, he quoted merely from newspaper reports; and he (Mr. Finigan) was authorized to inform him of the contents of the following telegram from Mr. O'Brien, hon. secretary of the Land League, Mallow:—

> "The Home Secretary is wrong about Father O'Connor. He is curate of Doneraile, and is a member of the Doneraile League. He is not president since this League started, and did not want to be a member of the Mallow branch as well as of the Doneraile branch. No such term as that of 'rogue' or 'coward' was used in committee at Mallow against the Rev. Father O'Connor."

If any more of the facts adduced by the right hon. Gentleman were founded upon mere newspaper statements, he trusted the House, or that portion of it which delighted to call itself Liberal, would, at all events, be liberal enough to study the aspect of the different charges not from newspaper reports, but from veritable statements which they were always ready to produce, and which, being made by responsible persons, could be verified. In his speech last evening, the right hon. Gentleman had thought fit to attack two absent leading Members of the Irish Party. He (Mr. Finigan) was authorized to say that one of those Gentlemen (the hon. Member for Tipperary) would be in his place in the House to-morrow to answer the charges which had been made against him; and he hoped that the other hon. Member (the hon. Member for the City of Cork) would also be present, when, if he had the courage to do so, the right hon. Gentleman might repeat the aspersions, calumnies, and slanders which he had levelled at the head of the distinguished Leader of the Irish Party in that House. That would give an opportunity for further explanation before the House. With respect to the Bill, he objected to its being continued in operation for so long a period as five years, and contended there could not be the slightest necessity for proposing so long a period. There was not a shadow of evidence of outrages being committed which justified the passing of such a measure at all; and the statements of the Chief Secretary for Ireland upon the introduction of the Protection of Person and Property Bill had not been borne out by the Returns which had been published. It was absurd to say that landlords should have the power of evicting without being prepared for resistance on the part of the evicted persons, which would sometimes take the form of agrarian crime and outrage. The plan of a Liberal Government should have been to have provided remedies before providing coercion. The present Government, however, was not a Liberal, but a Whig Government; and more Arms Acts and Coercion Acts had been passed for Ireland by the Whigs than by any other Party. It was said that the present Bill was a corollary of the Coercion Bill which had already passed the House, and as such, he should be prepared, if compelled, to accept it, but with this material difference—that the Coercion Bill was only to remain in force for 18 months, while the present measure was to extend over a period of five years. It seemed that the measure was, therefore, brought forward merely to further repress Ireland. There was a political move behind it. Right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench evidently wanted the Bill to extend beyond their term of Office. The Representatives of Whig principles, by whom the Bill was introduced, knew full well that their period of Office would expire long before the five years had elapsed, and that after such expiry they would have a cry based upon denunciations of tyranny in Ireland, and the great desire of the Liberal Party to procure perfect liberty in that country by the repeal of this terrible corollary to their own still more terrible measure of coercion. The right hon. Gentleman had brought forward no statistics or arguments to show that the people of Ireland were generally armed, or that the few who possessed firearms had them for undesirable purposes. The county Clare proclaimed some few months ago, on the ground that it was in a disturbed state, had only brought to light one man who could in any way be said to be touched by that Act. The Irish people knew what the object of the Conservatives was, who were, at least, straightforward; but the pretence of friendship from this so-called Liberal Party had by this time disgusted them beyond measure. When the Bill was passed the last vestige of respect for this Whig Ministry would have disappeared. He agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) that the Bill was far severer than the Peace Preservation Act of 1875, for the Conservative Act contained the following provision, which this Government had not seen fit to include :—

> "If the magistrates and justices find an offence not proved, they shall dismiss the charge, and make out and deliver to the person charged a certificate under their hands stating the fact of such dismissal."

This extremely Liberal Government had done nothing to perpetuate that part of the old Bill. The Government had not made out their case. The case failed even on the evidence they themselves adduced. There was no evidence to justify this miserable measure of Peace Preservation, and to show that it was founded upon fact, and not upon fiction. The source of the evil complained of must be looked for, not in the desire of the Irish tenants to commit outrages, but in the system of landlordism under which those unfortunate tenants were driven to seek redress. It had been said that aggrieved Irish tenants could obtain full justice in the Courts of Law ; but those who knew the facts were perfectly well aware that all such talk was idle, because the law could not be put in operation except at so great a cost that the large majority of the tenants could not afford to invoke its aid. Reference had been made in the course of the debate to the utterances of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald. He had nothing to say against the personal character of that learned Judge ; but he must be permitted to say that, in his opinion, it was highly improper for any man holding high judicial position to lean to any side in Party politics, and try to back up either a Whig or a Tory Government, as Mr. Justice Fitzgerald had done. The whole political situation, as far as Ireland was concerned, was such that he thought it would be much better for the country to be under the rule of the Land League than under that of a tyrannous Whig Government, which was blindly supported by a majority in the present Parliament. If the Government wished to do away with agrarian crime, and to put a stop to what they called treasonable practices, they must at once turn their backs on the Coercion Bill and upon any such proposal as this before the House. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of Christianity. It was amusing to hear Christianity championed on the Liberal Benches; and as for civilization, if those Liberal Benches represented civilization in Ireland, the less they heard of it the better. He had also made a strong appeal to the House, founded upon the weakest statements possible; but he (Mr. Finigan) must grant that while Ireland was to have a Coercion Bill it was immaterial whether this Bill was really passed or not. It was however, a great injustice to his country that her wrongs should be made use of by the Government for the meanest and most miserable political purposes, while they were careful to place themselves in a position which would enable them to abjure their present politics when the Conservatives returned to Office. The Bill gave power to the police to arrest persons without warrant, on suspicion that they were possessed of arms; but he thought the Government had sufficient power by the Coercion Bill to arrest such persons, on the ground that they suspected them of being guilty of treasonable practices. He (Mr. Finigan) told the House that if the Government imagined that they could rule Ireland, or make Ireland loyal, contented, and progressive, by Coercive Acts such as those they were thoroughly mistaken. If men were driven to America, and England considered that she had the best of the bargain, when the men so driven away became American citizens, he must tell the right hon. Gentleman that he was wrong. It was by such Acts as those which drove John Devoy from Ireland that secret societies and Fenianism were spread all over the world. If that policy were continued, it was the best measure the Government could possibly take for rendering Ireland disloyal and discontented, and ready to wait until the country should be hemmed in by enemies. The time must come when England would be in a difficulty; and then, instead of finding Irishmen bound by loyalty to support her Empire, they would be found, as O'Connell had before told the House, ready to make her difficulty their opportunity.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that if ever the time came when, in the words of the hon. Member for Ennis, these Islands were hemmed in by enemies, he believed there would be found among the subjects of the Queen men numerous enough and strong enough not to have yielded to the influence and arts of the demagogue and the agitator, ready to defend their hearths and homes, to maintain law and order, and to sustain the authority of the Queen in a country in which, amid all the Empires of the world, true liberty and true freedom were to be found. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had declared—and the statement had been repeated by the hon. Member for Ennis—that the Bill was aimed at the rights and liberties of the tenantry of Ireland, in the interests of the landlords who were the English garrison in Ireland. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) could imagine no enemy of a country so dangerous as the man who sought to foment and keep up ill-feeling between different classes, and to spread disorder and terror where order and peace should prevail. The Bill was not levelled at the liberties of the people of Ireland, because the people of Ireland had never yet claimed as one of the liberties of their country the right to commit murder and to spread terror with impunity. In Ireland, as in England, it was the right of the people that their lives and property should be secure. In the present state of things in Ireland the Government did not consider that the lives and the property of individuals in that country were safe; and accordingly they had presented this Bill to the House with the view of putting an end to the reign of terror that now prevailed there. It was unnecessary for him at that time to go back through all the sickening tales of murder, wrong, and injury which had been recently perpetrated in Ireland during the past few months, which must be fresh in the memory of hon. Members, and which had brought about the intolerable despotism and insufferable tyranny which prevailed in that country at the present moment, displacing all order. The present system of terror which was now in force in Ireland was established and kept up, not by armed men garrisoning the whole of the country, but by bands of armed men who went about and struck terror into the minds of individuals whenever and wherever they deemed it necessary for their purposes that they should do so. It would be sufficient for him to refer to recent instances, which showed how the terror—which no one now could deny existed—was inspired. He did not altogether object to the reports in the newspapers of the day, and hon. Members opposite had repeatedly referred with honourable pride to the part they had taken in the journalism of the day. It hardly, therefore, came well from these hon. Members to impeach the reports of newspapers. The case of Mr. Hearne referred to by his right hon. Friend yesterday occurred on the 28th of February, and it was almost incredible that it should have happened. There was the case of a gentleman in a civilized country, within a few yards of his own door, a petty sessions clerk, and a small landowner, who was followed, and shot down by two men armed with revolvers. Six bullets took effect on the unfortunate victim, and in a few minutes he was carried to his house, as was feared, fatally wounded. Was that not such a case as required the Government to pluck the weapon from the red hand of the assassin? He saw from an account of the matter which appeared in the newspapers that Mr. Hearne had received a threatening letter a few months previously, and that fact was a sufficient answer to those who asserted that threatening letters were not followed up by acts of outrage. As it was not entered in the return of outrages, it would appear as if Mr. Hearne had acted upon the recommendation of some hon. Members, and treated that threatening letter with contempt, and attempted murder then had followed. He did not wish to go through cases which had been referred to in the debates recently; but could hon. Members picture to themselves this circumstance occurring in a civilized country? In the county of Kerry, near the village of Ballymacelligot, a band of 50 armed and disguised men went through the district at night, entered house after house, and carried away 40 guns, besides money. Though disguised, there were two men named Marshall and Sullivan, who were members of the Land League, and who had been arrested on suspicion of complicity in this outrage, on the evidence of a person whose house was attacked. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) did not make this charge against the Land League. He was only quoting the account in the paper; but the Government looked at the fact, and it was necessary to look at those facts, for they were bound to preserve the subjects of the Queen from murder and outrage of this kind, by whomsoever they might be committed. This act of outrage occurred on the 27th. There was a raid of 150 men at Loughrea, and no one identified or traced, though this was repudiated by the Land League. On the 24th February an armed party burst into four houses at Errislannan in Connemara. This could not be charged to the Land League. It appeared to have arisen out of differences of another kind, being of a religious nature; but the Government had to regard these facts, and it was immaterial, in that view, what were the causes of these outrages. In this case shots were fired; an old man, named Ward, was shot through the arm, and the slug could not be extracted. Could such proceedings be allowed to continue, or were the Government to disarm these men, who swaggered about by day, and roamed in gangs at night? A few days before that, in a peaceful district in Ireland, a part of the county of Cork, a Mr. Lysaght received a threatening letter, and a month after his ploughman was fired at and hit while ploughing his master's land, and the would-be assassin then leaped the hedge, and attacked the ploughman, who had fallen senseless, with the coulter of the plough. The man who was wounded was ploughing a field which his master had bought and paid for in the usual way. It appeared, therefore, that no outrage was too horrible to be perpetrated by certain persons in Ireland. Then there was another case — that of Mr. Dunscombe, having property at King Williamstown, on the borders of Cork and Kerry—as the crow flies, some 30 miles from Cork. At 3 o'clock in the morning, his daughter-in-law (Mrs. Dunscombe) residing in a suburb of Cork, was awoke by finding three men in her house, two of them armed with revolvers; their faces were blackened, and they were dressed as countrymen usually are. They searched the entire house for her father-in-law, who they thought was in the house, and who had also received threatening letters. Now, here is case also where the threatening letters had been received before, and the executioners of the sentence were found in the house with a couple of revolvers at 3 o'clock in the morning. He thought that they could not say that they were not there for the purpose of executing the threat contained in the letters. Let hon. Members picture to themselves such a state of things as that —they might as well have visited her in a London suburb, such as Highgate. Then it had been argued that those arms were mere toys. If the so-called toys were used for the purposes of mutilation, for the purposes of murder, the sooner such toys were taken out of the hands of the people the better it would be for the country. They had heard of the unfortunate murder of Mr. Boyd, which took place within a mile and a-half of New Ross. That murder was committed on the high road, and in the Sunday afternoon, and when large numbers of people might have been about. The scene of the murder was commanded by the whole of the hillside. What were the instruments employed on that occasion? Three rifles were used. He had seen them. They all bore the Tower mark. They had been converted into breech-loaders with a military bayonet attached, and had been so contrived and altered that they could be taken to pieces and be easily hid, or readily carried if necessary. What was the object of that contrivance? Judging by the result, it was murder. Now, here is what exists in Ireland; this is what a great part of the country has come to through diseased and disorganized public opinion; and he put it to hon. Gentlemen on the opposite seats whether they expected the Executive to stand by and do nothing while such proceedings went on? The Government, in bringing forward the measure, had asked to be armed with power, not to invade the privileges of a people who did not assert that crime was one of the Constitutional privileges of the nation, but for the purposes, if possible, of taking weapons from the hands of assassins, and would-be murderers; to deprive them of the weapons by means of which they exercised their tyranny, those who swaggered about by day, and marauded about at night, creating terror and alarm. The Government desired to protect the people so that they might live in peace and quietness, and not be disturbed by these domiciliary visits. In the Blue Book presented to the House, which had been referred to in the course of the debate, it would be found that there was armed party after armed party visiting different people here and there. The remarkable circumstance was that, in many instances, he found that injury was inflicted because the person on whom it was inflicted had paid his rent; many injuries were committed besides, because it was not known whether the man had paid his rent or not, but it was assumed that he had. In one case in Kerry, however, it had not been made a matter of speculation—it had been made a matter of business. The visitants would not take the answer as to whether the man had paid his rent, but fired several shots, and demanded the pass-book to see whether it had been paid in accordance with their valuation views. The hon. Member for Sligo County (Mr. Sexton) had said that measures of this kind did not decrease the number of agrarian outrages; but was that so? In 1866 the whole number of agrarian outrages in Ireland was 87, in 1867 they rose to 123, in 1868 to 160, in 1869 to 767, and in 1870, before the Land Act was passed, to 1,339. In 1871, when the Westmeath Act was passed, the 1,339 fell down to 373, in 1872 to 256, in 1873 to 254, and in 1874 to 213.

Mr. SEXTON: I referred to offences connected with the use of deadly weapons.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): The agrarian outrages rests on one basis alone—and that is the basis of terror. It is not the act of violence done to an individual, but the general terror and alarm in the country that prevented men who fulfilled their obligations from remaining free agents. Arms were carried about to intimidate the people; and if that were not sufficient, then it became necessary to resort to the violence of mutilation and assassination by arms. Yet they were told that these Acts were of no use. Various criticisms had been passed on the Bill. An hon. Member had told them that he thought the gun licence, which would not be interfered with under the Bill, would be a sufficient safeguard against firearms getting into improper hands. That, however, was not so; and, moreover, the police could not interfere in a matter, which was purely one of excise. As to a district which was to be proclaimed, a difficulty under former similar Acts had been avoided; and now the district could be limited to any place—even, for instance, a street, or half a street, if necessary. The hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) had said that he found nothing in the Bill which prevented its application being extended to a pitchfork. It would, however, be found, on reference to the Bill, that the definition of arms included cannon, gun, revolver, pistol; and any description of firearms and other arms not so described were described as sword, cutlass, pike, and bayonet. The criticism of the hon. and learned Member was, therefore, not well-founded. With regard to the objections taken to the provisions of the present Act by the hon. and gallant Member for the County Galway (Major Nolan), he did not think that any of them could be maintained. With respect to the first objection, as to the exemption of certain classes from the operation of the Act, for the purpose of insuring which provisions had been entered in the Act of 1870, he had examined all the previous Acts, and he found that the persons exempted were Her Majesty's Forces, Militia officers, Constabulary special constables, Coastguardmen, and magistrates. These provisions had been simply omitted in order to avoid the multiplicity of detail which was the general complaint against Acts of Parliament. The Lord Lieutenant would have the power of excluding any class from the operation of the Act; and the elimination from the Act of those details made it so clear that all who "run may read." The next objection taken was that in the Act of 1875 it had been provided that, upon the certificate of two Justices of the Peace, it would be imperative upon the licensing officer to grant an arms' licence to an occupier of land. But those provisions were put in the Act for the obvious reason of affording an opportunity to tenants of agricultural holdings to have a gun for the purpose of scaring away crows and other such uses. The Lord Lieutenant, he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) apprehended, would only put the Act in force where it was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the peace that the people should be disarmed; therefore, such a provision would be unnecessary in the Act; but as in the case to which he had previously referred, which occurred in Ballymacelligot, in many cases, where it was not necessary to disarm the farmers themselves, it was absolutely necessary that the arms in their possession should be put into safe keeping, so that they might not fall into the hands of midnight marauders, as in that instance. The next objection was with reference to the power of searching a person suspected. But he might inform the House that the provisions in the present Act were the same exactly as in the preceding ones. In fact, in the present Act, the powers in this respect were decidedly modified. Formerly, anyone had the power of searching a suspected person; but now the authority to do so was proposed to be vested only in Justices of the Peace and peace officers —individuals by whom the power was likely to be exercised with as little danger of injustice as possible. The next criticism of the hon. and gallant Gentleman was as to the omission of a clause from the Act which appeared in the last one, providing that when a person was acquitted on a charge of having arms in his possession, he was entitled to a certificate setting forth the fact of such dismissal. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) was entirely at a loss to discover how that provision came to be inserted in the last Act, as it was the law of the land since 1853, and was wholly unnecessary. Not alone a person charged with an offence under the Act, but with any offence whatever, was, under the ordinary provisions of the Petty Sessions Act, entitled to a certificate of the decision, signed by any Justice of the Peace, and not alone a convicting Justice. All the orders that would be made under this measure were to be laid, within a limited time, before Parliament, where they would be open to criticism.

At this point,

MESSAGE to attend THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

The House went; — and being returned;—

MR. SPEAKER *reported* the *Royal Assent to,*—

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) BILL.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) resumed: By the Act of 1847, a maximum sentence of imprisonment for two years, with or without hard labour, might be passed. In 1875, Parliament altered the penalty by reducing the imprisonment to a period not exceeding one year; and the Justices, with the consent of the person charged, were vested with a summary jurisdiction, in the exercise of which they might impose a sentence of not more than three months' imprisonment. In this Bill, the jurisdiction was further limited by the abolition of the imprisonment for one year, and the substitution of summary jurisdiction not exceeding three months, or a fine not exceeding £20. Thus, for the first time under this Bill, the alternative of a small pecuniary penalty might be substituted, at the discretion of the magistrates, for the more serious penalty of imprisonment. Beyond that, he must say, there was nothing unprecedented in the duration given to the Bill; for the Act of 1875 provided for its continuance for five years till the 1st June, 1880. He had still to observe that hon. Members had attacked the representatives of law and order in Ireland. From the Judges upon the Bench to the magistrates in Petty Sessions, no person was too high nor too low not to be subjected sometimes to the exceedingly good-humoured and sometimes, he would say, if it were not un-Parliamentary, to the insolent observations of hon. Gentlemen in that House.

MR. O'DONNELL rose to Order, and asked the Speaker, whether it was Parliamentary for the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that hon. Members made insolent observations?

MR. SPEAKER motioned the hon. and learned Gentleman to proceed.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) explained that he had said if it were not un-Parliamentary he would use the word; but he did not use it, because it was not Parliamentary.

MR. O'DONNELL inquired whether that form of expression was in Order?

Mr. SPEAKER said, he had not quite caught the expression.

Mr. O'DONNELL: The expression, Sir, was—that if it were Parliamentary the hon. and learned Member would say that the observations of the Irish Members were insolent.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had not quoted him quite accurately. He had said that, from Judges to magistrates, no one was too high or too low not to be subjected to the sometimes exceedingly good-humoured, and sometimes, he would say, if it were not un-Parliamentary, to the insolent observations of hon. Gentlemen in that House.

Mr. SPEAKER thought that the hon. and learned Member would see the propriety of withdrawing that expression.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that, after that intimation, he would, of course, withdraw the expression. He would not characterize the language at all, because there appeared to be no expression Parliamentary enough to convey his opinion on the subject. He would conclude by saying that at all times there was a class in all communities to which all rulers were necessarily objectionable. But all would remember the expression, for rulers were not a terror to good works, but to the evil.

Mr. DAWSON said, that, if the Government had put forward their Senior Wrangler to introduce the Bill, it appeared as if they had intrusted its defence to the Junior Freshman, for a more lamentable case of failure to prove the necessity of a measure he had never heard than the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He had gone back upon the erroneous statistics and other worthless Papers presented to the House, and referred to murders in Ireland; but he (Mr. Dawson) would put it to the House whether it was becoming of the hon. and learned Gentleman to reiterate the calumny against the Irish people, after the untenableness of the assertion had been shown over and over again? The hon. and learned Gentleman had brought forward another case of threatening letters to justify the Government. It was, however, not included in the Government's famous list of 1,327, but had been sprung upon the house at that 11th hour as an additional reason for this Bill. With regard to shooting at the police, why was not the shooting affair at Kensington considered a proof of the necessity for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and an Arms Act in England?

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL WAR—THE LATEST TELEGRAMS.

In reply to a Question from Mr. Gibson,

Mr. CHILDERS said, that the only later news which had arrived at the War Office since the receipt of the telegram which he had read to the House last night was a telegram giving the nominal list of the officers killed, wounded, and missing, which had appeared in the newspapers of that morning. They had, he thought, one communication since then; but it was of no importance.

METROPOLITAN COMMONS SUPPLEMENTAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Courtney, Bill to confirm a scheme under "The Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866," and "The Metropolitan Commons Amendment Act, 1869," relating to Brook Green, Eel Brook Common, Parson's Green, and another piece of waste land adjoining the King's Road, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 3rd *March,* 1881.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Committee* — *Report*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Clonakilty, &c.) * (31).

Report—Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) * (37).

CANDAHAR.—RESOLUTION.

The Earl of LYTTON, in rising to move the following Resolution :—

> "That nothing in the information laid before this House justifies the announced policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Candahar,"

said: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of moving the Resolution of which I have given lengthened Notice. My Lords, it is not without a deep sense of responsibility that I ask your Lordships to place upon record this expression of opinion. The security of the Queen's great Empire in India is an object which all British statesmen must have equally at heart, and in the promotion of that object I do not attribute any monopoly of patriotism to either side of this House. Deeply as I deplore—and I do most deeply deplore — the intention announced by Her Majesty's Ministers with regard to Candahar, still I am persuaded that it does at least represent their conscientious estimate of what they consider sufficient for the attainment of an end which their Predecessors in Office no less conscientiously endeavoured to attain by stronger and more far-reaching measures. If this intention had been irrevocably carried out, I should have shrunk from suggesting to others those causes for anxiety which it certainly creates in my own mind. But, fortunately, both for the safety of India and the honour of England, that intention, although the announcement of it has been reiterated, is not yet carried out; and in the situation it concerns there is much which seems likely to render both difficult and dangerous any immediate attempt to carry it out. In these circumstances, there is still time for further inquiry and reflection; and I confess I am not altogether without hope that if, on full examination of it, your Lordships should be led to the conclusion that the difficulties and dangers of this situation are of a permanent rather than a temporary character, Her Majesty's Ministers may even still be induced to re-consider a decision at which they appear to have arrived upon, to say the least, a very rapid and summary survey of the circumstances affected by it and the authorities opposed it. My Lords, whatever view may be taken of the policy which induced the late Government of India to maintain a permanent and powerful military control over Western Afghanistan, I can assure your Lordships that this was, at least, the deliberate determination of a unanimous Administration, acting upon the no less unanimous advice of all the most competent authorities in India at that time. It was not the arbitrary fiat of a Viceroy or a Secretary of State. It was wholly uninfluenced by the passions of Parties or the humours of persons; and it was not a hasty decision. It cost the late Government of India a much longer time to arrive at this decision than it has taken Her Majesty's Ministers to announce their intention of reversing it. On all the grounds of it, there was a complete unanimity of conviction between the Supreme Government of India and the two great Frontier Governments of the Punjaub and Bombay. Indeed, I doubt whether in the whole history of Indian Administration the action of the Governor General in Council has ever been supported on a question of equal importance by a stronger or more authoritative body of opinion in India itself. But, my Lords, this is not all. Your Lordships will remember that at the time when the Queen assumed the Imperial title in India, Her Majesty was pleased to mark her confidence in the loyalty of the Feudatory Courts by appointing many of their Rulers to be Imperial Councillors to the Suzerain Power. Now, this question of Candahar concerns all the interests of India, regarded as an Imperial whole; and I cannot imagine a question upon which the Viceroy might, with greater advantage or propriety, place himself in personal communication with those Princely representatives of Native sentiment and opinion in India. I do not mean to say that it is always possible, or even advisable, to treat Asiatic questions from a purely Asiatic point of view; but I do say it is most advisable to endeavour to ascertain that point of view, and not to underrate the practical importance of it in dealing with such questions. Be that as it may, I did personally and confidentially discuss this question with all the chief Feudatory Princes of Northern and Central India; and I do not hesitate to say that our policy respecting Candahar was in accordance with the opinions they expressed to me about it. As regards Native opinion in the Provinces under our own immediate administration, I could pass hours, were it worth while to do so, in reading to your Lordships both public addresses and private letters expressing, on the part of all classes of the Native community of British India, their sympathetic approval of our policy on the subject of Candahar. And, lastly, I will remind your Lordships that Her Majesty has upon the North-West Frontier of her Indian Empire, besides the Ameer of Cabul, another great neighbour — a neighbour whose interests are vitally concerned in the retention or abandonment of Candahar. That neighbour is the Khan of Khelat, our loyal and useful ally. Well, my Lords, the Khan of Khelat has repeatedly evinced his lively satisfaction on account of our policy about Candahar; and, since my return to this country, I have received from His Highness a letter, expressing his hope that it will not be disturbed. My Lords, I will not dwell any longer upon this aspect of the question. I trust I have said enough to satisfy your Lordships that the retention of our military control over Western Afghanistan is a policy advised by all the most competent authorities in India, approved by Native as well as European opinion in that country, and congenial to the only Asiatic ally upon whose active loyalty you can confidently reckon, so long as you do not disregard the protection of his interests in the prosecution of your own. Surely such a policy ought not to be set aside without grave consideration and convincing evidence of the obligation to abandon it. And, in point of fact, my Lords, not long before the announcement made to us in the gracious Speech from the Throne, this was the opinion apparently entertained—it was certainly the opinion publicly expressed—by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India. All attempts to elicit from him any premature declaration of policy on the subject of Candahar were repelled, and I think most properly repelled, by the noble Marquess. He pointed out that the new Government and the new Viceroy had only just come into Office; that they found themselves confronted with facts and considerations, not previously familiar to them, which it would be their duty to study very carefully, in consultation with their political and military advisers in India; and that, until all the facts and opinions bearing on this question had been laid before them and seriously examined, Her Majesty's Government could not form, still less could they express, any decision about Candahar. That was, I think, a sound, a statesmanlike, and an honourable statement of the position of the present Government, and of its responsibilities in reference to this question. But how has that statement been carried out? I think your Lordships would like to know, and, on a question so vital to their interests, I think that the people of India and of England are entitled to know, what is the opinion of the new Viceroy, and what is the advice tendered to Lord Ripon by his Councillors in India. To these questions the Government have vouchsafed us no reply. Pressed by an increasing public opinion to show some ground for what appeared to be a foregone conclusion arrived at without reference to the Government of India, Her Majesty's Ministers have, at the ninth hour, produced certain documents—and what are they? They have laid before your Lordships a very lengthy Minute of my own, written three years ago, previous to the first Afghan campaign, before a shot had been fired in Afghanistan, and at a time when the Government of India was not only most anxious, but still hopeful to avoid hostilities with the Ameer of that country. Now, in this Minute I reviewed from a general, and, I may say, a confidential standpoint, a variety of hypothetical contingencies; but I did not review, because I could not review, the situation that did subsequently arise—that situation with which the Government of India had to deal—and with which it has still to deal—with especial reference to Candahar after Candahar has been twice conquered by British troops, after a British Mission has been massacred at Cabul, and after the discovery at Cabul of those most sinister documents which are now upon the Table of this House. I have no personal objection to the publication of this Minute; but I need hardly point out to your Lordships that it was intended for confidential consideration by my Advisers and by the Cabinet of England. This is the first time that I have ever heard of a Government publishing, for the information of foreign Powers, the confidential discussions and speculations of its own authorities about its means of international defence and attack. Therefore, although I have no personal objection to the publication of that Minute, I must say that I think its publication was not a necessary, that it was not a wise, and certainly that it was not a patriotic act on the part of Her Majesty's Government. In addition to this document Her Majesty's Government have furnished us with a series of lucubrations by a gentleman who I believe was once, many years ago, a Judge at Bombay, and who never in the whole course of his life, so far as I know, was directly concerned in the responsible Administration of India, or intrusted with any responsible employment on the Frontier. They have also given us a variety of opinions by other gentlemen not connected with the Government of India. Some of these gentlemen are no doubt men of ability, and one of them is an officer of great eminence and deserved reputation acquired from his successful conduct of campaigns, not in India, but in Africa. But all these gentlemen, whatever their ability, labour under an essential disqualification for giving any authoritative opinion on the precise question before your Lordships, because they, one and all of them, are destitute of any recent local or personal experience in regard to the circumstances which have created this question, and with which the Government of India has been dealing in reference to it. No doubt the noble Duke the Lord Privy Seal has told your Lordships that the contemplated action of Her Majesty's Government as to Candahar is in accordance with the opinions of former Viceroys, and also of former Secretaries of State for India — himself being one of the latter. Now, I do not yield to the noble Duke or to any one of my countrymen in my feeling of veneration for the great men who in former times have governed India; and I listened with amazement to the denunciations of the noble Duke when last month in this House he accused me personally of having gone out to India expressing myself, as he said, in terms of condemnation and contempt towards all former Viceroys from Lord Auckland to Lord Northbrook. Since the noble Duke made that statement I have referred to every one of my public utterances both in India and England, upon Indian affairs, and I defy the noble Duke to find in any one of them a single syllable that can in the least degree warrant such an accusation. This, my Lords, is a very small matter, and perhaps I ought to apologize for noticing it; but I should feel myself unworthy to stand here and appeal to your judgment on a question of the greatest national importance if, on any previous occasion, I had been guilty of the vanity and folly attributed to me by the noble Duke. I hope, however, that it is not inconsistent with due respect to former Viceroys to say that the question we are now concerned with, and the particular circumstances which have forced that question on the Government of India and the Government of England, had not arisen in the time of former Viceroys, and could not possibly have engaged the practical attention of those eminent men. Former Viceroys were not called upon to deal with the established influence of the Government of Russia at Cabul; they were not called upon, under immense responsibilities, to study those Russian revelations which we have found at Cabul; and surely the known opinions of all the most competent and responsible authorities in India who have been practically dealing with these circumstances and this question during the last five years ought not to be invalidated by a vague reference to the opinions of former Viceroys and former Secretaries of State in regard to essentially different circumstances and a totally different situation. I must say, moreover, that the great importance which has been attached by the noble Duke opposite to the opinions of eminent men no longer personally concerned in the government of India or its affairs appears to me difficult to reconcile with the reason lately given by the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) for withholding so long from the knowledge of this House and the country the very strong opinion expressed on this precise question by my noble Friend the late Commander-in-Chief in India. The noble Duke told us that the Government did not think it worth while to furnish us with the opinion of Lord Napier of Magdala on this question, because he was no longer personally connected with the military or the political affairs of the North-West Frontier of India. But was the late Lord Lawrence so connected with those affairs at the time when his opinions, expressed more than 20 years ago, were so vehemently invoked by noble Lords opposite, and so vociferously proclaimed from every Radical platform, by all the drummers and trumpeters of their party? No, my Lords! of the terrible mandate issued by Her Majesty's Ministers for the repudiation of British pledges, and the virtual destruction of British influence, in Afghanistan, there is only one intelligible explanation. It is the only explanation in regard to which Her Majesty's Government have not shifted their ground between finance and morals; it is the only explanation on which they have constantly laid stress, and to which they have appealed with a great appearance of pride; and, therefore, I do them no injustice if I assume that this explanation represents the real motive of their contemplated action in regard to Candahar. It cannot be doubted that the means placed in the hands of the Government of India to exercise from Candahar a powerful military control over Western Afghanistan represents one of the most important results of the late Afghan War. But the present Ministers, before they came into Office, before they had any opportunity of studying the facts, the origin, and the circumstances of that war, or the situation in regard to which it should be practically considered, pledged themselves—not, my Lords, to the people of India, not to the people of England, but to the most violent and most ignorant of their own political supporters, to treat that Afghan War, if they could, as an interpolated record in the authentic pages of the history of India—a record to be torn out or obliterated, if possible, by reverting, regardless of its existence, to what? To their old policy, with its old results, to the old reliance upon Russian promises, with the old confidence in Afghan friendship, the old faith in English inactivity, associated in their recollection with those palmy days when the lion and the lamb lay down together, under the joint administration of the noble Duke opposite and the noble Earl the late Viceroy of India. My Lords, believing, as I do, that this Golden Age is a fiction, I am perfectly content to place the whole question of Candahar upon the issue of its historical truth. That issue has been greatly simplified by an important admission lately elicited from Her Majesty's Ministers, who have now told us, not only that they do not dispute, but that they unreservedly, endorse the principle laid down by every Indian administrator, and by every British statesman, that Russian influence in Afghanistan is incompatible with British power in India, and that, even at any cost, it must be excluded or counteracted. That being the case, the expediency of retaining or abandoning Candahar is narrowed from a question of principle to a question of fact. If, as a matter of fact, the policy to which Her Majesty's Government is now so confidently reverting did succeed in excluding or counteracting Russian influence in Afghanistan, then, notwithstanding the events and revelations of the last five years, there is a *primâ facie* case for reverting to that policy, and resting content with its results. But if, on the other hand, that policy wholly failed, upon the fullest and fairest trial, to achieve this result; if, as a matter of fact, it actually facilitated the establishment of Russia's influence in Afghanistan, and if I can satisfy your Lordships that such influence is a serious danger to the British power in India, then I think there will be very few noble Lords who will not share the feeling of extreme alarm with which I contemplate this reversion to the principles and results of it. Let us come to facts. The discussion of them is further simplified by the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty, who has told your Lordships that, during the whole period of his Viceroyalty, he had no reason whatever to suppose that the Russian Government was seeking any influence in Afghanistan, or that the action of its Central Asian authorities was in the least degree incompatible with a loyal observance of its engagement towards our own Government. I listened to that statement with great surprise. My impressions are materially at variance with those of the noble Earl. I have the strongest possible reason to suppose, and not only to suppose, but to assert most positively, that the whole period of the noble Earl's Viceroyalty was marked by incessant and successful efforts on the part of the Russian authorities to establish an illegitimate influence in Afghanistan; and I further assert that this influence was constantly directed towards the formation of a Russo-Afghan Alliance for purposes which, if they could have been carried out, would have shattered the whole fabric of British power in India.

What I assert I trust I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of your Lordships without detaining your attention at any inordinate length upon this preliminary, but essential, point. Your Lordships will doubtless recollect that Russia's engagement not to seek any influence in Afghanistan was given in 1869. The attempts of her authorities to acquire such an influence commenced as early as the spring of the following year. They began with a complimentary letter from General Kaufmann, answered by the Ameer in terms dictated by the Viceroy of India, who was then Lord Mayo, and who, naturally enough, saw nothing in that letter to object to or complain of. But, my Lords, the Correspondence, thus commenced by the Russian Governor General, gradually, indeed I might say rapidly, assumed a more practical and significant character. And in the summer of 1872 he addressed to the Ameer of Cabul a communication about the boundaries of Bokhara, which caused considerable sensation in the Cabul Durbar. The Ameer was seriously alarmed by that communication. He lost no time in forwarding to the Viceroy a confidential message, in which he expressed his anxiety and apprehension about Russia's apparent designs upon Khiva; and he appealed to the British Government to protect him from the attempts of the Russian authorities to establish regular and frequent communication with Afghanistan. Well, my Lords, this appeal was made to the British Government in 1872; and, in reply to it, the Ameer was advised to thank General Kaufmann for the friendly sentiments of a letter which had caused His Highness so much uneasiness. Thus encouraged General Kaufmann continued his correspondence; and, in the autumn of the same year, the Russian officer acting for him at Tashkend informed the Afghan Governor of Balkh, at the desire of the Russian Government—

> "That the friendly relations subsisting between the Russians and the Afghans should become more firm and consolidated daily."—[*Central Asia,* No. 1. (1881). pp. 7-8.]

My Lords, pray consider this expression. Firm and consolidated relations between the Russians, and a State excluded from the sphere of their influence! On this the Cabul Durbar observed—

> "Notwithstanding the Russians are well aware that the Government of Afghanistan is united with the British Government, they openly write unsolicited letters for the promotion of their friendship with Afghanistan, and do not relax in the frequency of their communications on the subject."

The Ameer, however, was again informed by the Viceroy that the British Government in nowise shared, or approved, his dissatisfaction at the increasing frequency and significance of these unsolicited communications. His Highness, consequently, ceased to consult the British Government about them; and in the winter of 1873 the acting Governor General of Russian Turkestan appears to have considered himself in a position to address Shere Ali as a subordinate ally of the Russian Government.

> "I entertain the hope," he wrote, "that the High Governor General will not refuse your request, and that he will represent to His Majesty the Emperor your conscientious mode of action and your endeavour to become worthy of the grace of my august Master."—[*Ibid.*, p. 8.]

Worthy, my Lords, of the grace of a potentate from whose influence we, in our innocence, understood the Ameer's dominions to be solemnly excluded! Well, at the close of that year the Ameer's disregarded apprehensions had been justified by the Russian conquest of Khiva. From the Governor General of British India, to whom he had so recently confided those apprehensions, he received no communication whatever on the realization of them. But he did receive from the Governor General of Russian Turkestan a long communication on this subject. It was followed by a significant change in the tone of his own communications with the Viceroy, whom the Ameer then, for the first time, addressed in a form forbidden by established etiquette, and for which no precedent could be found in our Indian archives. My Lords, while Shere Ali was thus beginning to display his estrangement from the Government of India, these are the terms in which he was being addressed by the Government of Russian Turkestan in the spring of 1874—

> "I hope that after your death Sirdar Abdulla Jan will follow your example, and make himself an ally and friend of the Emperor."—[*Ibid.*, p. 10.]

The ally and friend, that is, of a Power pledged to treat Afghanistan as a State entirely beyond the sphere of its influence! Why, what more than a friend and ally could the Ameer have been to the British Government? This letter was quickly followed up by another from General Kaufmann himself on the same subject. The Russian Governor General writes—

> "I hope that the chain of friendship now existing between Russia and Afghanistan will in future increase and become firm, owing to the recent alliance between the Emperor of Russia and the Queen of England."

And he adds—

> "I doubt not that this alliance of the two Powers will be an omen for those countries which, under the protection of the Emperor of Russia and the Queen of England, live in great peace and comfort."—[*Ibid.*, p. 10.]

And the writer adds that he is in a position to assure the Ameer that the British Government is well disposed towards His Highness. My Lords, to European ears these words may sound unimportant, although, no doubt, your Lordships will appreciate the skill with which a matrimonial alliance between two reigning Houses is here represented as a political alliance between two Empires —an alliance, moreover, having special reference to the treatment of Afghanistan by the Allied Governments. Nor need I dwell upon the significant anxiety to convey to the Ameer of Cabul assurances which would have come, to say the least, more naturally from the Viceroy of India. But Orientals are accustomed to study phraseology of this kind with the utmost nicety, and to read between the lines suggestions of what "more is meant than meets the ear." Upon receiving this letter the Cabul Durbar observed—"The Russian Government has now made itself partner in the protection of Afghanistan." Whatever impression this letter may have been intended to convey, that is the impression that it did actually convey; that is the impression which the Ameer of Cabul communicated to the Government of India; and as that impression was left uncorrected by the Government of India, it naturally continued to influence the Ameer's appreciation of his position. My Lords, if this incessant talk about chains of friendship, and firm and consolidated relations, was in anywise compatible with the plain terms of the Russian engagement of 1869, surely that engagement is not worth the paper it was written on. I am not aware that the British Government is under any similar engagement to regard Khiva and Bokhara as excluded from the sphere of its influence; although, as a matter of fact, we do not interfere in the affairs of those countries. But if the Government of India, or its Frontier authorities, allowed themselves to send constant messages and letters to the Princes of Khiva and Bokhara, exhorting them to become worthy of the grace of our August Mistress, by strengthening the chain of our friendship and alliance with them, can any of your Lordships doubt that the Russian Government would call upon the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to put a stop to such provocative proceedings? For my part, I am persuaded that the demand would be peremptory, and that the noble Earl would promptly and courteously comply with it. And more than this, my Lords; I feel no doubt that if Lord Lawrence had been Viceroy in 1872 and 1873, he would have then considered it just as necessary to protect Afghanistan from the obtrusive patronage of Russia as it was, he said, in 1868 to protect that State from her far less probable, and far less dangerous, hostility.

My Lords, we have heard from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the authority of the Russian Ambassador in London, that these terms, "friendship and alliance" do not really mean friendship and alliance; that, in fact, they do not exactly mean anything at all; and that we are to regard them as extraordinary mistranslations. Now, I must ask leave to remind your Lordships that the letters in which these terms occur, and they occur in all the Russian letters to Shere Ali, were written in Persian. Those letters have been translated over and over again by a series of experts in India; and I am loth to believe that the Government of India is so ill-served that its officials are more ignorant of the Persian language than are those of the Russian Government at Taskhend. But one thing is certain — whatever these terms were meant to imply, they were interpreted by the Ameer of Cabul, to whom they were addressed, as meaning friendship and alliance in the fullest and most practical sense of such words.

But here, my Lords, I must notice an event which I cannot but regard as the turning point—the fatal turning point —in our relations with Afghanistan. In the year 1873 Shere Ali reviewed his position. There was much in it which, rightly or wrongly, he regarded with avowed dissatisfaction and increasing anxiety.

He had the wisdom to perceive in time that Afghanistan, or, at least, its Ruler, could not permanently stand alone in a condition of complete independence and isolation between the British and Russian Empires. He saw one Power apologizing and advancing, the other expostulating and standing still. And he saw that, sooner or later, he must practically throw in his lot with that Power which might prove, not only best able, but also most willing, to befriend and assist him. Recent events had convinced him that the time was at hand when his final choice must be made. He had also the shrewdness to see that the alliance of a wild, warlike State like Afghanistan, lying between the no longer distant bounds of their respective Empires, would be a political acquisition of considerable value to either England or Russia, and that he was in a position to offer it to the highest bidder. He offered it first to the British Government, with a result which disappointed his expectation; and Russia, who was obviously the best able, proved also the most willing, to make the highest bid for it. If he joined her in a quarrel with us, she could offer him the re-conquest of half the Punjaub, the plunder of Peshawur, and perhaps a slice of Persia. If he joined us in a quarrel with her, what could we offer him on the other hand? Absolutely nothing, except this — the guaranteed and unconditional assurance that we would, against all comers and in all eventualities, maintain for him what he already possessed; and even this guarantee the noble Earl in consultation with the noble Duke declined to give him. When Shere Ali found himself placed in that position —when he saw that the British Government declined to give him the assurance he asked for—when he saw that the Viceroy of India was painfully afraid of giving the slightest umbrage to the Russian Government —when he saw the authorities of the Russian Government so reckless of the susceptibilities and rights of the British Government—is it surprising that he should then have lent a willing, and afterwards a greedy, ear to the constant assurances he was receiving from Tashkend of Russia's desire to consolidate and tighten with him what General Kaufmann correctly called "the chain of her friendship?"—that chain which ultimately dragged both the Ameer of Cabul and the Government of India into the sea of trouble he himself had in vain foreseen! One thing is perfectly certain —that the Ameer of Cabul lost no opportunity of publicly venting his disappointment and resentment at the result of his overtures to the Government of India. Nothing has more astonished me, in all previous discussions of our relations with Afghanistan, than the scant attention paid to the attitude of the Ameer towards the noble Earl who was then Viceroy of India after the summer of 1873. Before that time the Ameer of Cabul had promised Lord Mayo to encourage by all means in his power free intercourse between his subjects and ours. And he had talked of establishing great fairs for that purpose. I need scarcely say that he did nothing of the kind. But what did he do instead? He hermetically sealed his dominions to us, and maltreated his own subjects whenever he suspected them of intercourse with ours. The former Government of India had virtually constituted him sole guardian of the main passes into India by intrusting to him arrangements, which he undertook to carry out on our behalf, with the Pass Tribes, for keeping them permanently open to us. But, instead of doing this, he used his influence with those tribes to induce them to keep the passes permanently closed against us. Regardless of the repeated remonstrances of the Punjaub Government, he courted forbidden relations with the States to the East of Cabul. He curtly refused to the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) a passage through his dominions for a British Envoy, bound on a peaceful errand, to a neighbouring State. In spite of all these evidences of ill-will and hostility, the noble Earl continued to press upon him pecuniary assistance; and this he contemptuously rejected, leaving it untouched and unacknowledged in the Indian Treasuries.

This being the condition of the relations between Cabul and the Government of India at the time of which I am speaking, a great change occurred two years later, as far as its relations with the Russian Government were concerned. In the month of September, 1875, an Envoy from the Russian Governor General in Turkestan arrived at Cabul, and the Russian Government was from that time forward permanently represented to all intents and purposes at Cabul by incessant relays of special Envoys, the one always arriving before the other departed. The business of these Envoys could not be ascertained, for it was not transacted like that of our own Vakeel, openly, and in public Durbar, but secretly and at midnight with the Ameer himself. We are now told that these Envoys are not to be regarded as Russian Envoys, because they were not European, but Native subjects, and servants of the Russian Emperor. But really, my Lords, I cannot see that this makes any practical difference. Whether these gentlemen came from Bokhara or St. Petersburg, they were the agents of Russia, and were sent to Cabul in order to represent there the authority of the Russian Government, and to establish its influence. The Government of India was informed by its officiating Commissioner at Peshawur that—

> "The meaning of these frequent communications from Russia is obviously to establish friendly relations with the Afghans, and gain them over to an alliance with Russia. As soon as one agent is preparing to take his departure, another comes."

My Lords, I cannot think your Lordships will deem it unreasonable to connect these prolonged secret negotiations with the subsequent open despatch and reception of General Stolieteff's Mission; or to assume, as I did assume, and do assume, that they had some deeper object than a mere exchange of civilities between one Government and another, wholly excluded from the sphere of its legitimate influence. A Russian Envoy was at the Court of Shere Ali when I arrived in India; and I feel not a shadow of a doubt that, from the date I have mentioned, the Ameer was acting towards us under the established influence of Russian advice. And so matters went on, till the arrival of General Stolieteff at Cabul for the open conclusion of a Russo-Afghan Alliance against India. Upon the proceedings of General Stolieteff, and the advice given by him to the Ameer, I shall say nothing tonight. They are now known to your Lordships, and they speak for themselves. But I must refer to one commentary made upon them by the Ameer himself, as bearing upon the Peshawur Conference. At the time when our Envoy was in peaceful communication with the Ameer's Envoy, for the purpose of endeavouring to improve our relations with His Highness, that Prince was exhorting not only his subjects but his neighbours to prepare for a *jehad* against our rule in India—and I need not say that a *jehad*, being a religious war, is one of the most cruel and fanatical character. In September, 1878, however, when, from those who had promised him a permanent dominion at Peshawur, Shere Ali was obliged to crave a temporary lodging at St. Petersburgh, he published a Firman to his subjects explaining the advice of Russia, upon which he was acting. In this Firman he quotes a letter written to him by General Stolieteff from Livadia, and containing these words—

> "Like last year, you are to treat them (the English) with deceit and deception until the present cold season passes away; then the will of the Almighty will be made manifest to you—that is to say, the Russian Government having repeated the Bismillah, the Bismillah will come to your assistance."—[*Central Asia*, No. 1. (1881). p. 24.]

My Lords, what is the meaning of this allusion to "last year?"—

> "Like last year, you are to treat them with deceit and deception until the present cold season passes away."

What does this mean? Why, it can have but one meaning, and that meaning is plain. It means this—"The advice we give you now is the same as the advice we gave you last year, and on which you then acted so successfully at the Peshawur Conference. You must do now what you did then—engage the British Government in a deceptive and abortive negotiation for peace, in order to gain time for the preparation of war."

And now, my Lords, allow me to recapitulate the conclusions which appear to me established by the facts to which I have solicited your attention. On the strength of these facts I affirm once more that Russian influence at Cabul did not commence with the Stolieteff Mission, and that it did not cease with the withdrawal of that Mission. I affirm that for all practical purposes the late Ameer of Cabul had ceased to be the friend and ally of England, and that he had virtually become the friend and ally of Russia, at least three years before I had any dealings with His Highness, or any connection with the Government of India. I affirm that the sole cause of the late Afghan War was a Russian intrigue of long duration, for purposes which it was the imperative duty of the

Government of India to oppose at any cost. And, finally, I affirm that the establishment of Russian influence was caused by the collapse and paralysis of British influence at Cabul, and that this was the natural result of that deplorable policy to which Her Majesty's Government are now so eagerly reverting.

My Lords, all duties are reciprocal; and in face of the Russian engagement of 1869, one of two positions must be accepted by any British Government. Either that engagement leaves us responsible for the Ameer's conduct towards his other neighbours, or it does not. If it does, we must have, and use, the means of controlling conduct for the consequences of which we are responsible. If it does not, then the Ameer's other neighbours are clearly entitled to enforce against him, without any reference to us, his full responsibility for conduct affecting their interests. And, in doing this, his Russian neighbours may be compelled to enforce the influence of their power up to the very gates of India. Unless, therefore, we are willing as well as able to exercise in Afghanistan a paramount influence, involving an acknowledged responsibility, we forfeit the right to exclude Russian influence from that country, and the engagement of 1869 becomes a mischievous fiction, for neither can we enforce, nor Russia fulfil, the terms of it. This was fully, though fruitlessly, pointed out by Shere Ali, when in 1873 he said to our Cabul Agent—

> "Great anxiety weighs on me day and night, and I am not relieved in any moment from it, that the juxtaposition of boundaries with Russia will involve difficulty in making provision for the security of the borders in the interest of both Governments."

And again—

> "Time has approached very near when the Russians . . . . . will make communications for exercising some influence in my kingdom. It is as clear as daylight that, as soon as the Russians will take possession of Merv Shah Jehan, the Turcomans will necessarily take refuge in Badghees in Herat;"

and then he added—

> "Under these circumstances, such difficulty will present itself to me that even the British Government with regard to the interests of the Afghan and British Governments being identical, will have to adopt very serious measures for its removal."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 1, (1878) p. 111.]

My Lords, this reference by the Ameer of Cabul to the probable result of a Russian occupation of Merv reminds me of a duty I owe to my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. I regret very much that in some former remarks of mine I attributed to Mr. Grant Duff an opinion which he has not expressed and does not entertain. The opinion repeatedly expressed on this subject by Mr. Grant Duff is not—as I then erroneously supposed—that Russia's occupation of Merv would send a thrill to the heart of India, but that Merv is the first point at which Russian and British interests would come remotely into contact; that Merv lies inconveniently close to Herat, and that if Russia, having advanced to Merv, were to threaten Herat, it would then become our duty to go to war with her all over the world for the protection of Herat. My Lords, my divergence from the opinions of my right hon. Friend is less than my admiration for the clearness and candour with which he has recorded them. I do not think that Russia, if established at Merv, would threaten Herat, for she would have no cause to do so. But, without beating a drum, or firing a shot, her presence at Merv would silently, swiftly, and irresistibly establish at Herat that influence which, in the opinion of Liberal statesmen, must impose on us the exceedingly disagreeable, and probably very inconvenient, duty of going to war with her all over the world. This would be the inevitable result of such contiguity between an Asiatic population at Herat, and a great European Power so inconveniently close to Herat. But surely, my Lords, prevention is better than cure. Surely it is wiser and safer to stay at Candahar, whence we can exclude Russian influence from Herat by peaceably extending our own influence in that direction, than to retire to the Indus, and there passively await an event which is to involve us in a great European war for the purpose of undoing what could not otherwise have been done in a remote corner of Asia. The noble Duke (the Lord Privy Seal) has expressed his astonishment at the prodigious importance I now attach to the retention of Candahar, because, he says, I did not hold this opinion till a late period of my Viceroyalty. That is true—I did not. But, in the statement which elicited this remark, I thought I had explained the reason why. I can sincerely assure your Lordships that the late Government of India was not an annexionist Government. As long as we had any reasonable hope of loyalty on the part of Ayoob Khan, or of the observance of the Gandamak Treaty, which gave us moral guarantees of adequate control over Afghanistan, our wish was not to weaken, but to strengthen the Cabul Power; but the whole situation and our duty concerning it were changed irrevocably by the atrocious crime which compelled us to occupy Cabul, and by the revelations discovered at Cabul and now known to your Lordships, of the extent to which Russian influence had penetrated to the very heart of the country.

My Lords, it then seemed to all my Colleagues in the Government of India, and it still seems to me, that the only practical means of counteracting the dangerous consequences of Russian influence at Cabul would be to assume to ourselves over Western Afghanistan a controlling and commanding position, not dependent on the good or bad faith of any Cabul Ruler. Such control can only be exercised from Candahar. The history of the last eight years clearly shows, not merely that the Russian power is approaching, and must approach, toward India, but that Russia has long sought, is still seeking, and will continue to seek, great political influence over Afghanistan; that this influence has already found a fulcrum at Cabul; and that it must be a permanent source of disquiet to the British power in India, because it is to Russia the means of disturbing British power in India whenever she wishes to embarrass British policy in Europe. Therefore, for the safety of the British power in India, it is indispensable that the Government of India shall have the means of preventing—at all events, of counteracting—Russian influence in Afghanistan. But how are we to counteract it unless we can exercise in that country a more powerful and certain influence of our own? It is absurd to suppose that you can have any controlling power over a country in which you have no *locus standi* at all. Now, amongst the arrangements contemplated by Her Majesty's Government after the evacuation of Candahar, where do they expect to find a *locus standi* in Afghanistan? I cannot see where. The experience of the past few years has certainly proved two things—first, that you cannot exclude Russian influence, wherever you fail to establish British influence, in Afghanistan. Secondly, that you cannot secure the friendship or alliance of any Afghan Ruler by merely leaving him alone; and for this simple reason—no Afghan Ruler wishes to be left alone. He cannot stand alone. No doubt the Afghan Tribes, like all other wild tribes, cherish their independence. But the Ruler of those tribes cannot long remain independent of foreign support. He needs it; he knows that he needs it; and if he does not get from you the support he requires, he will seek it, and probably get it, from Russia. On the other hand, if you give him the support he requires, you incur on his behalf liabilities which you cannot safely accept, or conveniently discharge, without the means of controlling his conduct. And yet, at the same time, if you shrink, as well you may, from such indefinite liabilities—if, like the Government of 1863, you dare not, or will not pledge to them all the support he requires—how can you reasonably expect from him active gratitude for your cheap advice, or confident submission to your timorous control? History has emphatically answered this question. And therefore, my Lords, if you are not prepared to abandon all control over Afghanistan and to yield it up to Russian influence, I say that you must give the Government of India some guarantee—not moral, but substantial and material—that it shall have the means of occupying and keeping in that country the natural and necessary position of a powerful protecting State. That is just the guarantee we have in the possession of Candahar. If we had not had confidence that Her Majesty's Government would not deprive the Government of India of this great security for India's practical independence of the good or ill-will of any Cabul Ruler, we should not have done anything so dangerous as to recommend Her Majesty to recognize as Ruler of Cabul a Prince who is undoubtedly a Russian *protégé*, who has passed a great period of his life in receipt of Russian hospitality, and who re-entered Afghanistan as an uninvited candidate for the Throne, supported by Russian arms and Russian money.

But it is stated that high military authorities have said that if we give up Candahar we can get it again when we want it. Well, my Lords, I think that that is a very bold assumption. I have no doubt that if you retired now, and wanted to take it again two or three months hence, you could do so with ease; but can you say with confidence that you could take it two or three years hence? Great as are the undisputed strategical advantages of Candahar, the late Government of India did not regard the retention of it primarily, or mainly, as a military question. We felt that it would give us a political and commercial control over Western Afghanistan up to Herat so complete that we might contemplate with unconcern the course of events at Cabul. If you retain Candahar, and hold it firmly and fearlessly, then you may view with indifference the uncertain faith and fate of Cabul Rulers, and the certain advance of the Russian Power. If you retain Candahar, and administer it wisely, you will replace anarchy and bloodshed and difficulty and uncertainty on your own border by peace and prosperity; and if you connect Candahar by rail with the Valley of the Indus, you will be able to sweep the whole commerce of Central Asia, vastly augmented by the beneficent protection of a strong, a settled, and a civilized Government, into the harbours of Kurrachee and Calcutta, and thence into the ports of Liverpool and London. But, my Lords, you cannot do all this unless you retain a garrison in Candahar. And let me remind the House that those who now denounce the occupation of Candahar have been, for four years and upwards, denouncing with even greater vehemence, the occupation of Quetta. Arguments so eagerly adopted in the one case are not likely to be resolutely resisted in the other. Will not the pressure which ends in the abandonment of Candahar be also brought to bear upon Her Majesty's Government till it secures the abandonment of Quetta? Allow me to remind your Lordships of the circumstances which led to the occupation of Quetta and the consequences which have resulted from that measure.

When I reached India in 1876, the Khan of Khelat and his Sirdars were at open war with each other, and the whole Khanate was in complete anarchy. The British Resident had been withdrawn from the Khan's Court, and the subsidy of His Highness had been stopped. He was too poor to bribe, too weak to coerce, his turbulent nobles and hungry tribes. The result was that the whole of our Sindh, and a great portion of our Punjaub, border, were seething with disturbance, and harassed by depredations which we could neither prevent nor punish. The Bolan Pass—then the great trade route between India and Central Asia—was permanently held and closed by robbers. This state of things was so intolerable, that, whilst I was on my way to India, the noble Earl who was then Viceroy had despatched Major Sandeman with a strong military escort, and a general instruction to settle matters, as best he could, in Beloochistan, without any reference to the Ameer of Cabul. To have recalled this important Mission when it had already crossed our border would only have made confusion worse confounded; and I am bound to say that it is mainly owing to the great ability of Sir Robert Sandeman, and not a little to the strength of his military force, that before the close of that year we were fortunately able to re-establish our relations with Khelat on a foundation which has not only relieved the Government of India from all serious anxiety in this direction, but has also proved fruitful in blessings to the Prince and people of the country concerned. The Bolan Pass, then re-opened, has never since been closed. The re-opening of it added two lacs of rupees to the income of "that unfortunate man, the Ameer of Cabul." During the Afghan campaign of 1878 not a single British soldier was maintained, or a single robbery committed, in that Pass. Throughout the country villages have been rebuilt, and trade and agriculture not only restored, but powerfully stimulated. The revenues of the Khan, and the wealth of his subjects, have been largely increased; both the Sovereign and the people are contented; and our Khelat border is perfectly quiet. My Lords, the occupation of Quetta was indispensable to this result; for neither could the Khan's legitimate authority be adequately supported, nor could his Sirdars feel any confidence that their own legitimate rights would be adequately respected, without the presence of a British force at, or near, Quetta. The measure was adopted at the joint request of His

Highness and his subjects, and it was carried out in accordance with treaty rights of long standing, which were then solemnly reaffirmed. There is only one word I wish to add on this subject. Let me ask your Lordships to consider how terribly the difficulties, the anxieties, and the expenses of the Government of India would have been augmented, if the condition of that country, and of our relations with it, had been in 1878 or in 1880 such as I found them in 1876. And yet, my Lords, it is to the intolerable condition of 1876 that Her Majesty's Government will revert, in their relations with Khelat, if, for the sake of stultifying the policy of their Predecessors, they abandon Quetta. But what reason can be urged for the abandonment of Candahar, which does not equally, and even more forcibly, apply to the abandonment of Quetta?

Her Majesty's Government have told us that they are going to retire from Candahar, and I gathered from the statement made the other day by the noble Viscount the Under Secretary of State for India (Viscount Enfield) that the stampede will not be stopped at Pishin. Will it never be relaxed till it has reached the Indus? Up to the present moment no limit has been put to this policy of surrender and retreat. We can only surmise the unavowed limits, by reference to the avowed principles, of it. We have been told that it proceeds upon the purest principles of morality. But, my Lords, in the abandonment of Quetta the purest principles of morality will be confronted by far fewer practical impediments than those which have, on behalf of such principles, been surmounted by Her Majesty's Government in their decision to abandon Candahar. As regards the abandonment of Candahar, I greatly fear that the reputation of the British Government, in that minor but practical department of morals which belongs to courageous loyalty and scrupulous good faith, will not be saved by the assertion that the Wali of Candahar has spontaneously resigned the charge he accepted in reliance on our support. I fear that throughout India and Central Asia there will be a universal and a lasting impression that the Wali's resignation is only the natural consequence of the announcement made by Her Majesty's Government, that it is not their intention to fulfil the pledges given to him by the late Government of India. And, if Candahar is to be given up, to whom is it to be given? Surely this question ought to have been considered and decided before the intended abandonment of Candahar was publicly proclaimed to all our supporters and well-wishers in Western Afghanistan. But, my Lords, if it was considered and decided, why is the decision of it still withheld, even from the knowledge of those whose personal safety it so terribly concerns? My Lords, whatever policy Her Majesty's Government may prefer to the policy of keeping the pledges bequeathed to their keeping, there is certainly one policy which, in the interests of all concerned, they cannot too promptly abandon before they abandon Candahar itself; and that is the policy of continued indecision and mystery about their ulterior intentions. This may be a very convenient policy to Her Majesty's Government; but it is a very cruel policy to a large number of other human beings. You cannot, without danger as well as humiliation, hand over Candahar to your recent and notoriously inveterate enemy, Ayoob Khan. Will you, then, restore it to Cabul? But if there be one thing more hated than another by the Candaharis, it is the yoke of the Cabul Power. Will you give it to Abdurrahman? He is at present barely able to hold his own in Northern Afghanistan. Abdurrahman may possibly turn out by-and-bye to be the ablest and most loyal ally you have ever had upon your North-Western Frontier. May it be so! But at present you have no certainty that he will be anything of the kind. On the contrary, there is much in his antecedents which ought to restrain any sanguine expectations of that sort. At present you have absolutely no means of insuring his good behaviour; and in future, if you give up Candahar, you will have absolutely no means of punishing his bad behaviour. And this he will know. My Lords, it would surely be no act of true friendship or statesmanship to put Abdurrahman in a position which must augment not only all his present difficulties, but also all the future temptations whereby, if he is ever led to doubt your power or your firmness, as they were doubted by Shere Ali, he will be sure to do what must, as your Lordships well know, bring him sooner or later into conflict with the Government of India.

And yet, my Lords, if Her Majesty's Government do neither of these things, there is absolutely only one alternative open to the policy they have proclaimed. They cannot avoid it; and their victims cannot escape it. Candahar will be left as a prize to be raffled for, or rifled, by every ambitious gamester in the sanguinary lottery of Afghan politics. But what does that involve? It involves the most grievous calamities to a population we have undertaken to protect, and the most serious danger to an Empire of which we are the guardians. It involves the creation of a fervid focus of intrigue and conflict on the most vulnerable point of our own Frontier—intrigue and conflict unrestrained by even the faintest confidence in the good faith of British promises or the steadfast purpose of British power. And are all these calamities to be inflicted, all these interests to be betrayed, all these shameful tragedies to be enacted, in the name of morality? Really, my Lords, one is tempted to re-echo the reproach addressed to Liberty by the victim of her fraudulent executors, and exclaim—"Oh, Morality, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

My Lords, I have little more to say. I have found it impossible to explain the grounds of my appeal to that attention which your Lordships have so indulgently accorded me, without reference to events and circumstances in some of which I have been personally concerned. But it is not in defence of myself, it is in defence of great national interests that I stand here to-night. The question now before your Lordships is not whether the late Government of India was right or wrong in all its action, but whether the present Government of England will be acting rightly or wrongly, if it abandons Candahar. This is the issue raised by the Resolution I submit to you. Allow me to sum up the situation which must be affected by your vote on it. Russia's unavowed, but active, influence in Afghanistan has been steadily increasing ever since the year 1872. The Afghan policy to which Her Majesty's Government are now endeavouring to revert has not only failed to prevent, but it has practically facilitated, that result. The Afghan policy they refuse to continue has at least bequeathed to them the means of counteracting that result. If you accept the conclusion admitted by the noble Duke, and affirmed by every Indian statesman, that Afghanistan must on no account be allowed to remain under the forbidden influence of Russia, then, my Lords, for the enforcement of that conclusion you must choose between the retention of Candahar and reliance on the instructions said to have been issued to General Kaufmann "not to do it again." There is no alternative. To talk about developing the internal resources of India is nothing to the point. There is no reason why the continued development of India's internal resources should not proceed *pari passu* with the consolidation of her external securities. But do not fatten the lamb only to feed the wolf. My Lords, all those whose privilege it is to build up the noble edifice of India's prosperity must be content to labour like the builders of the second Temple—working with one hand, but holding the sword in the other to defend their work.

To me, my Lords, it seems, and I doubt not that to, at least, many of your Lordships it must also appear, that Her Majesty's Ministers inherited from their Predecessors in Office great advantages, and easy duties, on the North-West Frontier of India. They had only to maintain positions already won for them by others, and promises for which they, at least, could not be blamed. What is being done with those positions? What has become of those promises? To both, the good faith of the British Government, and the honoured name of the British Sovereign, were pledged with the sanction of the Constitutional Advisers of the Crown. They constitute, therefore, a great national trust. Some part of that trust has, I fear, been dissipated by its recent guardians. But before it be too late, let us, my Lords, for the sake of India's safety, for the sake of England's honour, endeavour to rescue what remains of it.

Moved to resolve, That nothing in the information laid before this House justifies the announced policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Candahar.—(*The Earl of Lytton.*)

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, that on a former occasion they had been told by certain noble Lords opposite, that there should be no reference to the causes which led to the Afghan War while discussing the propriety of retaining or leaving Candahar. Any expectation that no such feeling would be shown in connection with those causes must have been rudely dissipated by the speech of the noble Earl. In the observations which he should make, he (Viscount Enfield) would keep as closely as possible to the question whether the Government were right or wrong, from political, financial, commercial, and military points of view, in the determination to evacuate Candahar. It was neither his wish nor his intention to stand up as the apologist of Russia. He believed that our relations with that country were, at the present, moment of a very friendly character. The noble Earl, who talked so much of the ill-will disclosed in the Russian Correspondence discovered at Cabul, should bear in mind the frank and very friendly way in which the noble Earl (the Earl of Beaconsfield) spoke of Russia on December 10, two years ago. The noble Earl said—

> "Eight months ago war was more than probable between this country and Russia; and an imprudent word might have precipitated that war. . . . . I will say of the expedition which Russia was preparing in Central Asia at the time when she believed that war was inevitable between our country and herself—I will say at once that I hold that all those preparations on the part of Russia were justifiable; and if war had occurred, of course they would have contributed to bring about the ultimate result, whatever that might have been. Had we been in the position of Russia I doubt not we might have undertaken some enterprize of a similar kind. . . . . We may admit that if war had occurred between the two countries all the preparations in Central Asia against Great Britain and India were justifiable; but when it was found that war was not to be made, Her Majesty's Government made becomingly courteous representations to St. Petersburg, and it was impossible that anything could be more frank and satisfactory than the manner in which they were met."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliii. 514-15.]

The words then spoken were the words of a British statesman who was anxious to preserve the goodwill which at this moment happily prevailed between this country and Russia. The noble Earl (the Earl of Lytton) had made such frequent references to the Afghan War that he could not refrain from making some remarks on that subject. The noble Earl had said that the Government and its friends had acted as though they wished that recent events in Afghanistan could be expunged from the historical records of this country. He was not ashamed to say that he should be glad if that record could be obliterated from our history. He believed that feeling was shared by those with whom he had the honour to act, and by a great majority of the people of the United Kingdom. But the present Government had not, as the noble Earl had implied, rudely and quickly undone the work of their Predecessors. What was the state of things when the present Government came into Office? They found that overtures had been conducted more or less satisfactorily with Abdurrahman Khan. These negotiations were further carried on by the Queen's present Advisers, and by the 22nd of July something in the nature of a final settlement had been made with him with respect to the government of Cabul. What had happened with respect to Candahar? The Government found that Shere Ali had been placed there in authority, supported by British forces. Then followed the defeat of our troops by Ayoob Khan at Maiwand and the successful march of General Roberts. All these events had happened in the interval since the accession of the present Government, and it could not be said that they adopted any sudden course, whether their proposals in respect of Candahar were right or wrong. It had been said that the people of Candahar were extremely anxious for our rule. But those who knew the character of the Afghan people would know that the Afghan was a man who feared no danger, but would do anything to preserve his independence and his liberty. If he were made the servant of another State his first endeavour would be to emancipate himself. Therefore, British rule was not likely to sit lightly or pleasantly on the Afghan people. On that question he referred to a letter of Sir Douglas Forsyth, published a few weeks ago. That letter contained the following passage:—

> "While the question of the retention or evacuation of Candahar is under discussion and the opinions of eminent military authorities and statesmen are canvassed, it may not be out of place to quote the words of an Oriental, now no longer able to speak for himself, whose sagacity and keen intellect would be readily acknowledged by his most distinguished opponents, and whose intimate knowledge of the Afghan character and of the whole subject entitles his opinions to great weight. In frequent conferences with him I found that he invariably turned the conversation to the question of Russian advance towards India, and how Afghanistan was to be

protected. With the map spread before him, he would carefully measure the distance from Merv to Herat and from Candahar to Mooltan, and eagerly ask what troops we had in the Punjaub and how soon they could be pushed forward. His idea was for us to move a force when necessary to Quetta, to be pushed forward as far as Candahar if required. But he always accompanied the idea with the ready remark—'But you must withdraw from Candahar as soon as you have made the Russians retire.' The language he used was very much in the following words:—'We Afghans are people of the hills, and, please God, we can take care of ourselves, and give a good account of any foe who tries to enter our mountains,' adding emphatically, 'Whoever be our invader, whether Russian or English, the Afghans will never rest till they get the enemy out of the country. But in the plains it is different, we cannot cope with your European armies, and therefore we should be glad to avail ourselves of your help should the Russians come by way of Herat and the route to Candahar. But you must not think of remaining in Candahar, or you will in such case be looked upon by the Afghans with hatred, as foes instead of friends, and there will be perpetual warfare. But if we can feel certain that you will retire as soon as your work is done, your temporary march to and occupation of Candahar will do good; you will be welcomed as friends, and by retiring to Quetta or to the Indus you will be quite close at hand to render assistance at any future time when required.' Such was the advice given by Syad Noor Mahamad, and whether it be considered good or bad by the light of more recent experience, there can be no question as to the sincerity and intensity of his alarm at the possibility of annexation, an alarm which overpowers the mind of almost every independent Chief and Prince in India, and which often drives the weaker-minded among them to very foolish acts."

These were the words of the late Minister of Shere Ali. He would also refer, on the general question of the policy of annexation of fresh territory, to the alarm felt during the Viceroyalty of his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty lest Baroda should be annexed. He would also give extracts from the Blue Books with respect to the Khyber Pass and the arrangements made with the Khyber and Kuram Tribes. First, with regard to the Khyber Tribes—

"It is arranged that the pass shall remain under their independent and exclusive charge, and shall be kept open by them, and they are to receive the customary allowances. So long as they fulfil their conditions we will place no troops in the pass, and it is to be clearly understood that no other regular troops will be permitted to occupy posts in the pass without our consent."

With respect to the Kuram Tribes—

"The Jajis, who inhabit the country beyond (westward of) Peiwar, to pass under Cabul jurisdiction. The Turis, on eastern slopes of the Peiwar, and the Bangash tribes, are to be self-governed. Two leaders have been chosen who are to rule by means of a general tribal council. This form of self-government was unanimously agreed upon by the tribes themselves. Their proposal was accepted, and General Watson has given small sums of money to assist enrolment of a levy for defence, and warned them against intriguing with Cabul agents beyond the Peiwar. . . . In return for its recognition the British Government requires the tribes to conform to any advice it gives them."

He did not think that the maxim of a great foreign statesman, "*Beati possidentes,*" applied to the condition of things in Afghanistân, for our tenure of Candahar might be very precarious. We should be exposed to constant intrigues and to attacks from Cabul and Herat—there would be a nest of intrigues constantly around us—every adventurer from Cabul or Herat would endeavour to secure Candahar by doing his best to expel the infidel and the invader, whilst a stray shot or the knife of the fanatic might at any time rouse the people in arms against us. Then it was said that our prestige in India would suffer. He did not agree with that view. We had sufficiently avenged the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, and the disaster at Maiwand; and he felt sure that, great as had been the admiration excited in India by General Roberts' brilliant march and victory, moderation in the use of that victory would arouse even greater admiration. He would next turn to the commercial aspect of the question, upon which his views were much strengthened by those of a man who might be considered one of the highest authorities on the subject. He alluded to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, of the Royal Engineers, who had lived many years in South Afghanistan, and who was Engineer in charge of the Public Works along the line from the Kohat Pass in the north, to below Dehra Ghazee Khan in the south. During these years he learnt the common language of the tribes, Pushtoo, and cultivated the acquaintance of their Chiefs; and he left behind him on this Frontier a name well known to the present day. He had accompanied General Biddulph's force as Political Officer on its return march from Pishin, through the Bori Valley to Dehra Ghazee Khan, and fed it during its march through this, at that time, unexplored country. Afterwards he did similar duty with Sir Donald

Stewart's force as far as Khelat-i-Ghilzai, on its march from Candahar to Cabul. In a lecture in London last December, Colonel Browne alluded to possibilities of increased trade. He said—

> "The idea that by retaining Candahar, by developing its agricultural and trade resources, &c., we could make it pay its expenses, is another illusion, as, under British administration, it would not pay a tithe of the cost of its occupation. Let anyone who knows both Peshawur and Candahar, and their relative trade, agriculture, and distance from the Indus, consider the fact that after 32 years of English administration, the revenues of the Peshawur district are entirely inadequate, in time of peace, to pay for its garrison. In face of such a fact, can it be gravely argued that Candahar might be made to pay for the expenses of a garrison on a war footing?"

And further on he said—

> "It is sometimes supposed that by occupying Candahar we might develop, to our advantage, a great Central Asian trade, and remove the vexatious dues which have hindered its expansion. This is a pretty theory, founded on European ideas of civilized trade. As a matter of fact, the dues on Central Asian trade are levied at Herat, at Maimaneh, and Balkh, and will not be in the least degree affected by our holding Candahar."

He (Viscount Enfield) protested against the doctrine that we should proceed to destroy the independence and liberties of the people of Afghanistan for the chance of selling a greater quantity of Manchester cottons and Birmingham hardware. In illustration of what had been so ably said by Colonel Browne, he would refer to the case of Peshawur. Similar promises of a remunerative commerce had been made with respect to that territory; but it had never been found that the revenue was equal to the expenditure. The real reason which was urged why Candahar should be permanently occupied by our troops was that if it was evacuated there would be great danger to our Indian Empire. From whom would that danger arise? Either from Afghanistan or from Russia. As to the Afghans, from 1850 up to 1878 our relations with that people had been of a fairly friendly and harmonious character. At the time of the Indian Mutiny Dost Mahomed valued the friendship of England. It might be said that Russia would intrigue against us, and persuade the Afghans to attack our Indian Empire. His answer was that the Afghans were quite as likely to dislike the Russians as to dislike us; and they would hardly be disposed to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Russia. But it might be suggested that the Russians would first attack and occupy Afghanistan, and then attack us. What should we be doing all the while? We should be massing our troops, organizing our reserves, and accumulating our supplies at the proper base. It would take some time for Russia to conquer Afghanistan, occupy and annex it, and then advance to attack us in India. At a lecture given by Sir Henry Rawlinson about three years ago, as to the formidable character of the difficulties which Russia would have to overcome before she could thus prepare to invade India, the following words occurred:—

> "The distance from the Caspian to Merv by the Akhal country and Serakhs is about 700 miles; and to keep up communications by a line of posts along this interval would be a very serious operation indeed. From the western end of the Deregez Atock, moreover, to Serakhs, a distance of 200 miles, the line would pass through Persian or *quasi*-Persian territory, and Russia, therefore, could not, of course, undertake such a movement without an understanding with the Government of the Shah. In the matter of supplies, also, food could not be possibly obtained in the districts traversed by the Russian columns. Either provision caravans must follow the troops from the Caspian, which, along a line of 700 miles would entail enormous expense and risk, or grain must be supplied from Khorassan."

Lieutenant General Sir John M. Adye, a distinguished Artillery officer, wrote a year ago as follows:—

> "A General Officer at Merv ordered to move southwards on Herat, and so on to Candahar and the Indus, might well feel in a condition of almost hopeless despair. In the first place, it would be absolutely incumbent on him to collect a very considerable force, duly provided with heavy artillery and munitions of all kinds, the mere concentration of which over such routes as have been described would occupy a long time and entail enormous cost. Looking back, he would be aware of the vast distances between himself and the nearest resources of the Empire—distances not merely to be measured by the actual number of miles, although they are very great, but aggravated by the accumulated obstacles of unhealthy foodless deserts and unsafe communications. Neither from the north nor from the west could he hope at any time to receive reinforcements, except by small detachments and at rare intervals; so that his very position, without moving at all, would be precarious and depressing. But it may be said that a General, while not neglecting his communications, should refrain from dwelling too much on dangers left behind, and should rather keep his eyes and his thoughts

constantly directed to the front. The out-look from Merv, however, and the prospects of a successful advance, are, perhaps, even less promising than a retreat across the desert. From Merv to the Indus is, in round numbers, about 1,000 miles; and although, in the vicinity of Herat and Candahar, a certain limited amount of supplies could be found, we know, from the accounts of Ferrier, Marsh, and others, that the only route lies through districts where rocky mountains and sandy wastes vie with each other for the mastery, and that the country, as a matter of course, is infested with marauding tribes. Our own experience is amply sufficient to enable us to realize the difficulties and dangers of a march of 1,000 miles through Afghanistan."

But it would be said that Russia, perhaps, would not wish to conquer, occupy, and annex Afghanistan, but would only be anxious to march through it, and to attack us through a friendly territory. Well, to do that she must have an army of at least 50,000 men, infidels in the eyes of the Afghans, who would have to occupy Herat, Ghazni, and Cabul, and then march against us. Many years ago that danger, which had always been regarded as possible though somewhat problematical, was dwelt upon with great force and eloquence by one whom all admired and respected, the late Sir James Outram. The words which Sir James Outram used in 1854 were equally true now in regard to the position of any European troops marching from the westward against British India. Even assuming that such an army would meet with a friendly reception from the Afghans in the first instance, it was scarcely possible that those amicable relations could be maintained long enough to afford it time to recover from the effects of the fatigue and privation which it had undergone in coming so far. Afghanistan produced little beyond what was necessary for the support of its own inhabitants, and the demands on such limited resources would inevitably soon create such a dearth in the land as must excite the irritation of the population against the cause of their distress. Sir James Outram went on to say—

"And no efforts of their Chiefs could then restrain them from acting as hostilely towards those quondam friends as heretofore they did against the British Army. Ere Russian or Persian troops could reach Candahar or Cabul we certainly should have authentic knowledge of their approach. It would then be time enough to enter upon defensive preparations. It is scarcely possible that less than one season would be required by the enemy to recruit in Afghanistan ere descending the passes; but, allowing that a shorter halt would suffice, there still would be ample time to concentrate sufficient forces at Shikarpore and Peshawur to meet the enemy when he debouches from the Bolan or Khyber."

Another danger, however, which might be apprehended was not an actual invasion, but possible intrigue. It had been said that a golden key opened most doors; and if Herat was the key to India, what was the kind of key that was proposed to be used a few years ago? That Persia should be provisionally permitted to occupy Herat, under sufficient guarantees for her good administration of it, and for her adequate protection of British and Indian interests at that point, and with a special reservation of our right to occupy the place with British forces in certain eventualities. If Persia temporarily occupied Herat, Russia would have a right to establish Consuls there. That proposal never went beyond preliminary stages. There was a dry point connected with this subject of Candahar to which the noble Earl never alluded in his speech—namely, the cost which a permanent occupation of Candahar would entail. Sir Henry Norman, who was for many years chief Military Adviser to the Governor General in Council, estimated the cost of maintaining 20,000 or 22,000 men there at £1,400,000 a-year; while the expenses of barrack accommodation and of fortifying the town—both of which were considered absolutely essential by Lord Napier of Magdala — had been estimated by another authority, on the basis of providing accommodation for 10,000 men, at £1,609,180, the interest of which sum would have to be added to the annual expenditure. The Secretary of State did his duty in producing the best materials he could for the formation of an opinion on the question of retaining or abandoning Candahar. Fifteen authorities were given, seven of which were in favour of the views of Her Majesty's Government, and seven in favour of the views taken by the noble Earl opposite. The other authority was Sir Donald Stewart, who had thought fit to change his opinion. The Memorandum of the noble Earl opposite on this subject was a most masterly production. The noble Earl entered fully into the subject. He said, though we could never allow Candahar to fall into the hands of a rival Power for political, and especially for military, considerations, yet he did not think that a permanent occupation of Candahar by us would actually strengthen our power. He further said that to occupy Candahar permanently would entail a large military expenditure; but he anticipated no necessity for such permanent occupation unless we found ourselves in a great war with Afghanistan; but that we might reasonably hope to avoid. Sir Henry Rawlinson believed the Afghans would offer the most determined opposition to the interference of Europeans in their domestic affairs. Upon the question of extra pay to the Native troops, a contingency which Lord Napier of Magdala very frankly said might become necessary, General Rennell Taylor, a distinguished officer, and one who knew India and Indian troops very well, said—

> "The Candahar duty would be unpopular with the Native soldiery after the novelty had worn off; and as regards Lord Napier of Magdala's remedy of raising their pay, this is a door which, if once opened, it is not so easy to close again. Men who have been for some time on high pay do not fancy having it cut down when they return to the Provinces. After a time we might get tired of giving enhanced pay in what we might consider to have become a prosperous and pleasant city; and then if we proposed cutting down the pay of the soldiery to the original scale, an old and ominous struggle between the Government and its Native soldiery might be revived."

The proposal to give increased pay to Native soldiers was, therefore, one the propriety of which was open to question. Sir Garnet Wolseley, of Asiatic and African fame, had said that to occupy a point so far removed from the Frontier would involve us in very serious financial burdens, and that no Afghan army could ever prevent an English army marching from Quetta to Candahar. Sir Frederick Roberts, while advocating the retention of Candahar, said that "our presence there must be little felt," and went on to say—

> "It may not be very flattering to our *amour propre*; but I feel sure I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us the less they will dislike us. Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghanistan, or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interest if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime. The military occupation of Candahar is, as I have before stated, of vital importance; even there we should make our presence but little felt, merely controlling the foreign policy of the ruler of that province."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, par. 35. p. 71.]

Viscount Enfield

If we retained Candahar permanently we should have also to permanently annex an adjoining territory half the size of England and Wales; we should have to take Ghazni and Khelat-i-Ghilzai to the east, Furrah, Girishk, and Herat to the west. Lord Hartington, in his despatch of the 11th of November, 1880, said—

> "But they cannot believe that the measure which is now advocated would really satisfy the demands of those who propose it. They are inclined rather to believe that it would only be the first step towards still more extensive enterprize. In the despatch of your Predecessor's Government of the 7th of July, 1879, they said, in discussing the question of the retention of Candahar—'The local experience recently acquired by our expedition into Western Afghanistan has fully confirmed our previous impression that the strategic value of Candahar exists only in connection with a system of frontier defence much more extensive than any we now require or have ever contemplated.' Whether this be an accurate statement of the strategic value of Candahar or not, it cannot, I think, be doubted that its acquisition as a permanent military post would quickly be followed by fresh apprehensions as to its security, and further demands for the completion of a system of defence of which it would be represented to constitute only a part."

Thus, whether looking at the question of the retention of Candahar from a political, a military, a commercial, or a moral point of view, he should say that there was a strong balance of opinion against that step being taken. The military opinions were divided, the commercial advantages were doubtful, the political objections were serious, and the financial embarrassments were probable. It had been said that the resolution of the Government had been taken hastily; but the despatches of Lord Hartington disproved that assertion. On the 21st of May last, his first despatch indicated this line of policy, without giving an actual pledge with regard to it, and on the 11th of November the noble Lord stated his final decision on the subject. That decision might be erroneous, but it was not ambiguous; it was the result of a careful study of the question and of the opinions of those who in a civil and a military capacity could throw light upon an intricate question. In recommending this policy for adoption by the Government of India the Government were acting in the spirit of those noble and weighty words which were addressed to the people of India by Her Majesty in the

Royal Proclamation of November 1, 1858—

> "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others."

He hoped that Her Majesty's Government would pursue the line of policy so indicated constantly and persistently, and that they would be enabled, by the blessing of Providence, to do that which every noble Lord in that House, of whatever side in politics, must have at heart—namely, to secure the prosperity, the security, and contentment of Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

LORD WAVENEY, who had placed Notice of an Amendment on the Paper to add at the end of the Motion the following words:—

> "That Commissioners be appointed to consider and report on the most suitable form of administration for Candahar and its dependencies, whether as a Crown Colony, as a portion of the Presidency of Bombay, or as attached to the Government of the Punjaub,"

said, that as one who had taken an early interest in this subject, he desired to be allowed to record his testimony in favour of the retention of Candahar. In his opinion, the debate admitted of being carried on on a wider basis than that on which it had been placed hitherto, and that some permanent system of policy should be discussed. The reason for the fact that, in this respect, we were without a policy was not far to seek. After the conquest and occupation of the Punjaub, the idea of an Afghan policy sprung up, and was maintained as part of our Indian system. It seemed to him at the time—and he had not since altered his opinion—that for the first time in the history of India we were desirous to devolve upon others duties which were our own—we desired to erect a barrier between the forces of Central Asia and our Indian Government; in other words, to adopt a policy which had never been pursued down to that time. He, for one, wished to see adopted a policy which did not rest upon any foreign buttress—he wished to see a policy devised which should determine our course of action in Central Asia—particularly at this moment, when Central Asia was about to be annihilated, in a political sense, by the approximation of the Russian and the Indian Frontier. Whatever Her Majesty's Government might decide ultimately as to the abandonment of Candahar—and he did not think they could themselves state with precision the course they meant to take—he hoped that a policy would be adopted which would suffice for many years to come. Masterly inactivity was desirable if it meant an attitude of watchful repose; but if it meant mere indifference as to consequences it was a policy much to be deplored. It did not seem to be generally understood that the city and territory of Candahar were admirably suited for incorporation with our Indian resources, and could be made practically impregnable when occupied by forces under British rule. What he wished particularly to see was the adoption of a policy which should put an end to the miserable suspicions which were as bad in their effects as small wars; and he believed such a policy would be perfectly easy, without involving any considerable additional cost in the maintenance of our Indian Army. With regard to the great question of commerce, he would quote the informed opinion of the late Sir William Merewether, who said—

> "In a commercial point of view the security given to trade by a strong government at Candahar cannot be otherwise than most advantageous to the Afghans as well as to ourselves, and should have full consideration. It will insure that trade safe and speedy transit to and from our seaports, ... while the exports . . . will proportionally increase."—[*Afghanistan*, (1881), No. 2, p. 57.]

A report from a Cavalry officer, dated October 17, 1880, said—

> "We have moved to the rich country to the south of Candahar. I cannot exaggerate the wealth and richness of this country. Anything will grow in it. The soil yields rich crops of wheat year after year. Many parts of it could be turned into wine-producing vineyards. The grapes are simply magnificent, and only a fourth of the land available is now cultivated."

All, in fact, that was required for the increased prosperity of Candahar was increased security. What he suggested by the Amendment he had placed on the Paper was that the Ministry should inform themselves of the best form of government for Candahar under the protection of the British Crown. He preferred to constitute it into a Crown Colony rather than under the Government of the Punjaub or of the Presidency of Bombay. The completion of the railway would place it within six weeks of Woolwich for defence, and of Liverpool for commerce. They were now at Candahar, and, in the words of the great soldier who had made Italy what it is—"We are here—here we will remain; we are at Rome—at Rome we are determined to abide."

Lord CHELMSFORD was painfully aware that the military opinions he held on the subject under discussion were not in accordance with those generally held on that side of their Lordships' House, and ran counter to the opinion of many distinguished officers of the Army to which he had the honour to belong. He did not, however, come to the consideration of the question simply by examining maps and reading official Correspondence. Out of a service extending over 37 years he had been 16 years in India; and he had, in company with Sir William Mansfield (the late Lord Sandhurst) travelled over the whole of the Western Frontier of that country, had visited the border station of Jacobabad, and had ridden over a good part of the desert in which it was situated. His opinion had been formed not without considerable anxiety, opposed as it was to opinions which must carry great weight; but he was satisfied that any permanent occupation of Candahar, or of any portion of Afghanistan, would place our garrison there in an entirely false military position. He was anxious, however, that it should be understood that he did not express any opinion as to whether it was advisable to evacuate immediately that important position. The length of the communications which a Russian force would have to keep up in any advance which they might make to the Indian Frontier would be a very difficult and a very serious obstacle to their reaching the Indus. It was a very difficult matter to conduct operations successfully when an army was divided by a long distance from the base of its supplies. He had himself fully realized that difficulty in the course of the Abyssinian War. It was quite clear to him that if Russia chose, looking at her present advanced position—her line of advance being probably through Merv—she could occupy Herat at any moment. Should she do so, however, she would be on the horns of a dilemma, because she could not feed her army through the long line of desert, but would require to do so by the shorter and more favourable line through Persian territory, her real base being the Caspian Sea. In order, therefore, to obtain necessary supplies she would have either to make an alliance offensive and defensive with Persia, in which case the Afghans would become her enemies, or to take by force the line of communication in Persian territory, in which case the Persians would be her enemies. Herat was spoken of as the key of India; but Herat was miles from the Indus—the only door by which an enemy could enter India. The possession of Herat, it was true, might open the door to the possession of Candahar, and the possession of Candahar might open the way to the Indus. But if the Russians should even arrive at the Indus it did not follow that they would get any further. The occupation of Candahar would not prevent Russia from occupying Herat; nor was it certain that Russia, if she should take Herat, would advance through Candahar. Some authorities believed that they would advance by Cabul and the Khyber. Supposing that the Russians should determine to advance from the Oxus by the direct route to Cabul, what advantage would it be to India to have a garrison occupying Candahar? Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts had both marched with a force along the road between Candahar and Cabul. But when they did so, they had a harbour of refuge at the end of their march occupied by our troops. No General, however, occupying that place would venture to march *viâ* Ghuzni, which would be in the enemy's hands, to Cabul in order to drive the Russians out of it, unless he was supported by another army coming through the Khyber; and, even under those circumstances, it would be very doubtful if either force could be properly supplied with all that an army, advancing on so serious an undertaking, would require. Therefore, Candahar, in the event of an advance on India through Cabul and the Khyber, would be of no real advantage. It would, in fact, be disadvantageous, as a large number of troops would have to remain there and could not be withdrawn. Turning his attention to the question of a Russian advance through Herat and Candahar—what steps, he asked, ought to be taken in such an event? Ought our forces to meet the enemy half way between Herat and Candahar, or ought they to await the attack in the neighbourhood of the latter place? Suppose the Russians were in possession of any portion of Afghan territory—suppose they occupied Herat—they would still be 400 miles from Candahar; and it would be a serious consideration for an army to cross such a country as that 400 miles—a country scantily provided with food and water, in traversing which an army would have to carry its supplies with it forwarded from enormous distances. Suppose them arrived at Candahar, how far were they from India? Still 400 miles of more difficult country. There was an impression abroad that our Western Frontier was a weak one. He was of opinion, however, that it was an extraordinarily strong one. The line of the Indus was our natural boundary line. A river was said to be a bad frontier to defend; but that only applied when the river could be crossed at several different points. But there was only one point where an army, debouching from the Bolan Pass, could cross the Indus, and when they had crossed it they would still have some 250 miles of almost desert country to march through before reaching the Sutlej, a broad and difficult river to cross. Even before crossing the Indus their supplies would have to be carried over 400 miles of wild and desolate country. Those difficulties would apply even if Russia occupied the whole of Afghanistan. He felt sure that the danger to India was not from without, but from within. So long as our subject-population in the country were contented, and so long as our troops were well-seasoned and disciplined, we might look without anxiety upon the advance of Russia. But he would give one note of warning. The safety of India depended upon the loyalty of the people and the trustworthiness of our Sepoy Army. He trusted, therefore, that in any re-organization changes which might be made, the caste prejudices and old traditions of the Native Army would not in any way be ignored. Any attempt to introduce changes distasteful to the Native portion of our Army in India might have the most serious results; and we might suddenly find, when looking to it for support, that we had been trusting to a broken reed.

LORD SANDHURST said, he owed an apology for addressing their Lordships on a subject of such importance, and he should not have ventured to do so but that he had in his possession memoranda of his father, who had been Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence. The late Lord Sandhurst had said—

> "I can conceive no greater political mistake than that which would unite the whole population of Afghanistan in the most open hostility against us, which would compel us to meet that hostility on ground most favourable to our opponents, and with a great waste of our resources. I believe that, putting the case hypothetically, if Russia and England must contend for supremacy in Asia, that party will enter into the struggle with greater advantage which shall have abstained from forestalling events by the annexation of Afghanistan."

That view was corroborated by the late Lord Lawrence, who said—

> "The Afghan will bear poverty and insecurity of life; but he will not tolerate foreign rule."

The Papers, written in 1867, were accompanied by Minutes by Sir Henry Norman and others now surviving, who, by Minutes issued lately, stated their opinions to be unaltered. Although a large garrison at Candahar might give security and promote trade, he believed that the Hindoo traders in no way represented the feelings of the people of that country. The late Lord Lawrence said that the Afghans would not tolerate foreign rule, and he believed that British influence was synonymous with Afghan hatred, and it followed that by withdrawing from Candahar we should no longer be acting as Russia's catspaw in incensing the Afghans against ourselves. His father had expressed the following opinion:—

> "It may be said that the alarm testified with regard to Russia as affecting British interest in India is more unreasonable than anything that is possible to describe. As a military and political Power we have absolutely nothing to fear from Russia, whether she stop at her present limits, or spread her power even to our own borders. A great mischief is done by those who, from whatever cause, occupy themselves with preaching the falsehood of our weakness in India. We are simply invincible in that country, provided only we are true to ourselves. I take my stand upon this—that we must at times use influence and enforce results; though it is my conviction that we have reached the proper limits of territorial development.' I have ever been the uncompromising opponent to British aggression in the Kingdom of Cabul in opposition to Russian advance in Central Asia."

As to Russia's position at present he might remark that she had no strength, An army of mobility required supplies, ease of transport, water, and good roads. Russia had none of these things. She was 1,000 miles from us, and the further she advanced the more her difficulties would increase; and if we, by going to Candahar, met her half way, we should incense the inhabitants of that country against ourselves, which would materially facilitate the progress of Russia. The people through whose country she would have to pass were of the most fanatical description, and we had no reason to suppose that they would have any greater affection for the Russians than for ourselves. By withdrawing to our own Frontier we should force Russia to lengthen her lines of communication, and thus to weaken them. The advantage of withdrawing to our own Frontier was obvious. When General Primrose met with that disaster at Maiwand, all our communications were attacked, and the shock was felt as far as our Frontier. With Russia advancing and the tribes hostile to us we should labour under the greatest disadvantages in that respect; whereas, being strong in our compact position on our own Frontier, we could await Russia backed by the wealth and resources of India. As to the internal effect which the occupation of Candahar would have, let him give their Lordships another extract from the authority he had already quoted—

> "Supposing that, for the reasons we are debating, we had been obliged to send forward a large force, say two-thirds of the Bengal Army. Consequently, it might be that the whole resources were divided by the mountains from India, and that all our communications might be in extreme jeopardy. . . . It is a great mistake to look upon India as a solid base of operations, whence to pour 100,000 men, as we should do from England in a case of emergency, trusting to the people to redeem the Government from difficulties."

India was not our native country—we were aliens there; and even if it were possible to draw 100,000 men from that country it was doubtful whether we should have right on our side. He believed that the Native Army was in a very efficient state; but it was an undoubted fact that this foreign service was most distasteful to it. Recruiting had almost come to a standstill, not only in the Punjaub, but also in Madras. It was said that the Natives had no patriotic feelings; but they must be endowed with a certain modicum of common sense, and they would not relish service beyond the Frontier, if they could possibly avoid it; and our military system being based on the voluntary principle, the number of our recruits must diminish. The public should search in the proper channels for information, instead of being the victims of irresponsible lecturers and travellers. Lord Lawrence, almost to the last day of his life, advocated the policy of non-interference to which he was always so true. He was unable to discover that Sir Henry Norman and other eminent men at the India Office at this moment had changed their minds on that subject; neither had the noble Earl the Viceroy of India (the Earl of Northbrook), who preceded the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Lytton) changed his; and therefore he felt perfectly convinced that had the late Lord Sandhurst been still alive, he would have given his most cordial support to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in the withdrawal from Candahar. In conclusion, he must strongly oppose the Motion of the noble Earl opposite.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, it was with considerable diffidence that he ventured to offer a few remarks to their Lordships upon the large and very important subject now before them, in the form of the Motion of his noble Friend the noble Earl and the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Waveney). Apart from its importance, the subject appeared to him to be one which adapted itself most naturally to the calm and critical temper which it was the custom of that House to exercise in its deliberations. Whatever might be the views of noble Lords individually upon the policy of annexation generally, he did not think there were any Members of the House who belonged to that particular school of politicians who might be termed the "Take nothing and give up everything school"—those who would set aside and ignore as unworthy of consideration the most vital interests of the Empire, and who based their proposed course of action upon grounds more or less sentimental or vague, or upon considerations purely financial, without calculating whether the expense incurred would be justified by results obtained or advantages gained. Therefore, in that House, at least, it was possible to approach that question of the retention of Candahar distinctly on its merits. They were all equally interested, no matter on what side of the House they sat, in the preservation and integrity of Her Majesty's Dominions in India. The point at issue between them was the means by which that was to be secured; and he should therefore endeavour to avoid saying anything of an acrimonious character or in the nature of Partizan criticism. If the question had assumed a Party character, it appeared to him very much to be regretted. It was distinctly an Imperial question, and the result of the ultimate action of the Government would be to determine whether or not a decisive step should be taken to secure us, once and for all, against the possible occurrence—in his opinion, the not very remote occurrence—of a great national catastrophe. He was not going to discuss the advantages of Candahar as a military position. That was incontestable, and he fancied was not disputed. It had been recognized as the key of India from the time of Jenghis Khan downwards; and suppose we were to evacuate Candahar now the necessity for its re-occupation at some future time was inevitable, whatever might be our ability at that future time to enforce that necessity. The question, therefore, arose in two forms—whether this was the moment for us to choose for occupation, and whether, in the event of our deciding that it was not, we should not find ourselves in a position of great disadvantage, and perhaps worse, when the necessity of reversing that decision was forced upon us? Now, with regard to the first point, he begged their Lordships to consider what the policy of successive Viceroys was with regard to Afghanistan previous to the accession of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) to the Seals of the India Office in 1874. It had been variously described. The noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) was of opinion, he believed, that it was a policy of absolute non-interference, and he cited in support of that contention the entire agreement which existed between himself and the late Lord Mayo during their official connection. It would appear to be argued from this that had his (the Earl of Donoughmore's) lamented Relative been alive now he would have still adhered to that policy of non-interference. But what was the state of the case in 1869? There was ample evidence in the Papers to show that at that time there was no disinclination on the part of the Ameer to admit English Agents to certain towns in his territory, always excepting Cabul itself; and that evidence was confirmed by a note of Colonel Barnes, written in 1877, in which he states—

> "I can fully corroborate all that Captain Grey and Dr. Bellew say as to the willingness of the Ameer at Umballa to consider the subject of British agencies in Afghanistan, had he received encouragement to enter officially into the subject, and had his expectations of being granted a new Treaty been responded to."

But in that case it was the Viceroy who was the unwilling party. There was no object at that time, and in the then condition of affairs in Central Asia, in going further than he did. Lord Mayo's object at that time was to establish an intermediate policy, which should be capable of further development should necessity arise—a necessity which he (the Earl of Donoughmore) believed he certainly contemplated, and which, if he had lived till now, he ventured to think, he would have admitted to have arrived. And, *apropos* of that, he had read with some care the voluminous Papers upon this subject, and there was one point that had struck him particularly. Lord Mayo met with his death before the Khanate of Khiva fell into the hands of the Russians; but he was alive at the time of the establishment of the Russian stations at Krasnovodsk and Kizil on the Caspian. In fact, these stations were established a very few months after the Conferences at Umballa. Well, the subsequent events and the utterances of Russian diplomatists in the matter of Khiva were well known to their Lordships; but if we looked through the published Papers we did not find a single representation to the Home Government from Lord Mayo as to this matter. In fact, after the despatches of the Conferences of 1869, we had nothing more to do with Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, but pass at once to that of the noble Earl opposite. Now, he could not help thinking that there must be some slight omission in this matter—and, at all events, it would be very advantageous to know what Lord Mayo's feelings were upon this question—and he sincerely hoped that some noble Lord either at present or lately connected with the India Office would be able to enlighten them on the subject. Well, Lord Mayo's was an intermediate policy, and one capable of, and intended for, future development; but it was, at the same time, the continuation of the policy of his Predecessor. Well, let them see whether they could find in the minds of the statesmen of the time any reason for instituting "a policy capable of development." And here he felt that he was getting upon more or less dangerous ground. He was liable to be told that it was inconvenient and embarrassing to bring charges against a Power with which we were in relations of amity. Well, he would endeavour not to offend in that respect. He had no desire to say anything ill-natured against Russia and the Russians. He had lived in the midst of them for five months, and had always found them, socially, the most charming nation he ever came across—which was probably the secret of their constant and invariable diplomatic successes. But, at the same time, he could not help remembering — what some people appeared not to have learnt, or to have forgotten—that we had to deal with a Power who had already, in the steady pursuit of an hereditary policy, threatened India by active measures, and did so now by her position on the Frontiers. What did Lord Clarendon say in 1869? He foresaw, as long ago as then, what had been a most important factor, as he (the Earl of Donoughmore) could say from practical experience elsewhere, in the Russian advance in Central Asia. The noble Earl then read a portion of Lord Clarendon's despatch. Then followed the negotiations about the neutral zone, resulting in declarations from Russia as to non-interference with Afghanistan, the boundaries of which principally were finally settled in 1873. But where were the Russians in Central Asia all that time—that was, in 1869? Why, they were not even at Krasnovodsk Bay—they did not go there till December. It was true that they held Samarcand, and practically commanded Bokhara, and the plains beyond it as far as the Oxus; but they did not threaten our Western Frontier as they did now. And yet the late Lord Clarendon—and, we may presume, the noble Earl who succeeded him, as he subsequently carried out his policy as regarded the Frontiers of Afghanistan—were fully alive to the danger which now threatened us face to face. After Lord Mayo came the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook), who succeeded to the policy of his Predecessor, as Lord Mayo had to that of Lord Lawrence; but, unfortunately, as he thought, the Government did not consider, in spite of the noble Earl's representations, that the moment for the development of that policy had arrived. He was not going to enter into that question; but the fact remained that in 1873 there was an opportunity of putting our relations with Afghanistan on such a footing as would tend greatly to remove uneasiness on our part as to Russian progress in Asia. It was not, however, until the noble Marquess came into Office that any attempt was made to develop the policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo. But then it was too late. The Ameer had already been alienated, and the result had been the events of the last two years, and the position in which we were at this moment. And this was that position. Instead of a friendly Ruler and a friendly people, whom we might have secured in 1873, we had a country disorganized by a recent war, with a Ruler who professed himself our friend, but whom we knew to have been for years a refugee in Russian territory, and subject to Russian influences; we had a neighbour on our Western flank upon whom we could not count, but upon whom our possible adversaries can. We have those possible adversaries in such positions as to command practically all the high roads into Afghanistan. The road was open to them, should they ever choose to move, or should circumstances similar to 1878 recur. We hold at this moment the key of India. The question for their Lordships and the country was, would they retain it? Remember that the danger was not only external, but internal as well. The course we pursued was being watched by every Native Prince, by every intelligent and educated man in India itself, and it was being watched equally in Europe. There had been few more valuable contributions to the literature on this question than a letter from Professor Vámbéry—an impartial, uninterested observer, to the noble Earl, published a few weeks ago. But we were told there was an alternative course. We could retire from Candahar, and, when the necessity arose, we could take the necessary steps for its re-occupation. It had been a favourite argument with those who advocated a retrograde movement at this moment, that it was only opposed by military opinion and upon military grounds. He could not quite agree with this. It appeared to him that there were very important political considerations to be noticed, more especially such as he had pointed out, and which would result from the impression produced upon the Queen's subjects in India by our action in the matter, whatever it might be. There was, however, this to be noticed as regarded the military aspect of the question, that while the great preponderance of opinion was at this moment in favour of the continued occupation of Candahar, two at least, if not more, of the most reliable authorities upon the question had only lately changed their opinions on the subject—he meant Lord Napier and Sir Donald Stewart; and as regarded those who disagreed with their fellows in the Profession, the disagreement was, not upon military grounds, but for financial reasons. Those were the arguments of Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Erskine Perry, who argued almost entirely upon the question of cost, and not upon reasons of military expediency. The question of cost was one into which he did not care to enter. It required a more advanced politician than he was to argue as to whether the Empire should be maintained at "too great a cost" or not. But the political question remained. He was convinced that the time was not very far distant when Candahar would be a necessity to us; and what they had to decide now was whether we should remain there now and endeavour to conciliate the population and accustom them to our rule, or whether, when the time came that we must advance, we should take the risk of doing so through a hostile country, with all the disorganization created by our present retirement behind our backs. Let their Lordships remember the years it took to accustom the inhabitants of the Punjaub to English Sovereignty, and let them recollect the condition of popular feeling in India at this moment. He saw no reason why in a very few years the Candaharis, who were not Afghans by descent, should not be converted into as loyal subjects of the Queen as the Sikhs were at this moment. He believed them even to be anxious for our government, and, considering what they had undergone from Cabuli Rulers in past times, it was not to be wondered at. As regarded Indian opinion, it had been clearly expressed, and he would give it to their Lordships as he had heard it expressed by a distinguished Indian ex-official the other day—

> "You know what we are; you are our masters, and your rule is the best we ever had; but you are still strangers, and if we saw other strangers coming from the north, making great promises, and having apparently through your negligence a great chance of success, we could not help ourselves. Many would flock to the stranger; some of them would set up for themselves, but the effect upon you would be the same. You could not oppose Russia and reconquer India at the same time. You would have to go. But if you hold such a position as would make an invasion from the north to our minds impossible, you would have no troubles in India. And Candahar would undoubtedly be such a position."

Before he sat down he should like to say one word as to the reality of what some people in this country looked upon as a bugbear. He meant the ultimate advance of Russia upon Afghanistan and the Indian Frontier. He was one of those people who did not share the views of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) and those who agreed with him upon this subject, nor could he admit that the danger was in any way overestimated. He did not find any fault with Russia, and perhaps if he were in the position that Russia was we should do very much the same. Now that the strain that existed between the two Governments in 1877 and 1878 was removed, he was quite willing to admit that we had more to fear for the moment from the danger Lord Clarendon foresaw than from anything else—the danger of independent action on the part of Russian officials. Turning for a moment to the last Blue Book issued by the India Office, it would be seen that it contained a Memorandum written by Sir Henry Rawlinson, in which he went into the whole question and discussed alternative lines of policy. That Memorandum was written on the 25th of September last, and there was a postscript to it, which, perhaps, he might be permitted to read to their Lordships—

> "It may be only proper to notice that as I am closing this Memorandum, intelligence arrives from Persia of the Russian Government having despatched Colonel Grodekoff with three officers to the Khorassan-Afghan frontier, laden with

presents, but charged with what is called an 'exclusively commercial mission.' As Colonel Grodekoff knows nothing whatever of commerce, but knows a good deal of Afghan politics, being the officer who very recently published a very interesting account of his journey from Samarcand by Sir-i-Pul and Mymeneh to Herat, there can be no reasonable doubt that his present mission is connected with the pending settlement of Western Afghanistan. Can it be prudent, then, to obliterate all traces of our Candahar occupation, and even cancel our means of acquiring information as to current events upon the frontier, just as Russia is showing signs of renewed activity in that direction, and the opportunity seems to be now offering for the realization of her long-cherished scheme of exerting a direct influence at Herat?"—[*Afghanistan* (1881) No. 2, pp. 65-6.]

That paragraph was worthy of attention, and should afford food for reflection to those whose views at present were in favour of evacuating Candahar. He had only gone very slightly and very marginally into one or two points connected with this very large subject. He had attempted, as far as possible, to avoid controversy upon questions of past policy, and upon which much might be said. It appeared to him that the issues were so grave, the decision to be arrived at so important, that it was not a moment for Party recriminations or differences of opinion upon the past. He had said nothing—though much might be said about it—of that very ably and skilfully conducted diplomatic advance by General Kaufmann into the confidence of Shere Ali, conducted first by letters, then by messengers, and finally by Embassies. He had said nothing of that extraordinary Correspondence which had lately been laid on the Table of the House, which showed what relations it was possible for the Russian Government to create with the Rulers of Afghanistan—relations which, unless we took steps to prevent it, it would be in its power to create again. He had one more proposition to place before the House. He did not desire to play the part of Cassandra; but he asked their Lordships to look abroad—to Africa, to Eastern Europe — and at home as well, and then to consider whether this was a moment to do anything to weaken our Indian Frontier. He did not think that it was; and holding that opinion, and believing that the time had at length arrived when it was necessary and expedient for us to hold the key of India, he should follow the noble Earl into the Lobby that night.

The Earl of Donoughmore

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in a discussion of this importance I will not waste your time with merely verbal criticism, but I wish to point out that there is something unusual in the wording of this Resolution. The noble Earl who moved it passed in his speech an uncompromising censure on the policy of the Government, but in the Resolution I do not find a word of censure on that policy. The Resolution does not in way condemn it. What we are asked to affirm is merely this—That the justification for the abandonment of Candahar, be it what it may, is not to be found in a particular set of Parliamentary Papers. That is not a very important conclusion, and I notice this point, because the very peculiar wording of the Resolution seems to imply a doubt on the part of those who framed it how far a Resolution framed in the spirit of the noble Earl's speech would be accepted by your Lordships.

My Lords, no one, even of those who least agreed with the substance of the noble Earl's argument, could fail to recognize the singular ability and ingenuity with which he conducted his case. No one, further, can consider it strange that, having been absent from England when the debate on the Afghan War took place two years ago, he should take the earliest opportunity of vindicating his own share in that transaction in which he took so active and conspicuous a part. The noble Earl laid great stress on the support which his policy had found among the Native population, and he assured us that he could take up hours in reading letters of approval which he had received from Natives. Well, Indians of all ranks and classes are very apt to be of opinion that what the Governor General for the time being does is right; but I think it would require a very large number of written communications from individuals to enable any man to say with confidence that he carried with him the support of even a small fraction of the enormous population of India. Among the witnesses whom he called was one in particular, the Khan of Khelat. Well, he is undoubtedly a very competent witness as far as knowledge of the subject is concerned; but I do not think the noble Earl or anyone else would consider him altogether an impartial witness on such a question as the holding of Candahar.

It is not necessary for the consideration of the question actually before us to go into details as to past transactions, or to revive the controversy of two years ago on the policy of the Afghan War. That matter is settled and disposed of; the country has decided upon it; whatever our personal opinion may be, the verdict of the jury has been pronounced, and argument comes too late. And, for my part, I am heartily glad that there is no need to go back upon it. The issue now before us is simply this—things being as they are, the war having taken place, having been successful in a military point of view, and Cabul having been abandoned, is it or is it not wise to retain Candahar as a British possession? I must still further disencumber the debate, as far as I am concerned, of irrelevant or practically unimportant matter. If there are any persons who look upon this merely or mainly as a local question, affecting the local interests of the people of Candahar—if there are any to whom the mere fact that we have no right to Candahar except the right of conquest seems conclusive against our remaining—I say, plainly, that I do not hold their view. We are bound in such a matter to weigh the various interests concerned, and to give to each its proper value; and, considering the enormous importance, not to England only, but to Asia, of keeping unbroken the peace of India, and considering the ruin and misery which would be caused by the disruption of our Indian Empire, I have no doubt that we should be justified in holding Candahar, with or without the consent of its people, if by letting it go we risked the security of India, and if by holding it we made India safe. My Lords, it is for the sake of India—it is for the sake of our power there, and all that it is implied in the continuance of that power, that I come to the opposite conclusion from that which is embodied in the Resolution of the noble Earl. Only this I will add—that the question is not merely a military one, in which case I should leave it to soldiers, or one merely diplomatic, or merely financial, but it involves considerations of war, diplomacy, and of finance; and that all these together, not any one of them separately, must be the basis of the judgment which you form. My Lords, let me first take that which is the simplest and easiest to deal with—the consideration of expense. Is the Indian Revenue in a position in which we can afford to incur any outlay not absolutely necessary? I may be an "alarmist," though I hope that that is not my habit; but I confess I have looked for many years past with considerable apprehension at the position and at the prospects of Indian finance. I will keep clear of details, but look generally at the situation. You have, in the first place, an Income which is barely kept equal to the Expenditure by keeping down public works, or by charging to capital many of those public works which are absolutely necessary. You have a Debt — not heavy, indeed, in itself, not heavy in regard to the numbers of the population on whom it falls, but which is heavy in proportion to their wealth, and which is felt as a double burden, because nearly the whole of the interest goes out of the country, and is not returned to it. You have a further drain, inevitable but burdensome, to supply the salaries and pensions of civil and military officials, and a good deal of that also,—probably the greater part—is sent to Europe, and does not return. You draw £8,000,000 a-year from the most uncertain and precarious of all conceivable sources of revenue — the opium monopoly. The Chinese Government might cut off that source of supply, as it were, by merely holding up its hand; they have only to licence opium growing at home, and a large part, at least, of your £8,000,000 vanishes at once. You have a Revenue not absolutely inelastic, as it has sometimes been called, but which is not to be compared in regard to expansion with what we see at home. More than that, my Lords, you have a difficulty and a danger before you compared to which, in my mind, the risk caused by foreign intrigues is utterly insignificant. You have a population living on the simplest food, without trade or manufactures, which will not migrate, and which continues to increase. In old times the population of Bengal was kept down by wars, by famine, and by pestilence. We have put an end to internal wars, we do what we can to mitigate the pressure of famine and to prevent pestilence, and what is the result? Dr. Hunter, the able statistician employed by Government, tells you what is the state of the case. You are threatened with a pressure of population upon your means of subsistence such as the world has never seen before. I only touch upon that subject. This is not a time to go into it; but I think you will find that those who have most deeply studied the economical situation of India are generally those who take the least sanguine view, and who feel the deepest anxiety as to its economic future. But, my Lords, we need not look so far forward. Take India as it is at the present time. Can you safely increase the taxation to any appreciable extent? I do not believe you can. I believe you are now very near the point at which increased taxes do not bring an increased Revenue; and in any case, suppose it possible to raise more than we do, is the risk of creating internal discontent nothing? If what we fear is not so much invasion as disaffection excited from without; if the risk which we are so anxious to avert is the risk of internal insurrection, surely, my Lords, it is more important to make sure that the materials for a conflagration do not exist than to take extraordinary and costly precautions against a spark or two finding its way in. If you have a people ready and ripe for revolt the occasion will come some day. If they are on the whole contented, incitements to insurrection will do little mischief. When, therefore, I am told of the danger of foreign intrigue in India, I do not meet the argument by the assurance that India is in no danger—I wish I could think so—but what I say is, that you have to choose between incurring one risk or another, and that the risk which arises from crushing down a people with taxes is tenfold greater than that of leaving a vulnerable—if it be a vulnerable—point on your Frontier. But then I may be told that England—the English Exchequer—will bear part of the burden. It will be quite time enough to discuss that hypothesis when it is shown that English constituencies, chiefly composed of working men and poor men, are willing to increase their burdens for any such purposes. I do not believe they would agree to it; and if under any impulse they did so, still you would have no security for the arrangement lasting. We have seen enough in the last few years of the rapid fluctuations of public feeling in matters of this kind; and if, for the first time, India were made a direct burden on the English taxpayer, I am afraid you would create a state of opinion at home far more dangerous for the maintenance of the Empire than any which now exists. Nor, my Lords, is it possible to argue with those persons who contend that the revenue derived from the Candahar district would appreciably lessen the cost of holding it. You will sooner get honey out of a wasp's nest than you will draw taxation from an Afghan province. I see in the last Blue Book, that Shere Ali is reported to have said—

> "I am not afraid of your annexing Afghanistan, because it yields only £1,000,000 revenue, and it would cost you £10,000,000 to keep it."

I recollect hearing some saying of the same kind ascribed to Dost Mahomed many years ago. Whoever said it, the estimate is just; and what holds good of a whole holds good equally of a part. Stones and armed men are the produce of the Afghan country, and you will find no other. But, my Lords, putting the financial part of the question aside, in what sense is the occupation of Candahar intended to be a safeguard? What is it that you are afraid of? Is it invasion, or is it diplomacy? My Lords, if India is to be invaded from the Russian Dominions one thing is certain—the invading force must first occupy and hold for a considerable time a large portion of intervening Afghan territory. Do you think the Afghan nation will submit willingly or tamely to an occupation of their country? Do you suppose that the presence of Russian troops in their towns and villages, for however short a time, will be acceptable or even tolerable? Why, we know enough of Afghan character to be aware that one of their most marked characteristics is an intense love of independence and consequent jealousy and hatred of any foreigner who meddles with them. With a people such as they are, fanatical, suspicious, intolerant of strangers, no prospect of distant advantages would ever compensate for the domination of their country by a Russian force. If Russian troops were to enter the country on their way to India, I daresay it might be a wise step, in a military point of view, to occupy Candahar. I grant you that. But in such circumstances as I have supposed, would you require to go there as an enemy? No; you would be received as a liberator and as an ally.

The foreign Power, whoever it may be, who is actually holding Afghan soil will be more detested by the Afghans than any other Power for the time being. If we are occupying Afghanistan, the Afghan Chiefs, whoever they may be, will intrigue with Russia. If Russia is holding Afghan territory, they will throw themselves into our arms. Given a nation and a Government which only wants to be left alone, which is comparatively weak, between two great Empires and almost equally afraid of both, it is that Empire of the two which shows the least wish to intrude upon or control them which will be looked upon as a protector and friend. And even if it were otherwise—if necessity compelled you again to advance on Candahar against the will of the Natives—is that a matter of extraordinary difficulty? We have had, unluckily, a good deal of experience of fighting in Afghanistan. Where have we met any serious resistance? The difficulty has been—what it always is in a turbulent and half-civilized country—to maintain communications and to get supplies up to the front. No Asiatic fortress has held out in recent times even for a few days against European artillery. Putting matters at the very worst, therefore—supposing a foreign Army to have entered, or to be entering Afghanistan—supposing that under that state of things the Afghans refused to call in help from us—supposing that we considered it a military necessity to reoccupy Candahar, can you not take it when you want it without holding it permanently in a time of peace? Is it worth while to incur the cost even of £1,000,000 a-year—probably of a great deal more — to hold for 20 or 30 years a position, which would be only an embarrassment and an encumbrance to you in time of peace, on the bare chance that if you are attacked in one particular manner or by one particular enemy you may possibly find it useful as an outpost? But, then, my Lords, it is said, what we really have to fear is not foreign invasion, but foreign intrigue with the Native population. Well, be it so; but how in the world will holding Candahar protect you against Russian intrigue at Cabul? Only in one conceivable way—namely, that the occupation will be a standing menace to the Ruler of Cabul—that is to say, to reduce the country to the condition of a Dependency, so that he will not dare to receive overtures from Russia—at least openly and to our knowledge, whatever he may do in secret. But, then, what you mean is a great deal more than the mere occupation of Candahar. What you mean is that you intend, by means of holding one Afghan capital, to make the whole country dependent. Well, that is going a good deal beyond the point which we had reached some time ago when a leading Member of the then Government told us that what he desired to see was "a strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan." And, my Lords, that is not the least valid of the objections against this occupation. You may, as I conceive, keep entirely clear of the internal feuds and politics of Afghanistan by remaining within your present, or nearly your present, boundaries. I am not now arguing the question of a few square miles more or less which may be required to give a better line of defence. You cannot, I am sure, hold one-third of the Afghan Kingdom in your own hands, and, at the same time, keep clear of the internal affairs of the other two-thirds. There is no well-defined Frontier—no line of demarcation. England remaining outside of Afghanistan may possibly be an ally—at any rate, may not be regarded as an object of hostility; England occupying Candahar can never, in the nature of things, hold any position at Cabul except that of an enemy or a master. I do not affirm that the two capitals have never been separated. No doubt at various times they have; but they are looked upon by the whole Afghan nation as constituting integral parts of one Kingdom. The nation has been broken up, no doubt, into tribes; but it has been often seen in nations, having a similar tribal organization, that, however hard it may be to induce them to combine in time of peace, however incessantly occupied they may be in fighting one another, they are always ready to unite against a foreign invader. Let us take a lesson from what is passing in Europe at this time. What do we see in Greece at the present day? We see that no Government has a chance of holding power at Athens that does not dangle before the people the prospect of an extended Greek Empire. And so it will be in Afghanistan. No Ameer will ever be able to hold his own at Cabul who does not encourage the notion of the recovery of Candahar sooner or later. Is not that a bribe easy for Russian or other foreign agents to offer? Does it not furnish the best and most convenient opportunity possible for those very intrigues of which you are always afraid? Whereas, so long as you keep outside of the Afghan territory, no Ameer who is not a madman will be likely, under any circumstances which we can foresee, to engage in an offensive war against England in the hope of conquering and keeping some outlying fragment of the British Dominions. That, my Lords, is a fact to which you can hardly attach too much importance. Stay where you are, or, rather, where you were, and it is at your own choice whether you go further. Advance to Candahar, and I believe you cannot stop there. The very jealousy and hostility which you will provoke at Cabul will be a reason for going on to Cabul; the jealousy with which your advance will be viewed in Russia will be the reason for further Russian advances. My Lords, I should really like to know how many of those who cry out for the retention of Candahar will be satisfied in their own minds to make that a limit? Have we not heard something of Herat? There was a meeting held last week, crowded and enthusiastic, to protest against the proposed withdrawal; but who was the chief speaker at that meeting? An able officer, a brilliant writer, an eager partizan of the policy of advance; and it is not very long since I read an interesting little book by him, written in support of that policy, pointing out the fertility of the Herat country, the resources which it possesses, the ease with which it could be defended, the danger of letting any other Power hold it, and so forth. That question is kept a good deal in the background just now. But I say, with some confidence, whatever reasons may be valid for the move onwards from Quetta to Candahar, I will undertake to find reasons just as conclusive why, if you go there, you would not leave the matter unfinished; why the position of Candahar should be regarded as insecure, and the object of it unaccomplished, if you do not hold Herat at the same time. My Lords, if the cost and the risk of holding Candahar were infinitely less than they are, I would still advise against it for this reason—If once you get even a finger entangled in this complicated wheelwork of internal Afghan politics, the finger will draw in the hand, the hand the arm, and you will not extricate yourself except in a very damaged condition. You are free to keep out of it; you are not free if once involved, to determine how far or to what extent you will be involved. My Lords, the noble Earl has told us that, without advancing one step or moving a single soldier, Russia, once holding Merv, will be practically dominant at Herat, as a necessary consequence of being in close proximity to that city. Why is that argument valid in favour of Russia, and not valid where it applies to us? Are we not also in close proximity to Afghanistan? Why is proximity to count for so much in the case of Russia, and for nothing at all in ours? Again, the noble Earl says—

> "If you withdraw from Candahar, your retrograde movement cannot stop there; you must give up Quetta, too."

My Lords, where is the likeness between the two cases? We are at Quetta in virtue of a Treaty of not very recent date, with the full and free consent of both Chiefs and people, who have never shown the slightest desire that we should withdraw. Will anyone contend that that is the state of things at Candahar? And, if not, where is the resemblance? Besides, there is a considerable difference between occupying a position on your own Frontier and occupying one 300 miles beyond it. It may or may not be wise to hold Quetta. I am not arguing that question; but it is a question in no way affected by the decision concerning Candahar. My Lords, a great deal of stress is laid—and not unnaturally laid—on the fact that among civil and military officials in India there is a preponderance of opinion against withdrawal. I admit that that is so, although with many exceptions; and I admit, also, the great ability and the disinterested purpose of those who are in favour of the policy of advance. But I contend that the weight of their opinion is lessened by one fact about which nobody who knows anything of Indian history can have a doubt, that the same language has been held and the same arguments used from the time of Warren Hastings to our own, where the alternative has been between annexation or leaving things as they were. The Services unite almost to a man where there is a question of extending the area of British possessions. They pushed on Lord Auckland; they applauded every annexation of Lord Dalhousie, some of which were certainly questionable, both in point of justice and of policy; and they almost hunted down Lord William Bentinck, the only Governor General who, up to that day, pursued a policy of reducing expenses and keeping out of wars. It is not difficult to see why that should be the predominant feeling of the official class in a military Empire administered by Europeans. An Army would not fulfil the conditions of its existence if it did not look forward with pleasure to fresh campaigns; and fresh provinces to administer have their attractions for civilians. The feeling is not a selfish one; it is partly a natural *esprit de corps*, partly an equally natural tendency to overrate the advantages of English administration. Anyhow, the feeling is there; and it would be just as strong if the matter in dispute were the holding of Persia or Burmah—or, I had almost said, of China—instead of Afghanistan. But surely, my Lords, a sentiment of that kind ought not to be blindly accepted by us in the place of argument. Surely we, at least, know that the great danger of military Empires is their constant tendency to expand into proportions which make them impossible to hold together. From the days of Alexander to those of Bonaparte, that has been the temptation and the ruin of conquering States; and why are we to suppose ourselves an exception? My Lords, the main argument for an extension of territory is always the same—that it is necessary for safety, because safety depends on prestige. The argument is plausible, and it is dangerous because it is plausible. I can very well believe that under many circumstances it might require a real exercise of political courage to refuse a possible annexation—you disappoint thereby your officials and your Army, and possibly, though not necessarily, you create for the moment an impression of weakness; but is not that a risk which you must run, and is it not a less evil than the evil of indefinite and perpetual expansion? Go on as far as you please—you must have a Frontier somewhere. Wherever you have a Frontier, there is a possibility of disputes and quarrels; but you do not lessen that risk by advancing. Swallow up Candahar, Herat remains; seize on Herat, and Persia still lies behind. It is likely enough that our Asiatic relations with Russia may, in any case, be uneasy; but are we likely to improve them by closer contact? Proximity only multiplies possible causes of difference; it certainly can do nothing to lessen them. But, in the present case, is any loss of prestige involved? When Afghanistan was invaded two years ago all intention of annexation was emphatically disclaimed. We were not at war, it was said, with the Afghan people, but with the Ameer; we wished for nothing so much as to see Afghanistan strong, independent, and friendly. It is not my object now to criticize these utterances; all that I contend for is, that they harmonize perfectly well with the policy of retirement from Afghan territory, while they are absolutely inconsistent with the policy of even partial annexation. What loss of prestige can there be in doing in 1881 that which we announced that we should do in 1878? But, then, it is said—"The Natives will think your power is gone, and they will begin to defy you." Well; but did they do that before? The circumstances are not new. We have held all Afghanistan. We marched through it 40 years ago; and not out of fear or weakness, but on the ground of rational policy, we withdrew. What followed? Was there any disturbance? Were our motives misinterpreted then? Did anybody think our Indian Empire was about to collapse? And, if not, why should they think so now? My Lords, if there be such a thing as a cowardly policy, I will tell you to what kind of policy that name applies—it applies to a policy of aggression founded on terror. It is the worst form of public cowardice when you do that which you do not believe to be in itself wise or politic, merely because you think if you do not do it somebody will say you are afraid. My Lords, the purely military question is one which it would be presumptuous in me to dwell upon. I know that military opinions are divided. I only, therefore, venture to ask one or two questions, which, no doubt, some one more competent than myself will answer. I would ask first whether, having a vast Empire and small Army, it is wise to impose on yourselves the necessity of locking up a very large garrison in a very out-of-the-way place, where it is useless except for one special purpose? I would next ask whether service in the Afghan country has not been found peculiarly unpopular in the Native Army—so much so as to have latterly interfered with recruiting? I would inquire, further, whether, in the event of any general disturbance in India, a garrison at Candahar is not liable to be cut off, or, at least, greatly annoyed, by insurrections in its rear; whether, in fact, the position is not too isolated to be safe from a military point of view; and whether, in the event of a war with Russia, one of our chief advantages of defence does not consist in the long and difficult country to be traversed, and whether we do not throw away a good deal of that advantage by advancing to meet the enemy half-way? These, at least, are matters for inquiry. My opinion upon them will be worth nothing; but if we are asked to go to vast expenses and incur many risks in order to secure a military advantage, we ought, at least, to know where we shall get the advantages for which this sacrifice is made. My Lords, a great deal has been said—a great deal more, probably, may be said—about those Russo-Afghan Papers which have appeared after so long an interval. I mention them merely in order that I may not seem to ignore their existence; but I do not see how they bear on the present argument. What they show is this—that a Russian Agent tried to get Afghan support when a war was expected between England and Russia; that he held out expectations to the Ameer which he could not make good; and that, when the difference between Russia and England came to an end, he threw over his intended ally without scruple. I should imagine that the result of that transaction would be to make secret alliances between Russia and Afghanistan very difficult for the future. For what is the language of the Russian General?—"Be ready to fight, but don't fight without us;" and when that was said he perfectly well knew that Russia had no intention of fighting. A more deliberate deception never was practised; but it is the Afghans, and not we, who have reason to complain. But, my Lords, had things been otherwise it would not effect my argument. I have never said that Russia could not try to meddle in Afghan affairs. What I contend for is that holding Candahar is not the right way to meet such attempts if they are made. My Lords, I have stated the reasons for which, in my judgment, it is not desirable to adopt the policy embodied in the Resolution of the noble Earl. I cannot do what, under such circumstances, is usually done—make an urgent appeal to your Lordships to avert the public dangers and inconveniences which will attend the adoption of this Resolution. I cannot do that, because I do not believe that any dangers or any inconveniences to the public will follow. The Resolution, I suppose, is very likely to be carried. What then? You will not alter the opinion of the other House of Parliament, nor the opinion of the Government who are responsible for the course that they may take. I will venture to say you will not alter the opinion of the country. You will simply have uttered a protest. It is your right—no one questions that; but for myself, deeply concerned as I have always been for the credit and influence of this House, I doubt the wisdom of putting on record, without necessity, an opinion which will remain without result. You set your own consciences free, no doubt; but, at the same time, you register—I do not like to use a harsh word and say your own impotence, but your own inevitable inability to alter the course of events. The outside world, I am afraid, will take a cynical view of the situation; they will simply say—"By all means let the House of Lords pass as many Resolutions as they like; it pleases them and it does no harm." But is that a dignified position for this House to accept? One of two things must happen if this Resolution is carried. Either a counter Resolution will be moved in the other House of Parliament, and, of course, be carried there, or else no notice whatever will be taken. In the one case you are snubbed, in the other you are ignored. Neither is, to my mind, a pleasing alternative; and I should not have thought it was one to be accepted, far less to be invited, by those who are most anxious to support the dignity of this House. But, my Lords, that is a view which chiefly concerns those who, on the Main Question, look upon the matter differently from me. For myself, I shall vote against the retention of Candahar, because I believe it will be a burden and not a benefit—a source of weakness, not of strength—because I hold that our best defences in India are a full Treasury and a contented people, an Army not too widely scattered for its work, and neighbours who are satisfied that we have do design on their territory or their freedom. Keep Candahar, as the noble Earl proposes, and every one of these conditions is reversed; and if I thought the dangers of Russian intrigues were as formidable as some persons seem to consider them, I cannot see the way by which they would be more effectually promoted than by endorsing the policy embodied in this Resolution.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: The counsel, my Lords, with which the noble Earl opposite concluded his speech amounts to this—that your Lordships, being a part of the Great Council of the Realm, should never give your advice upon any subject unless you are certain beforehand that it will be accepted. I am not entirely surprised at that recommendation coming from the noble Earl, for I cannot help remembering that at the last great debate we had in this House his own view of the course which was best for him to pursue was to express an opinion strongly against the Bill then under consideration, and then to vote for it. He naturally expects your Lordships to follow, in some sense, the example which he has set, and, though you feel strongly against the abandonment of Candahar, because you are not certain your advice will be followed, you are to abstain from following your own convictions. In my view, that is not a worthy estimate of the duties of this House. On others lie the responsibility of the course which is being adopted. Our plain duty is to express the truth as we feel it on this and the other momentous questions of the day. If we fulfil that duty, we shall fulfil the highest function for which we exist. I am not prepared to admit that because at present the opinion of the House of Commons and, as some persons think, that of many persons in the country tends to an opposite direction, therefore the proceedings of this House will be wholly without effect in bringing about a sounder state of reasoning and opinion. My Lords, in reference to the functions of this House, it is right that you should bear in mind that, while in one sense your position is less powerful by far than that of the other House of Parliament in that you cannot immediately influence the actions of the Executive in those matters which lie in its immediate jurisdiction, you are in another respect in a superior position to that of the House of Commons in that you are able freely, and without reference to other considerations, to give your opinion frankly upon such matters as are brought before you. The other House has a Government to support and a Party to keep in Office, and even if the opinion of the House were the contrary of what it is, it might be that they would be disposed to keep back that opinion from the fear of imperilling other objects nearer their hearts. Therefore—especially when Party discipline is so strong as it is now—it is on that account all the more desirable that the people of this country should have freely and frankly laid before it the opinions of those who are nearer the centre of affairs, and have better facilities than the other House of judging of matters which concern the external welfare of the Empire. The great point to be borne in mind in this debate is that we have been dealing for a great number of years past with a danger which has constantly been altering in the way in which it approaches us and in nearness and intensity. The result is that there is, on the one hand, a great latitude and a great diversity of opinion on the part of distinguished authorities. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that when many of the authorities referred to were alive the danger was much less serious than it is now. Such authorities would probably not now, if they were living, hold the opinions which they then expressed. We have heard, on the other hand, a number of high authorities quoted by the noble Viscount who represents the India Office in this House. He went back as far as 1854, and quoted the opinion of Sir James Outram on the danger we had to apprehend, and the remedies we ought to take to meet that danger. But when that opinion was expressed the Frontier of Russia was several thousand miles further off than it is now, and many obstacles existed to her advance which have since been removed. It is as though someone, in discussing the necessity of applying a remedy to the rinderpest were to quote the opinions of celebrated experts as to what should be done for keeping away that plague when it was as far distant as Hungary or the Dardanelles. Naturally, your views as to what should be done against the rinderpest would be much affected by the fact whether it was at the time in Germany, Holland, or Lincolnshire. You would be much more inclined for drastic measures when it was close by than when it was far away. It is impossible for us to tell what might have been the views of the great men who have passed away. I doubt very much whether even Lord Lawrence would be inclined for this abandonment of all the positions we have gained, although he did, as we well know, deprecate the policy in consequence of which our present position has arisen. But the truth is, that within the last few years the danger from Russian aggression—or rather Russian advance, for aggression is, perhaps, a word which we have no right to use—has constantly increased. It is not merely that it has increased by the addition of new territories to the Russian Empire. On the East and towards Turkestan, no doubt, the Russian Frontier has constantly advanced. But while the advance was confined to that region it was always open to Russia to say that that was only the natural growth of her Empire, and that it was only what must happen when cililization came into contact with barbarism; that it was the natural policy of a civilizing race. But now the cloud approaches us from the shores of the Caspian Sea. In that direction there are no Provinces to bring under; there are no Russian interests to watch over. Her presence on the eastern shores of that Sea, where there is nothing before her but a desert to conquer, is in itself a plain proof of a design against something beyond that desert. Since she came there, within the last few years, persistent and successful efforts have been made, and she has advanced first to one point and then to another. The most desert and difficult part of the country has been overcome. The formidable resistance of the Turkomans, upon which many of us—and I myself at one time—relied to delay her advance, has crumbled into dust before one of the ablest Generals in the Russian Service. And now we are at this point, that the forces of Russia have overcome the only enemy they had to fear; they have passed the most serious part of the desert which lay before them; she is beginning the construction of a railroad by which all difficulties of supply will be removed; and she has secured the cooperation of Persia who, we have every reason to believe—without prying into the secrets of the Foreign Office—is a mere puppet in her hands. That is the danger. It has gone on constantly increasing, decade by decade, and year after year. Why should it stop? What reason is there for believing that the future will not be as the past? What reason is there for believing that the Power which has hitherto been arrested by no obstacles, and which has shrunk from no sacrifices, will hereafter find those obstacles to be insuperable and those sacrifices to be greater than she can bear? Well, the danger being there, the question which your Lordships have to ask yourselves is, what remedy, what defence is open to you; what protection can you trust to? Ten years ago, I think the Government of that day trusted very much to the promise of Russia that she would not interfere with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. I have not heard anybody to-night exactly say that he trusted to the promises of Russia. In truth, those promises have been unfortunate. There was a promise that she would not occupy Khiva, and she did occupy Khiva. There was a promise that she would not extend her territory on the banks of the Caspian, but she has extended her territory on the banks of the Caspian. There was a promise that she would not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and she has interfered in those internal affairs. In short, we can now see that the cycle of events is first that a promise is given, then that promise is broken, and then that a new promise is given on the top of it. In what particular stage we are now I do not exactly know. It is possible that the noble Earl opposite has got at this moment a promise in his pocket that Russia will not advance beyond Geok Tekke. The Russian papers which have been produced give us an insight into the causes why these promises cannot be relied upon. Never was a Power more afflicted with disobedient officers than the great and powerful Empire of Russia. There are old stories of the same kind, which those who have read the history of Afghanistan will remember, all of them illustrating this peculiar defect in the character of the

Russian officer. We remember how, in the old war, Vicovitch, having gone against his instructions, was made to blow his brains out when he went home; and how Simvuid, at the Court of Persia, in the teeth of what we were told officially were his instructions, urged the Shah to undertake the campaign against Herat. And when we carry on our view into Europe, we remember a few years ago the remarkable phenomenon of Turkey being invaded from Servia by an army headed by Russian officers, those officers being said to be acting in diametrical opposition to the instructions they had received. Then there is the case of Khiva. We know that the Russian Government desired not to occupy Khiva, and that it sent a trusty Minister to assure us that it would not be done. Nevertheless, the Russian officer was again too strong for the Emperor, and Khiva was occupied. And now we have had the last case of the Russian Embassy to Afghanistan. It is described as an Embassy which was sent there when there was the chance of war between Russia and England. If the Russian Government really intended that to be be their policy, then they must have had an odd idea of the time when there was likely to be a war between England and Russia, because General Stolieteff started from Tashkend on the very day after the Treaty of Berlin was signed. If he selected that day as the one on which it was most likely that there would be war between Russia and England, I can only say that we are never safe; and I hear with very much less satisfaction than I should otherwise have done the assurance which the noble Viscount opposite gave us this evening as to the good relations existing between England and Russia. I do not think that the noble Earl entirely did justice to the peculiar character of that letter of the 8th of October—according to the Russian, and the 20th according to our style — in which General Stolieteff urges the Ameer to pretend peace and to prepare for war against us, and to wait for the Mussulmans on the other side of the Oxus, to go to war along with him. That letter was written three months after the Treaty of Berlin, and it was not written from Afghanistan, but from Europe; and, as far as I can find out, on that very 20th of October, when General Stolieteff was contriving that conspiracy against the honour of his Imperial master, he was actually residing at Livadia. With all these facts before us, I do not think that we can rely on any assurances from the Government of Russia to stay, even for an hour, the destined advance — for it is, I think, the destined advance — of the Russian troops to Afghanistan. There is another security, which was at one time a great favourite with the late Lord Lawrence and the men of his school, and is still a security, I think, with the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Northbrook)—namely, that India should not take precautions to defend herself, but should trust to the diplomatic or to the warlike action of the Government at home to arrest any action of Russia on the side of Afghanistan. I am not sure that the noble Earl who has just sat down (the Earl of Derby) did not allude to something of that kind; but it is popularly expressed by the phrase that if Russia advances to Herat we can make war upon her in every part of the world. What, my Lords, does that mean? You can only make war with Russia by sea. Cronstadt is impregnable, and unless you are on terms of alliance with Turkey—a position, I fancy, you have abundantly succeeded in getting out of by this time—you cannot make war with Russia by way of the Black Sea. And what does this making war with her in all parts of the world mean if her force advances to Herat? You will be driven, after all, to take some precautions on your Indian Frontier from the very absurdity of attempting to control that Power which is placed in all other respects absolutely beyond your reach. Then, if you are able to resist any advance, be it military or diplomatic or a conjunction of the two, what place is best situate by nature to enable you to construct that defence? I imagine that there is no substantial disagreement among great military authorities, whatever their views as to the precise policy at this moment to be pursued, as to the enormous strategical advantages of Candahar. Candahar has been described by a considerable strategical authority as an isthmus surrounded by dry land, and that very forcibly depicts the value of its military position. It has a desert on the south that cannot be turned on that flank, and to the north it has a difficult, desolate, and dangerous country through which no well-appointed army can march. The result is, that if an army wishes to approach India by the Passes, it must pass either close by or within striking distance of Candahar. Now, we are in possession of Candahar. I am very glad that the noble Earl who spoke last lent the weight of his authority to dissipate what seems to me the somewhat foolish and exaggerated language which has been used about the moral aspects of this matter. We are at Candahar by the right of conquest. The noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) appeared to indicate that he thought it was a high exhibition of morality to deny the right of conquest, and to maintain that, having taken it by war, we are bound to give it up; but I would only point out to him, without entering into these difficult questions of morality which concern matters of war and conquest, that, at all events, his doctrine must be consistent—that if it is our duty always to give up everything that we have conquered, it is a contention which will lead us a great deal further than Candahar—and I am afraid there is no part of our Indian Empire which would escape the action of his ruthless morality. I shall not touch further upon that question than to say that, according to all the evidence I have seen, it appears to me probable that the majority of the population of Candahar, if they were allowed to speak their minds, would prefer our remaining to our going. That the Afghans, properly so called, wish us to depart is true. I imagine that in the last century, if the Highlanders had been asked what they thought of English government, and of police, and of regular administration, they would have taken a hostile view of them. That is very much the view the Afghans take of our Government. They are an eminently lawless race. We impose obedience to the law—and, on that ground alone, they wish us to go. There is, however, a much stronger ground for this feeling — and that is that the Afghans are Mahomedans of a singularly fanatic type. But what appears to be borne out by the majority of witnesses is that most of the population of Candahar are not Afghans ;that they are Persians, Hindoos, Beloochi—in fact, a mixture of races, who only wish to be allowed to trade in peace. No doubt, those who trade and make money would desire our rule in preference to that of the Afghans. But a more serious objection to our remaining at Candahar is taken on the ground of finance. The noble Viscount opposite went into some detail; but I do not think even he accepted the violent estimate of Sir Henry Norman. The noble Viscount assumes that a garrison of 20,000 men will be required, and that that garrison will cost £750,000. Then he adds 100 per cent, without any calculation or investigation of details as to the further cost that would be necessary, for contingencies and additional supplies. This would increase the cost to £1,500,000. All these calculations are subject to enormous variation. I have seen a calculation of the number of men, sanctioned by one of the highest military authorities of the day, and one best acquainted with Afghanistan, and that calculation is that 12,000 or 13,000 men would be required. I have also seen a calculation as to the additional cost that would be brought upon the country owing to the distance from the source of supplies — it is put down at more than £350,000. Whether the troops themselves are an addition to the force of India or not is not a matter upon which I think the weight of military authority is in the negative direction. We have now a large force occupying the Frontier at three points—Jacobabad, Peshawur, and Rawul-Pindi. They are not there because those posts require a great force in themselves. When you move the Frontier forward, these troops will naturally leave these places and take up their new position on the Frontier that you have adopted. There are now about 12,000 or 13,000 at the three garrisons; or, at least, there were that number before the war began. Scarcely any increased force to the main Army of India will be required when these men have removed from the old to what will be the new Frontier. There is considerable military authority for saying that no material annual expense will be incurred for the force necessary to occupy Candahar. But I do not care to enlarge upon that point, because I really think that the calculation of the noble Earl who has just sat down (the Earl of Derby) has assumed too serious dimensions. He dwelt upon—and pointed it by illustrations—what he regarded as the deadly perils which environ the finances of India. He spoke of the contingent and uncertain character of the opium revenue—yielding £8,000,000 of revenue—he led us to believe that no serious addition can be made to the Revenue of India; and he finished his picture by painting in the darkest colours the terrible fate which was reserved for a country, the population of which was rapidly increasing beyond all possible means of subsistance to maintain them. My Lords, the saving of £300,000 or £400,000, which it appears would be required for the occupation of Candahar, will be no material relief from such a calamity. But, on the other hand, you have to consider the financial loss which results from false economy in matters of this kind. What would we give now if the regiments in the Transvaal last summer had never been removed? No doubt, it was done from the best motives of economy. I am making no charge whatever—I am simply illustrating my point —but the result of the saving, from a most laudable motive, a small amount of money has been a very serious expense, both in men and money, to this country. What would we have given in the case of the Zulu War if it had been delayed a sufficient time to allow of an adequate force being at hand to carry out operations? Well, what is the course which the Government propose to pursue in regard to this new danger that has arisen on the North-Western Frontier? Remember that I am not asserting that it is probable any sane statesman in Russia contemplate the conquest of India; but what is a very possible achievement, and what may be a very reasonable object of Russian policy, would be to make Afghanistan so completely a Dependency of Russia, to bring it so far within Russian military and diplomatic influence, to train its troops by Russian officers, and to arm them with Russian arms, to hold a Russian force ready to support them in case of conflict, that a menace would be created on our North-Western Frontier of the Indian Empire—a menace which would paralyze and control your policy in any other part of the world. That is the policy to which Russian statesmen may fairly look forward, and which it is not impossible they may achieve. It is a policy by which, if they do achieve it, the fate of Constantinople will be sealed. If they can once apply such a threat to your North-Western Frontier as to make you seriously concerned for the safety of your Indian Empire, no policy adverse to theirs can be pursued by this country in South-Eastern Europe. How do you propose to act in order to prevent them from establishing this supremacy and superiority in Afghanistan? I must confess that I do not quite understand the policy which the Government propose to themselves to adopt. Some people—I think among them Sir Henry Norman—some of the extreme advocates of the old policy which the noble Viscount advocates, are in favour of our remaining below the Indus and waiting there for the enemy to come. I have heard little to-night that leads me to suppose that that is a policy which any reasonable man would adopt, and I can only point at the terrible danger any Government would run who might propose to put it into execution. When Afghanistan is in hostile hands, and when the Passes are commanded by your enemies, do you imagine that no thoughts will arise in the minds of the Mahomedans that within the period of two long lives themselves have furnished the Rulers to India? I cannot believe that, with a formidable enemy in front, you can safely count upon the centre of your power in India remaining undisturbed; you cannot at once defend India and re-conquer it. But a more probable course, and one far more likely to be followed, is that which has been suggested by the noble Earl who has just sat down—namely, that whenever you anticipate great danger from the Russian advance in Central Asia, you should return and re-take possession of Candahar. But, as was very pertinently asked by my noble Friend who opened this debate, Can you do it? You must remember that, in such an event, Afghanistan will be hostile. A heavy veil will overspread that country, as has been the case before, and you will be absolutely ignorant of all that passes within it; while Russia, advancing closer and closer by the North-West, will have free access to it by Merv and Herat. Another question is, Will you meet with the same kind of Afghan Army when you return up the Pass of Bholan as that which you left behind? Will you not rather meet, if not with a European Army, with a Native Army with much of the skill and learning and discipline possessed by that of Russia? Some people appear to lay much stress upon the moral effect which our evacuation of Candahar will have upon the people of Afghanistan. There is a strange idea prevalent with regard to the Afghan character, which hardly coincides with that which is entertained by those who have lived in that country. There is an idea that they are highly impressionable, and that they are very easily touched and gained upon by any striking act of self-restraint, and that if they see you retiring behind your Frontier their first impulse will be to fall into great ecstasies at this great act of moral and virtuous renunciation, and will swear to each other that thenceforward nothing shall induce them to listen to the bribers or to fear the intimidation of Russia. I am afraid that that scarcely coincides with what experience has taught us with regard to the Asiatic character. I am afraid that in Asia allegiance is merely the recognition of superior strength, and that the Afghans will, on the whole, ask themselves, when they are determining to whom their allegiance shall be given, which is the stronger Power —which is the Power that can protect their friends and punish their enemies —and I am afraid that they will conclude that the stronger Power is that which advances and never retreats, and not the Power which retreats and preaches all the way. Of course, there are several ways of putting a retreat. I recollect, during the American War, when the Federals were compelled to execute that disagreeable operation, their Generals always spoke of this action as a strategic movement to the rear. Her Majesty's Government chose to describe it as a high moral act of renunciation. But these are all delicacies of civilization. The Afghan has to judge by experience of his own country and race, and his experience is that people who stand are the stronger, and the weak are the people who give way. I fear that when you have undertaken to execute this manœuvre, on which so much reliance is placed, of coming back to Candahar when you hear the Russians are at Herat—and I suppose commencing, by the way, to construct a railway at the same time; and, perhaps, after much debate at home and discussion in Parliament, and possibly a General Election intervening—I fear that when the salutary movement is resolved upon, you will have to meet something even more dangerous than the Russian Armies, and the alienation of Afghan allegiance and obedience. You will have to meet the general belief in that country in the decay of our own national power. Depend upon it, Candahar is no trivial or unimportant city. Its strategic value and its great historic importance make it the object of the attention of the whole nation; and the Power that is seen to give up Candahar will, in the words of a great living Statesman, be thought to be "a Power that has lived." The noble Earl spoke very contemptuously of those who fear to be thought afraid. The Rulers of India, who are attempting the stupendous task of governing 250,000,000 men by 250,000, do well to fear that they should be thought afraid. With them reputation for courage and strength, if it be not a substitute for the possession of that strength, is, at all events, a safety and protection against unnumbered evils which must accompany the repression of disorder in such an Empire as your Indian Empire. But, think for a moment—when you cast a fatal doubt on this reputation for strength, which is so essential, if not to your existence, at all events to your peace and tranquillity—what is the particular crisis at which this is done? Are your Armies in all parts of the world so strong and so successful that you can afford, at this particular time, to have it said that, struck down by a terrible blow in Africa, you are compelled to abandon the conquest you have made, and leave Afghan territory to those whom you conquered? My Lords, if you regard financial considerations, or, for the sake of deferring to the fantastical opinions of a particular clique of politicians or religionists who are not unrepresented in the present Government, if you take a course such as this, you, at the present time, suffer a doubt to be cast in the minds of millions of the Asiatic population on the strength and power of your military force, and you will have sacrificed that position, that reputation for tenacity, for resolution, on which your splendid Empire was originally based, and by which alone I venture to say it can be held.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: My Lords, it seems to me somewhat strange that the noble Marquess who has just sat down (the Marquess of Salisbury) did not devote some part of his speech to answering the very temperate speech of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) who has just addressed the House. As far as I was able to follow the speech of the noble Marquess, he did not attempt to answer the arguments of the noble Earl, but contented himself with a few criticisms on minor points which were alluded to. In some respects I can say, from my own knowledge, that the statement of facts made by the noble Marquess were inaccurate. For instance, he stated that General Stolieteff started from Tashkend the very day after the signature of the Berlin Treaty; but I know that he left on the day following that on which the Conference at Berlin commenced.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he had taken the dates from the Blue Books laid before Parliament. If the noble Earl would look into the Blue Book, he would see that the date was July 14.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: I reassert my statement, and leave it to the noble Marquess to contradict it if he chooses after a further examination of the Blue Book. Then, again, the noble Lords opposite were, many of them, Ministers of the Crown at the time when most of the events under consideration happened, and it is not for us on this side to take up the cudgels or to apologize for Russia or the Government in power at the time of which I speak. The noble Earl who commenced this debate (Earl Lytton) was good enough to spend a full hour of his speech in making an attack upon the humble individual now addressing you. In reference to that part of his speech I will only say that I have no intention to bring up again the old stories discussed in this House two years ago, or to enter on a disquisition as to the frame of mind of Shere Ali Khan in 1876. When I heard him read letter after letter from General Kaufmann to Shere Ali Khan, I was reminded of the story of Serjeant Buzfuz, who, having dwelt on the remark in Mr. Pickwick's letter that he wished to have prepared for him a dish of chops with tomato sauce, added the instruction to Mrs. Bardell, "Don't trouble yourself about the warming pan." I cannot understand that the expression of the learned Serjeant was more *apropos* to the issue in "Bardell *v.* Pickwick" than were the references of the noble Earl to alliances between illustrious houses as based upon the correspondence between Shere Ali Khan and General Kaufmann. The noble Earl has a perfect right to give an account of his own administration of India, but he has tinged that account with pretty much of Eastern romance. The noble Marquess has followed very much in the same line. I shall not follow either of the noble Lords, but confine myself entirely to considerations based upon the wisdom or the unwisdom of retaining possession of Candahar. I am in this difficulty, my Lords, that the different arguments in favour of the withdrawal from Candahar have been so exhaustive—those of my noble Friend behind me (Viscount Enfield), of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) below the Gangway, and the military argument of my noble and gallant Friend opposite (Lord Chelmsford)—that I would be but repeating their arguments if I went into the question. I contend that the noble Earl who brought forward this Motion was quite wrong in saying that we have reversed the policy of our Predecessors. What did we find when we came into Office? We found that the noble Earl had determined to leave Cabul without much caring whether he made an arrangement with Abdurrahman or anyone else for preserving order there. We found that his Government had determined to hand over Herat to Persia—an arrangement which had broken down. And was the policy of the noble Earl to annex Candahar? By no means. The late Prime Minister gave your Lordships a solemn assurance that no such intention existed. The noble Earl selected a man of very considerable merit—the late Wali—to be Governor of Candahar, to be supported by a considerable British force. But within six weeks of the noble Earl leaving Office the troops of the Wali mutinied, the result being a disaster to the British arms. It then became apparent that it would be impossible to retain the Wali at Candahar, and that, therefore, the whole policy of the late Government had broken down. We had then to determine what was to be done with Candahar—and it is, therefore, to put the case the wrong way to say that we have departed from the policy of our Predecessors, for within a few weeks of our taking Office there was no policy of theirs which we could carry out. It seems to me, therefore, that we should have had some stronger reason than any given by the noble Marquess for a new policy—namely, the annexation of a district as large as Great Britain, and involving responsibilities which he has greatly underrated. Well, my Lords, the question may be argued in two ways, and it is constantly argued in both. It is sometimes said that Russian invasion is a bugbear — that Russia would not be so foolish as to think of invading our Indian Empire. By other advocates of annexation it is said that it is necessary to retain Candahar in order to protect British Possessions in India against Russian aggression. I shall not go into that matter further; but it will be admitted that there are high military authorities on both sides of the question. Some, like my noble and gallant Friend Lord Napier of Magdala, think that Candahar would be a very important strategical point in case of any contemplated attack by Russia. Others, equally high in point of authority, think that it would not. I take it that the Department of the War Office who have considered this question and come to a conclusion upon it deserves some notice. The whole Intelligence Department of the War Office, representing the scientific branch, under his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, have come to the conclusion that the retention of Candahar as a strategical point is highly undesirable; and, therefore, my Lords, there is no preponderance of military authority in favour of its retention. The noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Derby) asked, would it be wise, in the event of war, to have so large a force as it would be necessary to keep at Candahar held in that isolated position—one from which they could not be withdrawn for any other service? In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that is one of the strongest considerations against the holding of Candahar at the present time. But, my Lords, the argument most used to-night was that by occupying Candahar we should be able to increase our influence and diminish the influence of Russia in Candahar. I admit frankly that the observations of the noble Marquess were perfectly correct in one respect. It is quite correct to say that by the advance of the Army of Russia against the Turkomans, Russia has got nearer to Afghanistan. But the question is, whether the occupation of Candahar is or is not likely to diminish Russian influence and to increase our own. I have always thought that one of the results of this war was a demonstration that the feeling in Afghanistan is hostile to Russia. It is the universal belief that what the Afghans desire is simply their own independence; and I am of opinion that they only wish to be left alone by England and Russia alike. The nation that interferes with Afghanistan, that endeavours to annex Afghan territory, whether it be England or Russia, will be the nation to which the Afghans will be hostile. Therefore, I consider that to occupy Candahar would be the surest way to extend Russian influence in Afghanistan and to open the road to the danger apprehended by the noble Marquess. The noble Earl (the Earl of Lytton) made some charges against the Government of breaking faith. In reply to them, I may refer your Lordships to the despatches of the present Secretary of State for India, in which the desire is deliberately expressed that faith should be kept in every case where pledges have been given to any person or tribe in Afghanistan. If, after the speech delivered by the noble Earl (the Earl of Lytton) in the Legislative Assembly of Calcutta, when he said that the British Government repudiated all views of conquest; after the Proclamation issued by the noble Earl to the Sirdars and people of Afghanistan; after the promise of the noble Earl to respect the independence of the Khan of Khelat—Ministers of the Crown should countenance and advise the retention of Candahar, what faith would Princes and Chiefs in India be likely to place in the solemn assurances of English Ministers? As to the moral aspect of the case, I am not one of those who would for a moment say that if the annexation was absolutely necessary to maintain the British Empire, we should not be justified in making it; but it is, at least, as noble Lords opposite will admit, a debatable point. As regards the question of expense, I have to say that in my opinion no reasonable man could put the number of troops that would be required for the retention of

Candahar and for the necessary supports between that place and the Indus at less than 20,000 men. We cannot reasonably calculate the expense consequent upon the retention of Candahar under 1,500,000 per annum chargeable upon the Indian revenues. There would also be large expenses for barracks, fortifications, and railroads, amounting probably to £5,000,000. The question of expense is a serious one—and it must be borne in mind that it is dangerous to impose additional taxation on the people of India. That was the opinion of Lord Mayo, and it is shared by many eminent men. If the large sums which I have mentioned are spent in the retention of this territory, the development of works of public utility in India will be impossible. The noble Earl opposite says that our prestige will suffer if we withdraw from Candahar. I should like to ask why our prestige would not equally suffer by our withdrawal from Cabul? I think that the noble Earl might have taken a lesson, if I may be allowed to say so, from my noble and gallant Friend Lord Strathnairn, whom I do not see in his place. That noble and gallant Lord said that the prestige of British arms in Afghanistan would be secured to the posterity of that country by the gallant action fought by General Roberts at Candahar; and I think that the noble Earl would have been better advised than to imply that our prestige will be diminished because we think it right to withdraw from Candahar. The noble Earl then said a good deal about Native public opinion in India. I do not doubt, my Lords, that there are in India many Natives—and Mahomedans especially—who are not well-affected to this country. But as regards the general opinion of the Natives of India, I believe that the noble Earl opposite is entirely mistaken; and I draw my conclusions from the opinions expressed in the Native Press, condemning the policy of the late Government, and advocating the early abandonment of Candahar. My Lords, this question cannot be discussed altogether without reference to authority; but I am not going to quote opinions to your Lordships, as it is, in my opinion, unadvisable to go further into that branch of the question. I want your Lordships to consider for a few moments what has been, up to the present time, the prevision of the noble Earl late at the head of the Government and the noble Earl near him as to the management of the affairs of Afghanistan. Have their anticipations been correct or have they not? I take the noble Earl the late Viceroy first. He anticipated that the Mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain to Cabul would be successful, and that there would be no need for resorting to hostile measures or going to war with Afghanistan. A very few days after the expression of that opinion we were at war with Afghanistan. I take another case. The noble Earl the late Prime Minister, on the 5th of August, 1879, speaking at a banquet at the Mansion House, explained to the Lord Mayor what the Government which he represented had done in Afghanistan. He said—

> "My Lord Mayor, you have reminded me that it was to the City of London that I first announced the determination of Her Majesty's Government to secure for our Indian Empire an adequate and scientific frontier. I have now the gratification of reminding you that that object has been accomplished and achieved with a rapidity and a precision of execution which cannot easily be paralleled in the annals of war."

That was spoken on the 5th of August, 1879, and it was on the 3rd of September that Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort were murdered in the city of Cabul. If that is political prescience with regard to the affairs of Afghanistan, I should like to know what political prescience really is. And where is the scientific frontier now? It is painful to ask what, according to these Papers, has become of the scientific frontier to which the late Prime Minister and the late Viceroy of India attached such vast importance. From the last Blue Book we find that the question was asked whether it would be possible to keep British troops in one of those positions — namely, the Kuram, which was so much advocated at one time. There was not a single officer, from General Sir Donald Stewart and General Sir Frederick Roberts downwards, who did not state that that position would be utterly untenable. What was the next political programme from the noble Earl opposite? We had a policy of revision. What has become of all the arrangements that were made by the noble Earl? Just before the Dissolution we heard from the noble Earl opposite a violent attack in the Legislative Council of Calcutta on the Prime Minister, because he saw that the Financial Estimates put forward by the Indian Government did not show the real expenditure. And these are the Advisers that ask your Lordships to agree to an extension of your Empire—an extension which, I am bound to say, as I have said before, would be to the advantage of Russia, if Russia ever, by intrigue or by force, desired to damage the British Empire.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half-past Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 3rd March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—George James Howard, esquire, *for* Cumberland County (Eastern Division).

Select Committee—Railways (Rates on Fares), *nominated.*

First Report—Commons [No. 115].

Public Bill — *Second Reading* — Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98]—*Second Night, debate further adjourned.*

QUESTIONS.

THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT, 1871—PATRONAGE OF THE LATE CHIEFS OF DIVISIONS.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What arrangements the Government propose to make with reference to the Patronage hitherto exercised by the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and the Lord Chief Baron; and how it is proposed to carry out such arrangements?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have to thank the right hon. Gentleman for kindly postponing this Question in consequence of my unavoidable absence. I have to say that, upon examining the matter, Her Majesty's Government have arrived at the conclusion that new arrangements are necessary with regard to the patronage hitherto exercised by the two Lord Chief Justices whose Offices are abolished. They will carefully consider what those new arrangements should be, and the House will have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon them.

ARMY—PROPERTY OF DECEASED SOLDIERS.

Major VAUGHAN LEE asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to War Office Letter, E | 79052 | 8, of the 19th November 1880, If he can state when the father of the deceased soldier, No. 2085, Private Alfred Hill, of the 1st Dragoon Guards, who died at Pretoria, will be likely to be informed of the receipt of any sum arising from the sale of his effects; and, if he will cause inquiries to be made why the product of such sale has not been already transmitted?

Mr. CHILDERS: If the hon. and gallant Gentleman had spoken to me on this subject, I would have shown him the Papers and saved him the trouble of bringing the case before the House. Since I took Office, I have issued stringent orders to have these cases reported home without waiting for the periodical Returns. In this instance, the delay probably arises from the regiment having been employed on active service. I have called the attention of the Commander-in-Chief in India to the delay.

ARMY—NATIVE AND COLONIAL LEVIES.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the report alluded to in the "Daily News" of February 26th, that Sir Evelyn Wood is "organising an Intelligence Department, with Natives as scouts," conveys to him the impression that Natives may be employed as combatants against the Boers; and, whether he has any objection to state what instructions, if any, have been given in regard to the employment of Natives?

Mr. CHILDERS: I will answer together the Question of my hon. Friend, and also the Question of the right hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for the

Wigton Burghs (Admiral Sir John Hay), who asks me—

> "What assistance the Forces of the Crown may hope to obtain in the suppression of the rebellion in the Transvaal and in defence of the Colony of Natal, from local forces, volunteers, and native levies?"

Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of the intention which Sir George Colley had expressed to avoid, as far as possible, the employment in the present war of levies raised either from the White Colonists or from the Native population; and in answer to a recent inquiry from Sir Evelyn Wood, he has been informed—

> "That both the White and Native populations in Natal may properly be employed to defend themselves, and have arms for that purpose; but, except in the case of an extreme military necessity, we deprecate the use of either White or Native populations as troops."

Similar instructions will be given to Sir Frederick Roberts. I have no knowledge of any Natives having been employed as scouts.

IRELAND—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

COLONEL **COLTHURST** asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a statement in the Paris correspondence of the "Times" of Saturday last, copied from "La Triboulêt," wherein it is stated, upon the alleged authority of the honourable the junior Member for Cork, that the Archbishops of Dublin are nominated by the English Government, which is careful in choosing them, these Catholic prelates share the prejudices of the Anglican Church against us; and, whether it is true that the Most Reverend Doctor McCabe, the present Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was nominated to that see by the English Government; and, if so, since what date, and under what circumstances, has the Holy See delegated such a power to the Irish Executive?

MR. **HEALY** (for Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN) asked the honourable and gallant Member for Cork County, What steps, if any, he took before giving notice of the Question which stands in his name, to ascertain whether as a matter of fact the honourable Member for Cork City ever made any such statement as that referred to in the honourable and gallant gentleman's Question merely on the authority of an interviewer in a French newspaper?

[Colonel COLTHURST did not answer the Question.]

THE **ATTORNEY GENERAL** FOR **IRELAND** (Mr. LAW): I have seen in the newspapers the statement referred to in this Question; but I have no means of knowing whether it was published, as alleged, on the authority of the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Cork. [Mr. HEALY: Hear, hear!] So far, however, as the statement itself is concerned, I can say that neither the present Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin nor any of his predecessors have been nominated to that See by the English Government. The statement quoted is utterly void of foundation.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—FOYNES HARBOUR.

MR. **DAWSON** asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If his attention has been drawn to the present state of Foynes Harbour, which for want of dredging has silted up, and to the fact that the pier is unapproachable, necessitating the erection some time ago of a floating stage, now rapidly decaying; and, whether, in view of the requirements of the traffic and the probability of the establishment of a fishing station at the mouth of the Shannon, the Board of Works will have the harbour and pier put into proper condition?

LORD **FREDERICK CAVENDISH**: The unsatisfactory state of Foynes Harbour has long been a matter of difficulty. Some years back an offer was made by the Treasury to contribute one-half of the cost, estimated at £1,200, of extending the jetty into deep water, provided the other half was contributed by those locally interested; but as no contributions were forthcoming, the design fell through. Subsequently a floating stage and gangway were attached to the end of the jetty by the Limerick and Foynes Railway Company for the use of the steamer running in connection with their line. It is supposed that it is this construction that the hon. Member describes as rapidly decaying. Recently the matter has received special attention, and inquiries are being made as to the best course to be adopted for putting the harbour into a proper condition. In the meantime, directions have been given for making the harbour available, as far as possible, for fishing vessels by dredging out the mud at the pier-head.

PARLIAMENT—"DRAFT EDITORIALS"—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it was with the sanction of the Government that certain draft editorials on Mr. Speaker's New Rules and other matters have been forwarded to organs of the Press by the Noble Lord the Patronage Secretary; whether the acceptance of such draft editorials is connected with the communication of official information; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, a list of the journals in London and the provinces which are in receipt of official information?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Question of the hon. Member, if he will allow me to observe, is not one of a very usual character. It is, no doubt, within the Rules of the House, or it would not have been allowed to be placed on the Paper; but I am bound to say that with regard to Questions of this kind, and any Questions addressed to Members of the Government as to communications which they hold on their own responsibility, even with any gentlemen connected with the Press or any other person whatsoever, I have the greatest doubt—I will not deny the right of Members to put them—but I very greatly doubt our obligation to answer them. Let it be understood, therefore, that I enter a general protest. At the same time, in this particular case, a refusal to answer would appear to throw an air of mystery over an affair about which there need be no mystery whatever. I will not criticize the language of this Question; it is, a good deal of it, beyond the sphere of my knowledge, and I am not sure what is meant by draft "editorials." I know nothing about the draft editorials to which the hon. Gentleman refers or from whom he derives his information, such as it may have been, though I dare say it may have been from some Member of the House, possibly from one not sitting a very great distance from his present seat. But I have made inquiry from my noble Friend who is the immediate object of this Question, and I have been provided with the following simple explanation on the subject:—When the Speaker's New Rules were read to the House a few notes upon them were drawn up by a private Member. I may perhaps observe, in passing, that as, by the Rules of the House, these Rules cannot be made the subject of discussion, I imagine that that private Member considered he was rather doing a service to the public than otherwise in endeavouring to explain or elucidate anything connected with them through the medium of the public Press. However, he drew up a few notes upon them, and he requested my noble Friend (Lord Richard Grosvenor)—who was no more than a medium in the case—to forward them to the editor of *The Daily News*. My noble Friend did forward them; but, unfortunately, the editor did not make any use of them. That is the true story of a very grave and, I must say, rather an alarming Question.

IRELAND—FAILURE OF SEED POTATOES.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, although the whiterock potatoes supplied by the Poor Law Union authorities to the poor in Ireland last Spring have almost universally failed, the Guardians are not in a position, under the existing Law, to dispense with payment for the same; and, whether he proposes to take steps to relieve the poor people in question from payment for the seed that failed?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): I have communicated with my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland in reference to this Question, and he wishes me to say, in reply to it, that his attention has been called to the fact that in some cases the seed potatoes supplied by the Boards of Guardians last spring have failed; but he has reason to believe that this failure has not been general, and it is not his intention to propose any legislation on the subject.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND)—ST. OLAVE'S WORKHOUSE.

MR. BLENNERHASSETT asked the President of the Local Government

Board, Whether he has caused inquiry to be made into the following circumstance, which is reported to have taken place at the Southwark Police Court on Friday last :—

> "Elizabeth Shepherd, a young woman who had a child in her arms, waited upon Mr. Bridge to complain of the conduct of the guardians of St. Olave's Union, who had thrust her and her baby into the streets. About two months ago she was taken very ill, and, being destitute and friendless, was admitted to the St. Olave's Workhouse. On Wednesday last she was turned out by order of the guardians. She had no home or friends to go to, and she and the child were ill. Dr. Gittings, the medical attendant of the workhouse, was in court when the woman told her story, and confirmed it in every particular, saying he was surprised at her being turned out of the workhouse that morning, as her child was in a very bad state, and she had no means of providing for it. The presiding magistrate said he was of opinion that the guardians had acted very cruelly, and he had no hesitation in saying that had the child died, the guardians would have rendered themselves liable to be charged with manslaughter;"

whether, if these allegations are well founded, the guardians acted within their legal powers in expelling these sick and friendless persons from the workhouse; and, what steps he proposes to take to prevent a recurrence of similar conduct?

Mr. DODSON: Inquiry has been made, and the report as to the discharge of the woman and her child appears to be substantially correct, except that the woman herself was in good health at the time of her discharge, and the order was not given by the Board of Guardians, but by a member of the Visiting Committee. The proceeding was altogether irregular. If, however, the order had been given by the Board of Guardians, who unquestionably have the power of ordering the discharge of any person whom they may think able to maintain himself, the present case certainly does not appear to be one in which that power should have been exercised. The Board are at present in communication with the Guardians on the subject; but, pending their reply, I cannot say whether it will be necessary to take any steps to prevent the recurrence of a similar proceeding.

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY, IRELAND—THE RETURNS.

Mr. LITTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Why the Returns ordered on the 20th July, 1880, in relation to the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland, have not been yet presented; and, whether he will be good enough to hasten the Returns?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: I am sorry for the delay which has occurred in preparing these Returns, which has been partly owing to a misapprehension. Since then I have been in communication with the hon. Member for Dungannon (Mr. Dickson) with the view, if possible, somewhat to simplify the form of one of the Returns, which in its original shape would have been very expensive. The alterations have been agreed upon, and since then the Returns have been in preparation. One of them, *Estates in bankruptcy prior to 31st of December*, 1878, *having assets undivided*, will probably be completed within a fortnight, but the other one involves so much detail that it is feared that some time will still be required for its completion; but it is being pressed on as rapidly as possible.

LAW AND JUSTICE—ADMISSION OF SOLICITORS TO THE BAR.

Mr. FINIGAN asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in view of the resolution stated to have been passed by the Benchers of the Inns of Court, as to solicitors being admitted to the Bar after keeping four terms, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring in a measure by which increased facilities will be afforded to barristers becoming solicitors; and, whether it is not at the present time necessary that barristers must be of five years' standing before they can be admitted on the roll of solicitors, and pass the usual final examinations for solicitors?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, was understood to say that he was not aware that any complaint had been made as to the hardship of the existing regulations; there was no intention on the part of the Government to propose any legislation on the subject.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—SUBWAYS.

Sir HARRY VERNEY asked the honourable Member for Truro, Whether, when a new street is formed, it is the habit of the Metropolitan Board at the same time to make a subway for containing gas, water, and other pipes; and, whether the Board will use their endeavours to have subways made whenever they have the opportunity of doing so?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: In reply to my hon. Friend's Question, I beg to state that in forming new streets the Metropolitan Board have, when considered advisable, made subways for containing gas and other pipes, as in the case of the Victoria Embankment, Queen Victoria Street, Northumberland Avenue, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, Garrick Street, and Southwark Street. The great inconvenience, however, of disturbing existing arrangements would not, I think, justify the formation of subways in all cases; and I am not, therefore, prepared to say that the Board will, on all occasions, use their endeavours to have them made. Power is usually taken in the case of long and continuous improvements to form subways; and such power has been taken with regard to the new streets proposed from Charing Cross to Tottenham Court Road and from Piccadilly Circus to New Oxford Street.

MIDDLESEX MAGISTRATES—MUSIC LICENCES (GOOD FRIDAY).

Mr. BRYCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the fact that the form of music licence granted by the Middlesex magistrates expressly forbids the performance of any music in a licensed hall on Good Friday, although that day is not mentioned in the Licencing Act 25 Geo. 2, c. 36; whether he is aware that, in consequence of the action of the Middlesex magistrates in so framing their form of licence, and in refusing to permit any deviation from its terms, the directors of important public institutions in London are unable to have oratorios performed on Good Friday in the public halls under their charge; and, whether he will consider the propriety of so amending the Law as to enable the directors of these public halls to give sacred music on Good Friday?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, was understood to say it was true that Good Friday was not mentioned in the Act of *Geo.* II. In fact, no day was prohibited by that statute. The Justices were authorized to grant licences at their discretion, and at their discretion they had excluded Sunday, Christmas Day, Good Friday, and public fast days. He understood from the Clerk of the Peace for Middlesex that no application had ever been made for a variation of the usual terms on which licences were granted; and it was, therefore, incorrect to speak of any refusal on their part. Moreover, the Colleague of the hon. Member (Mr. Ritchie) had given Notice to bring the Question before the Middlesex magistrates at their next meeting; and, in view of this, it would be premature to consider the propriety of fresh legislation.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTERS.

Captain O'SHEA asked the First Commissioner of Works, What progress has been made towards providing suitable rooms for the representatives of the press in this House, the number of whom has been increased during the present Session, by Mr. Speaker's consent, to upwards of 200.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that he had no objection to give further accommodation for the Reporters, as he admitted that the present accommodation was insufficient and unsatisfactory. It was no easy matter, however, to determine how to do so. He hoped to be in a position before long to do something for the Reporters. But they were much cramped for room in that part of the building.

ARMY (THE AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARMOURIES FOR VOLUNTEER CORPS.

Mr. RANKIN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in consideration of the recent order with respect to the safe custody of rifles belonging to Volunteer corps, it would be possible to obtain some additional grant to assist the corps in defraying the expenses incurred by them in providing armouries?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to state that the confidential Circular to which he alludes only instructed Colonels of Militia, Yeomanry, or Volunteer regiments to take precautions for the security of their arms and ammunition against sudden attack. Volunteer corps have to find their own armouries out of the capitation grant. I cannot promise any additional assistance for this purpose.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY ACT, 1881—THE CARTER ESTATE.

MR. GRAY (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to a letter signed "Geo. T. Shaen Carter," addressed to the Rev. Henry Hewson, J.P. of Belmullet, county Mayo, and published in the "Freeman's Journal" of Saturday, in which he promises this clergyman that if certain persons will pay him rent—

> "It will be my pleasure to defend all the tenants on the Carter estate (with very few exceptions) from any aggressive action they may be subject to under the Coercion Bill, and I shall do so energetically wherever I find the opportunity. I shall give the tenants two weeks to come in and pay;"

and, whether Mr. Carter had any authority whatsoever to make promises of this description; and, if not, whether the Government will take any notice of the covert threats conveyed by his letter to certain of his tenants?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): Since Notice of this Question was given by the hon. Member, I have read the letter referred to. Mr. Carter had no authority from the Government for writing the letter, nor is the matter one which calls for the interference of the Government.

PUBLIC HEALTH — SMALL-POX (METROPOLIS) — FULHAM SMALL-POX HOSPITAL.

MR. FIRTH asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is the fact that Fulham Small-Pox Hospital is now made the receptacle for more than one-third of the small-pox patients of the whole of London; whether the borough of Chelsea, which includes the whole of Kensington, Notting Hill, Fulham, Chelsea, and Hammersmith have volunteered to take charge of their own small-pox patients; whether the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the Local Government Board have not declined to confine the said hospital to such district; whether the Local Government Board do not decline to receive a deputation to urge such limitation; whether, according to the decision in a recent case, a small-pox hospital is not a nuisance per se which may at any time be stayed by injunction; whether he is aware that the inhabitants of Western London, in consequence of such refusal as aforesaid, propose to take legal proceedings to obtain such injunction; and, whether, in order to save public money being wasted in fruitless litigation by the Metropolitan Asylums Board in defending such proceedings, he is prepared forthwith to advise such Board to close Fulham Small-Pox Hospital, and to remit the patients to the care of local authorities, or otherwise to abate such nuisance?

MR. DODSON: The Notice of the hon. Member contains no less than seven distinct Questions. I will endeavour to answer them as concisely as I can. In answer to the first, it is not the fact that the Fulham Small-Pox Hospital is made the receptacle for more than one-third of the small-pox cases in the Metropolis. The total number in the hospitals of the managers is 763, of which 217 are in Fulham. I have not received any offer from the borough of Chelsea to take charge of their own small-pox patients. The borough, as such, has no power to undertake such a charge; and the vestries of the several parishes in the borough have not, so far as I have been able to learn, provided any hospital for such cases, although express power was given to them to do so as far back as 1866, and they have, from time to time, been reminded of it. The hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, of which Fulham is one, were provided for the whole Metropolis, at the cost of ratepayers generally; and so long as there is spare accommodation, admission could not be refused to patients sent from any part of that area. For this reason it appeared to me useless to receive a deputation on this subject. The alleged decision that a small-pox hospital is *per se* a nuisance, and may be stayed by injunction, is now the subject of appeal to the House of Lords. I am not aware that the inhabitants of Western London propose to apply for an injunction. My reply to the last Question is that I am not prepared to advise the Metropolitan Asylums Board to close this hospital and remit small-pox patients generally to the care of the local authorities, more especially seeing that the vestries and district boards have, as a rule, failed to provide hospitals, as they should have done—at all events for non-pauper cases, which form more than half of the cases admitted.

DUBLIN SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUMS—THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, DUBLIN.

MR. DAWSON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether any site has yet been fixed on for the National Library in Dublin; whether any decision as to its external and internal plan has been arrived at; and, if the Trustees of the Library have been consulted on these points; if he would state why the Reports of the Visitors of the Dublin Science and Art Museum, the Natural History Collection, and Botanic Gardens for 1877, 1878, 1879, and 1880 have not been laid before Parliament; and, if the Visitors have met, and how often, to advise on matters affecting the Institutions above named?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Lord President visited Dublin during the Recess for the express purpose of settling, if possible, the long-pending questions referred to by the hon. Member. He called the Visitors together for the first time, to consult with them as to the site for the new Museum. He also had an interview with the Trustees of the Library, and ascertained their views as to its future location and arrangement. We have not made the progress we hoped, owing to the conflict of opinion in Dublin as to the Leinster Lawn site. I can, however, assure the hon. Member that we are very anxious to come to some agreement as to the site, and to commence the new buildings as soon as possible. We shall ask the House for a Vote of money for that purpose; but, until the site has been decided upon, no plans can be finally settled. As to the last part of his Question, the Visitors not having been convened before the Lord President's recent visit, no Reports have been received from them; but a fortnight ago the Director of the Science and Art Department in Dublin was instructed to call them together, and I understand they all meet this week to discuss the points referred to in the hon. Member's Question. Any Reports they may make will be submitted to Parliament.

THE EDUCATION ACTS—SCHOOL FEES

MR. W. NEWZAM NICHOLSON asked the Vice President of the Council, If his attention has been called to a decision given by Justices Lindley and Lopes, in the Court of Common Pleas on Saturday last, in an appeal from a decision of magistrates who had fined a man five shillings for not causing a child to attend a school:—It appeared that a child, in obedience to a magistrate's order, had been sent to school, but without the school fees, and that admission had been consequently refused; the learned judges quashed the conviction, on the ground that the appellant had sufficiently complied with the order by sending his child to school, adding that, if this interpretation had the effect of creating difficulties about payment of fees, "which was likely enough," that was an omission to be remedied elsewhere; if he will initiate some legislation which will prevent the compulsory clauses of the Education Acts being so neutralized; and, if he will also take into consideration the desirability of re-enacting the clauses that gave power to school boards to pay the school fees of children of necessitous parents?

MR. MUNDELLA: My attention has been drawn to the newspaper report of the decision to which the hon. Member has referred, and we have decided to consult the Law Officers of the Crown as to the steps it may be advisable to take in consequence. I can hold out no expection to my hon. Friend that the Government will re-enact the 25th clause of the Act of 1870, which the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) found it necessary to repeal; but we are considering whether it is not possible to assist the children of necessitous parents to obtain payment of school fees with less difficulty and less contact with the machinery of the Poor Law than at present.

THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.

MR. NEWDEGATE asked the First Commissioner of Works, When the enlarged Ordnance Map of Warwickshire will be published?

MR. WIGGIN asked a similar Question with regard to Staffordshire.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am afraid I cannot promise a very speedy publication of the Survey of Warwickshire, as, even under the scheme for accelerating the Surveys, it will not be begun till 1885. Of course, all the counties cannot be surveyed at the same time; but no time is lost in completing a Survey when once it is begun. I cannot, at this moment, answer the Question of the hon. Member for Staffordshire.

MR. NEWDEGATE asked, whether it was in any way in the power of the county of Warwick to assist in the earlier production of the Map?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Some of the towns obtained earlier Surveys by contributing a certain portion of the expenses. I am not sure whether the same thing can be done by counties; but I will make inquiries.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—BRITISH GARRISONS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can, without detriment to the public service, inform the House of the latest authentic intelligence received at the War Office respecting the provisioning of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and Wakenstroom, and also if in the opinion of military authorities at home, it is deemed to be absolutely necessary for Sir Evelyn Wood to risk an early advance in order to relieve those garrisons; or whether it is intended as far as practicable to restrict further operations until the arrival of General Sir F. Roberts?

MR. CHILDERS: Surely my hon. Friend must be aware that I could not, with due regard to the interests of the Public Service, state to the House, and through the House to the Boers, what is the condition of the beleaguered garrisons in the Transvaal. I have given to the House at this Table, and I have sent to the newspapers, all the information upon subjects of this kind which I think proper to communicate. If my hon. Friend would look at the morning papers he would see that with respect to Pretoria provisions were in abundance. As to the latter part of his Question, I am still more surprised that he should think of putting it to me.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE BASUTOS — OFFICIAL MINUTE OF THE CAPE MINISTRY.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is true that Sir Hercules Robinson and the Ministers of the Cape Colony have published an official minute protesting against the public expression of disapprobation by the Home Government of the terms of peace offered to the Basutos; and, if so, whether he will communicate such minute to the House?

MR. GLADSTONE: I believe this Question has reference to an answer lately given in this House. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Yes.] All I can say at present is this—that on the 28th of last month Sir Hercules Robinson informed Lord Kimberley by telegraph that his Ministers were engaged in preparing a Minute on the subject. That Minute has not been transmitted to the Secretary of State, and he has no official intimation of its publication, or any official knowledge of its contents. It is probable that we shall have more information in the course of a few days; and I need hardly say that we shall then be happy to give the required information.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE COMMAND OF THE FORCES.

MR. WHALLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that Major General Newdegate is under orders for the seat of war in South Africa; and, if so, on what grounds Her Majesty's Government have thought fit to supersede Sir Evelyn Wood as second in command of the forces there?

MR. CHILDERS: I hope, Sir, that the House will not expect me to explain to them the reasons for the appointment of the officers selected to command Divisions or Brigades under Sir Frederick Roberts. I should deprecate extremely the House of Commons taking upon itself duties for which the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State for War are especially responsible. But I must remind the House that matters have very materially altered since Sir Evelyn Wood went out to serve under Sir George Colley. The force in or on the way to Natal and the Transvaal now exceeds 15,000 men; and it would be out of the question to lay down the rule that no officer should be employed under Sir Frederick Roberts with higher rank than that of Colonel, which would be the result of only employing juniors to Sir Evelyn Wood. Sir Evelyn Wood is only a Colonel with Brigadier's rank; and in the event of Sir Frederick Roberts being disabled, it would be out of the question that the command of 15,000 men should devolve on an officer, however distinguished, of that rank.

MR. O'DONNELL: Does the right hon. Gentleman think it right to communicate to the Boers the amount of the force on its way to Natal?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes; because it has already been communicated to the newspapers, and is very well known to everybody who reads them.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS).

MR. HANBURY TRACY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government has considered the propriety of associating with Sir F. Roberts a civil commissioner, who might give assistance to the Commander in Chief in the event of an opportunity occurring of entering into negotiations with the Boers, in the same manner as political officers in India are attached to armies in the field?

MR. GLADSTONE: Upon this subject I have to say that, when Sir Frederick Roberts accepted the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, he was informed that in the event of negotiations for the settlement of affairs in the Transvaal, Her Majesty's Government would, in all probability, appoint Civil Commissioners for the purpose of conducting those negotiations. At the present juncture it would not be advantageous to enter further upon that matter. But I may say there is a widespread, and, I think, natural and just, anxiety on the part of Members of the House for information with regard to the political situation of the question in South Africa, and I wish to explain as exactly as I can at the present moment how we stand, hoping in a short time to be able to give fuller information. The House is aware generally that there were negotiations going on at the period immediately before the lamentable event of Sunday last—that actual communications had been made to the Boers, and that an answer was expected from them. The sad death of Sir George Colley has retarded, and, up to the present moment, prevented our receiving information as to the present position of those communications. On Sir George Colley's return from Majuba Hill, he would unquestionably have let us know their exact position. It will be borne in mind that in the actual state of things the authority devolved upon Sir Evelyn Wood; but Sir Evelyn Wood was not at the front, and has not, therefore, been able to give us the information that we expected from Sir George Colley. On Tuesday last, my noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley) telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Wood requesting him to lose no time in obtaining that information, and sending it to us in the fullest and most explicit form. Considering the probability of Sir Evelyn Wood's position, the time has hardly yet arrived to enable us to receive an answer to that telegram, but it may be expected within a very short period; and it will not be possible without that answer for us to convey to Parliament information of such a character as might not be open to the risk of leading to misapprehension after what has occurred. We hope to receive it in a very short time—very probably in a day or two, as it is not unlikely that Sir Evelyn Wood may have reached the front at the time I speak—and that then it may be in our power to lay before Parliament an exact account of the political situation as regards the communications between the Government and the Boers, so that hon. Members may be in a position to form their own judgment as to what has occurred. My right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Childers) informs me more distinctly that Sir Evelyn Wood will probably be at the front this evening.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE NAVAL DETACHMENT AT MAJUBA.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he would give the House any information as to the number of men in the Naval contingent engaged at Majuba Hill on Sunday last; whether he could state how many were killed and wounded; and what their behaviour was so far as he had any information?

MR. TREVELYAN: We have just had a telegram from the Commodore, in which he gives an account of the loss in the Naval Detachment, or, as in some of the newspaper accounts it is misleadingly styled, the Naval Brigade. Lieutenant Trower, of the *Boadicea*, and 16 men were killed; and Commander Romilly was wounded—very dangerously wounded—as well as 16 of his men. That is all we know; and as regards the behaviour of our seamen, that is enough. As far as we have heard anything officially, the contingent went out 60 strong. The Gatling guns could not be hauled up the precipices, and had to be sent back to camp; and we may answer for it that they did not go back without a sufficient escort. Out of the slender remnant which stood on the hill top, 34 were killed and wounded; and the Admiralty await in full confidence the details of a story which, even in its present condition, speaks for itself.

STATE OF IRELAND—MR. JOHN DEVOY.

Mr. GRAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will kindly read to the House the telegram he received from Mr. John Dèvoy of New York, and to which reference was made yesterday?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope the hon. Member will not think me discourteous if I decline to comply with his request. If I produced the telegram, I should be giving to the affair an importance it does not deserve.

Mr. CALLAN: If the right hon. Gentleman will not read the telegram, perhaps he will inform the House, and through the House his many friends, whether the telegram alleged to have been received by him from Mr. John Devoy really contained any positive threat as to the right hon. Gentleman's life. I ask the Question all the more, as I understand that Mr. John Devoy is rather a small man.

Mr. GRAY; Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether he still adheres to his assertion, that the words "stamp out" were used in the telegram?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I will not say. It is some time since I saw the telegram; but I remember the word "stamp" was in it. The other hon. Member asks me on behalf of his many friends—[Mr. Callan: The right hon. Gentleman's many friends.]—I do not know whether the hon. Member——

Mr. CALLAN: I rose distinctly to ask the right hon. Gentleman to allay the fears of the right hon. Gentleman's own friends.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I thought, perhaps, you meant the many friends of Mr. John Devoy.

Mr. CALLAN: Sir! ["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has put his Question, and he must allow the right hon. Gentleman to answer it.

Mr. CALLAN: I ask the House to allow me to express my regret and indignation that the right hon. Gentleman should think it consistent with his position to insinuate that I am in any way one of Mr. Devoy's friends.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not mean to insinuate that the hon. Member was a friend of Mr. John Devoy, and I am very glad he repudiates him; but, as he has asked the Question on my behalf, I can assure him, and, through him, my many friends, that I have no apprehension on the subject.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

SECOND READING.

ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [2nd March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now" and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. DAWSON said, when he was interrupted the day before, he was pointing out that though in the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland there had been a great deal of sound, there was a lamentable deficiency of facts and figures to support his argument. It was said that Mr. Hearne had been foully murdered; but Mr. Hearne was still living. It was also said, to add a dash of sensationalism to the matter, that Mr. Hearne was an agent of the brother of Lord Mountmorres. It had turned out, however, that he had no connection with that unfortunate nobleman, and that he was not dead. So it was that hour by hour, and day by day, additional light was thrown upon the inaccuracy of the statements which proceeded from the

Treasury Bench; and if the Bill were postponed more light might be brought to bear on the situation, to show how utterly unsuitable was the measure before the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman had cast a very severe censure upon the Irish Members on account of the manner in which the Irish Judges had been spoken of. It would, no doubt, be an extremely novel and unaccountable thing to hear hon. Members speak thus of English Judges; but it would not be so regarded if hon. Gentlemen were only intimately acquainted with the procedure which led to the Judicial Bench in Ireland, and with the conduct of those who found themselves in that high place. In this country eminent lawyers, irrespective of Party considerations, were chosen from the ranks of their fellows to sit on the judgment seat, and none of them were open to fear, favour, or affection. But in Ireland men proceeded to the Bench through the mire of politics; they were obliged, in too many cases, to be agitators, and there was evidence of one Judge, now deceased, whose appointment was a matter of debate in that and the other House on account of the agrarian agitation which he had stimulated. Therefore, they found excited harangues from the Bench where they should expect to find coolness and impartiality. A Chief Justice in Ireland had, in his own hearing, confessed in open Court that he had been carried away by passion and blinded by prejudice, and, therefore, he abandoned the part which otherwise he would have taken at a late trial. He would, however, address himself to the specific provisions of the Bill. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), with his usual ability, had proved that continuous Arms Acts had in every case been followed by an additional crop of crime. Arms might be used by bodies of men riotously proceeding through the country and terrifying peaceable inhabitants. If that were so in Ireland, he would at once favour its repression with a strong hand. But that idea was immediately dismissed, when they came to consider the matter carefully. If there were bands of 50 and 100 armed men perambulating the country now, an Arms Act was not required for their repression. The provisions of the ordinary law would enable such bands to be stopped in their riotous career. It was said in that House, on the part of the Government, that there should be every forbearance in the disarming of the Basutos; and, if so, it should not seem strange that a nation not in arms should appeal to the House to temper coercion with mercy. Firing at the person was a very tangible crime; and yet, with the gradual aggravation of distress in the last three months of last year, there were only three cases in October, three in November, and seven in December. Not one of these cases was attended by any personal injury. This was over the entirety of Ireland, amongst a population of 6,000,000, in a time of aggravated distress and the most intense excitement. But even then, when they looked into these, the majority of the cases turned out to be family quarrels, having no connection with the Land League, and which could not be termed agrarian. In one case, in October, a man named Harding had by will left his farm to a younger son, to the exclusion of the elder son, who had come from America expecting to have the farm. There was a family quarrel, and the pistol was fired by the wife of the elder son, who was tried, convicted by a jury, and sentenced to 12 months hard labour. In one case, in November, there had been a long standing family feud, existing long before the Land League was heard of, and before his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) had assumed his present prominent position. In this case, too, the offender was convicted by an Irish jury, and sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude. In the last case, in November, in which no injury was inflicted, the man was found guilty and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. In nearly every case in which a tangible crime had been committed evidence was forthcoming, and Irish jurors did convict. There had been no time to examine the Return just issued for December; but he recognized one case in which there had been a long-standing family quarrel. In the whole quarter there were only two agrarian murders. This was at a period of political excitement and aggravated distress in the four Provinces of Ireland, with its 32 counties and 5,000,000 of people. The cases of firing did not in the slightest way justify such a Bill as this, and there had been only two agrarian murders. It was astounding that the Government should think for a moment of bringing forward a Bill of such a nature on such flimsy reasons. Let them turn to England, and for the same period they would see greater reasons for passing an Arms Bill for England. Let the Home Secretary turn to the shooting affair at Kensington, and the undiscovered murder of an officer in a dastardly manner at Chatham. In Ireland there were no such terrible cases, and yet an Arms Bill was about to be passed for that country, while he saw no sign that the people of England were about to be subjected to similar legislation. The noble Lord the President of the Council, speaking a few evenings before in "another place," had quoted the opinion of Lord Macaulay, to the effect that the Habeas Corpus Act was the bulwark of English freedom, and that the liberty which it gave ought not to be touched except for overwhelming reasons, and with the probability that good results would follow from its curtailment. But, in the present instance, no such overwhelming case had been proved, and the measure before the House, instead of tending to good results, was calculated to have the very opposite effect. That was the view, he believed, which the people of England now took of coercive legislation, which, notwithstanding the speeches made by the President of the Board of Trade in the Autumn, the Government had proposed. It was, perhaps, useless for him to deliver these remarks to the House when the mind of the Government was made up in the same way as it was made up in regard to the last Bill. Irish Members had been credited with good debating powers when there was none to debate with. It, nevertheless, was the duty of the Representatives of Ireland to protest to the uttermost against this superfluous and most unjust Bill; and notwithstanding the speeches of the Home Secretary, who took refuge in lengthy quotations, delivered, it must be admitted, with dramatic effect—

"Not florid prose nor honeyed lines of rhyme
Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime."

Mr. DILLON said, he rose for the purpose of opposing this Bill, which seemed to him a most unnecessary measure; but, before he gave his reasons for objecting to the Bill, he would ask the permission of the Speaker and the indulgence of the House for five minutes, whilst he uttered a word or two of personal explanation on behalf of an absent friend in answer to what he must term a most cowardly and uncalled-for attack. He thought he had a right to make a personal explanation on his own behalf; for he had read a speech of the Home Secretary, which had been interpreted by the Irish people to mean that he (Mr. Dillon) was an assassin. He only wished, however, to speak on behalf of his friend, who could not speak in this House, and who, the Home Secretary had boasted, could not set his foot on English soil. He thought it would have shown more manliness if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had abstained from that boast. The words he objected to were contained in the concluding passage of the Home Secretary's speech on the third reading of the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill—namely,

> "If there exist men entertaining such sentiments, it is the duty of the House and of the Government to stamp upon them as upon a nest of vipers."

Also, in answer to a Question with reference to Mr. Devoy, the right hon. Gentleman had said that so long as Mr. Devoy and his confederates—the leaders of the Land League (including himself, he supposed)—thought fit to remain beyond the seas—whether at the Straits of Dover or the other side of the Atlantic—the less notice the Government took of them the better. Now, if the House complained of Mr. Devoy being thrust under their notice, he (Mr. Dillon) would never have mentioned him if the Home Secretary had not made the remark he had. After accusing Mr. Devoy of cowardice, the Home Secretary said that if he set foot on British shores it would, no doubt, be his (the Home Secretary's) official duty to pay him some attention. That was certainly inconsistent with his (Mr. Dillon's) ideas of manliness. When he read the Home Secretary's speech, he thought it contained one of the most cowardly attacks that had ever come under his notice. It was always a cowardly thing for a man, taking advantage of an eminent position, and catching the ear of the multitude, to blast the character of a man whom he knew circumstances prevented from making a reply. There were peculiar circumstances connected with the present case which made it more cowardly than an attack of the kind usually was. Who was the obscure man whom the

Home Secretary had attacked? He was a man who had spent his whole life—who had spent the best years of his manhood—struggling, sometimes in the direst poverty, against a hateful and atrocious Government, which he saw was destroying his country. He had shown, on more than one occasion, the best and highest qualities of courage; and he could not believe that when the Home Secretary taunted him with cowardice that he was acquainted with his history. For seven long years he endured the torture of an English convict prison, and, though he had never proclaimed it before the world, he had described to him treatment he received which would have disgraced the dungeons of Naples. With regard to the language used in reference to Mr. Devoy, he did not know whether hon. Members of that House were aware how inaccurate the reports of American newspapers usually were; and to charge a man with being an assassin because of some report published in an American paper was a most unjust and unwise proceeding. But suppose, for argument's sake, that Mr. John Devoy, in a moment of passion, used the very language which was attributed to him by the Home Secretary, he (Mr. Dillon) would prefer his friendship, even after he had thus spoken, to the friendship of a sleek and contented Home Secretary who could make the attack he had spoken of. Mr. John Devoy had faced imprisonment and exile, which, to him, were very bitter; he had devoted the best part of his life to a cause which he held sacred; and now, at the end of all his exertions and all his sacrifices, he saw his country, as he believed, about to be drenched with the blood of her children deliberately by the Government. He saw his country stamped on and insulted by two such worthies as the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Home Secretary. Therefore, if, for the sake of argument, he were to admit that John Devoy made use of these words—strongly as he dissented from anything tending to assassination—he would recognize that they were spoken in a moment of rage, which he would almost call a noble rage—that they were spoken from the bitterness of a spirit which was broken by long years of suffering and disappointment, and which saw all the hopes of a lifetime overthrown. In dismissing that subject he now wished to say a few words with regard to the present Bill. He had been accused of advising the Irish people to supply themselves with arms. He most decidedly did advise the Irish people to supply themselves with arms, and he should explain his purpose in so doing. Not being an Irish farmer himself, he did not know what view they took exactly with regard to evictions; but he might be allowed to state in that House that if he were an Irish farmer himself, and a body of men came to turn him out of his house and land, he should decidedly shoot as many of them as he could manage to do, and then abide the consequences. He believed if the Irish farmers took that course the evictions would soon come to an end in Ireland. Not being a farmer himself, and not being likely to fall under those circumstances, he had not given that advice. If he did, he might lay himself open to the charge of cowardice by recommending others to place themselves in a danger which he would not have to encounter. Therefore, he had not been in a position to give that advice. But he thought it well just to state that he held that view. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] This Arms Bill seemed to him to be a very cowardly measure, and also to be one of a degrading character. It was, to his mind, one of the greatest insults that could be offered to a free people. He did not even think the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was as insulting to a free people as to deny them the right of carrying arms. Would the Government disarm the Irish landlords? Or would they do what he thought was one of the most cowardly things ever done—would they disarm the Irish people, and leave the English people armed? The Home Secretary, in introducing this Bill, said at least it would prevent the open and ostentatious carrying of rifles and revolvers. Who was it that had carried rifles and revolvers openly and ostentatiously? Who but the landlords and their retainers, who went about and brandished them without the slightest justification? If they wished to restore peace in Ireland, they would disarm the Irish landlords, and tell them that the 50,000 troops they had sent into the country were sufficient to protect them. Let them at least disarm everyone in Ireland, and not leave the Irish people helpless, to be shot down, as they would be by armed landlords and their armed retainers. He had been accused, as he had said already, of advising the Irish people to procure rifles. The Home Secretary might have quoted a dozen speeches of his in which he gave the same advice. He did that for this reason—that he considered if the Irish landlords had the knowledge that in every farmer's dwelling there was a rifle, it might exercise some check on their depredations. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] He did not believe that the English Liberals would have lent themselves to so cowardly a proceeding as to disarm one class and leave another class armed. Neither did he believe that many of the Irish Members who had voted for coercion would have given their support to this disgraceful measure. He could not admit that a shred of justification had been shown for it, for the absurd and offensive observations of the Home Secretary with reference to plots and schemes of assassination directed against himself and his brother Ministers would justify an Arms Act for England, quite as much as Ireland. The real object of the Bill was to remove the last check upon eviction in Ireland. The landlords were not content with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. They were not content with having placed at their disposal 50,000 troops, who were now marching about the country, insulting members of the Land League, and provoking outrage and bloodshed. It was only three days ago since he was insulted by a company of English troops at Ballybrophy, in the county Tipperary. They were drawn up at the railway station, and they called out—"There goes the Land Leaguer," without receiving any reprimand from their officers, who were listening. Was that conduct which should be permitted to go on amongst unarmed people, smarting under injustice and oppression? If they wanted to provoke a civil war in Ireland—but it could not be a civil war, for the Irish people had not the means of waging a civil war—he wished they had —[*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Withdraw!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now exceeding the licence of Parliamentary language in advocating civil war.

MR. DILLON withdrew the expression, and said, if they wished to provoke bloodshed in Ireland, they could adopt no better means than to let their soldiers, as they were, loose through the country, insulting the people. He wished he could take hon. Gentlemen into the offices of the Land League, and show them the unfortunate farmers coming in from every district with handfuls of writs and ejectment notices, which were falling in Ireland as thick as snowflakes; in fact, he believed that the proceedings of the Irish landlords would justfy any extreme that the people might have recourse to, had they any chance of success. The landlords knew this themselves; and, therefore, they asked the Government to take the arms out of the hands of the Irish people. He must confess that the Property Defence Association had given him a great deal more trouble and anxiety than had the Coercion Bill, for they hired gangs of armed men, and sent them down to sales of property seized upon for rent. The danger attending these proceedings was terrific. They came down in the midst of furiously excited masses of people. They came armed to the teeth, and they purchased the cattle of farmers which had been seized upon and sold for rent. He acknowledged honestly that these proceedings had interfered a great deal more with the power of the Land League than the Coercion Bill could, and that he was much more uneasy about them than he was about the Coercion Act. But he still believed that he would be able to defeat the Property Defence Association. What he wished to point out was the cowardice of these men, who sent down hired gangs of armed persons whom they would not disarm, but would leave arms in their hands, to seize upon the goods of the people, and who were surrounded by crowds of armed police, and the soldiers of England, who alone supported them in their brutal conduct in Ireland. And while these men were permitted to pursue this atrocious conduct, the Government wanted to strip the people of their arms, for fear on some occasion they might in desperation, resist the proceedings. He would not detain the House much longer, and probably he should not address the House again for some time. He should not detain it, except to comment upon one of the concluding statements of the Home Secretary. He said—and in that sentence was a complete condemnation of the Bill—he (Sir William Harcourt) said—"I have no doubt that this Bill will fail to take away all the arms from the people. I have no doubt that numbers of arms will be retained with which murders and outrages will be committed." He would ask the House to consider that while the people were taking that advice of his, which had been represented as murderous, while they were acting upon his advice of supplying themselves with rifles, had murderous outrages increased? On the contrary, it had been acknowledged on all sides, and no attempt had been made to deny it, that while the people were arming themselves with rifles, outrages decreased in a most marked manner; and while Arms Acts such as these were in operation, ten times more murders were perpetrated in Ireland than there were now. There was much of the philosophy of Irish history contained in that sentence of the Home Secretary's. He (Sir William Harcourt) looked forward, he dared say, without regret, to an increase of murderous outrages in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said that numbers of these arms would be retained in spite of all their exertions, that horrible crimes would be committed with them. He (Mr. Dillon) was afraid that was so. He was afraid that if they drove those people to desperation that they would have recourse to the old methods of avenging crime, which they had hoped they had succeeded in driving them from. He told the House the simple truth in that he said the men had come to him in Ireland and had blamed him because they had induced the people to leave the old methods which they considered effectual. They said it was all very well to drive them into Constitutional agitation; but there they were now to be disarmed and put under the heel of the landlords. Formerly, when they used the more effectual weapon, one or two landlords were marked, then shot, and that proved more beneficial than all your Constitutional agitation. By their Coercion Acts they had driven the Irish people out of their paths of legal and Constitutional agitation which they induced them to go into; and if they were driven back to the dark ways of assassination by these Coercion Bills, passed amidst the jeers of a triumphant Ministry and a triumphant Irish Liberalism; if they were driven back to the dark and desperate methods which the leaders of the Land League had almost successfully induced them to give up, he said that the blame of the murders which would be committed on the return of the Irish people to the old methods must be laid at the doors of those men who struck out of their hands the weapons of open and legal agitation by arresting the men who committed any crime, and driving the Irish people back into desperation, from which they—the Land League—sought in vain to save them.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think the time has now come when this debate may be closed. We have heard the doctrine of the Land League expounded by the man who is an authority to explain it; and to-morrow every subject of the Queen will know that the doctrine so expounded is the doctrine of treason and assassination. Sir, I will not yield to the hon. Member——

MR. DILLON: I rise to Order, Mr. Speaker. I wish to correct a mistake.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary is in possession of the House.

MR. DILLON: May I not say a word in explanation? ["No!" "Order!"]

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir, I did not interrupt the hon. Member, for I was determined that without interruption he should be allowed to give utterance to sentiments which, I venture to say, will bring horror and disgust into the mind of every honest man. He said it was true that over and over again he had advised the Irish people to arm themselves with rifles, and he told us he would explain for what purpose they were to have these rifles. He added—"I have not in Ireland explained to them exactly what I meant." It was well he did not. He has come here, under the privilege of this House, to explain what he meant. He said—"If I was an Irish farmer, and if I saw men come upon my land to put me out of the land, then whatever people might think, and although they might come in the name and under the authority of the law, I would shoot as many of them as I could." That has been said in the hearing of the House of Commons. To-morrow it will be in the hearing of the civilized world, which will pronounce its judgment on this—I will use the word—this vile conspiracy.

Sir, I knew that these were the objects of the Land League. I knew it as one responsible for the public peace in the Dominions of the Queen, and as one whose duty it was to denounce it as I have denounced the language of John Devoy, as I denounced the language of Redpath, and as I denounce the language of the Member for Tipperary. I call them confederates. They are confederates in action, and their language is the same. The language of Redpath, which I read out the other day, and in which he recommended that the landlords should be shot down like rabbits, was exactly the language which the hon. Member for Tipperary has just used.

MR. DILLON: I rise to Order, Mr. Speaker.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, no; the hon. Member was not interrupted when he was speaking.

MR. DILLON: I did not advise the Irish people to do any such thing. I say it is a gross misrepresentation.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am speaking in the hearing of the House, who know whether or not I have misrepresented him.

MR. DILLON: You have misrepresented me.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have said that it was the language of assassination. I have said that it was the language of treason. You, Sir, were obliged to rise in your place and stop the hon. Member, who said he advocated and desired civil war. We now know what the hon. Member and his friends mean by saying that they are the friends of Constitutional agitation. I have given the hon. Member greater credit for his frankness. I said his doctrines, his policy, and his principles were such as deserved the severest reprobation; but I also said that, at all events, he had the manliness to avow them, and did not pretend to the hypocrisy of those who, while advocating such schemes, pretend that they are acting in a Constitutional manner. All I can say is, that the matter has passed beyond the region of debate, when we have a man in the position of the Member for Tipperary getting up and speaking as he has done. He said I was cowardly in my attack on John Devoy in the absence of the man. Did Devoy think of the absence of 4,000,000 of people, when he said he meant to set London on fire? Was that not a cowardly action on the part of a man who was, in a manner, one of the officers of the Land League in America? I felt it my duty—and I hope the House still think that I did my duty—in telling them what I knew—that the Land League is an association which depends upon the support of the Fenian conspiracy. The hon. Member has avowed it to-day. Who are the men they know? Who support the Land League in Dublin? Is it supported by Irish subscriptions? Why, the Irish subscriptions are coppers; but the gold and silver come from Fenianism in America. That is where it comes from, and the hon. Member knows it as well as I do. Who are the men they take for their agents to send this money to Paris and thence to Dublin? Men like Devoy, a convicted Fenian. When they set to work to organize this Land League, who were the chief agents by whom it was started and conducted? Why, they were notorious Fenians, many of whom had been convicted, while others were perfectly well known to be connected with the Fenian conspiracy. I am not accusing all the people who are members of the Land League. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) appealed to me the other night; but who would suppose that he had sympathized with views of this kind? I do hope and believe that most of those hon. Members who sit upon that Bench will view the sentiments of the hon. Member for Tipperary with the same abhorrence as I do, and that they will to-night get up and disavow the language we have heard. If they do not, then the Land League is condemned by the language of the hon. Member for Tipperary, which must be reprobated by every honest and Christian man. For what is the use of going to Blue Books and asking what is the meaning of these armed attacks on men, women, and children? Why, was I right or was I wrong the other night when I said that it was the language of the hon. Member for Tipperary, and men like him, which instigated to such crimes? [Mr. DILLON: You are wrong.] I say that the case is concluded. There is nothing more to be said upon the subject. [*A laugh from* Mr. HEALY.] Ah! I see one Member, at least, who sympathizes with those sentiments. I am not surprised.

I should, perhaps, have made him an exception when I expressed a belief that all the persons who sat near the Member for Tipperary would disavow his language. It was said that I did not prove my case the other day. If I did not prove it then, I summoned the witness, and I meant to summon him, who should prove that case before the House of Commons. If I had had a case to prove at the Bar, I would have called the hon. Member for Tipperary to prove the true spirit, the true character, and the true nature of the Land League. There may be men who think it more prudent to use more covert language; but the language which we have heard from the hon. Member for Tipperary to-night, depend upon it, is the true spirit that animates the Land League. [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] It is therefore that Her Majesty's Government, with the assent of an overwhelming majority of the Representatives of the people, are about, by this Bill, to take the murderous weapons out of the hands of men who represent such opinions and avow such sentiments as we have heard from the hon. Member for Tipperary to-night.

Mr. DILLON: I only wish to say one word of personal explanation. I am perfectly prepared to stand by every word I uttered; but the right hon. Gentleman grossly misrepresents what I said. ["No!"] Yes, he did, indeed. ["No!" *and cries of* "Order!"] May I not say a word? He represented me as having said something which amounted to approval and admiration of assassination. I did not, indeed; and I distinctly said in the beginning that no amount of injury or wrong would induce me to tolerate such a crime for one single second.

MR. GRAY said, that no man could have more regard for anyone than he entertained for the hon. Member for Tipperary. He knew him to be an honourable man. He was not connected with the Land League; but he believed it had done much good in Ireland. He felt bound now to say that he entirely dissociated himself from a considerable portion of those who belonged to the Land League and its proceedings. [*Cheers.*] Those cheers gave him great pain. He could not justify the language which had been used, except on the ground of excitement, by the hon. Member. He did not believe it was the language of the Land League, and he was confident that much of it would not be endorsed by that Body. But whether that was so or no the could not connect himself with them. He was sure the hon. Member spoke what was true when he said that the results of the Government legislation would be disastrous, and would bring about that bloodshed and assassination which, notwithstanding the Blue Books, had never been caused by the Land League. Anybody who knew the hon. Member knew the loving heart he had and his great spirit; and he (Mr. Gray) believed that it was because the hon. Member foresaw from his knowledge of the country—his intimate knowledge of the country—more clearly than anyone else that the legislation that was about to be consummated, and the discussion of which the Home Secretary said had reached a sufficient point, would result in such a way that the hon. Member made the speech he did. The House would understand the speech better when they saw the results of their legislation, and that the hon. Member had been led into it.

MR. M'COAN fully shared the personal respect and regard for the hon. Member for Tipperary which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Carlow. He had not been present when the speech was made, but came in while the Home Secretary was speaking; and he took it that the character of the language used was accurately expressed by the right hon. Gentleman. Had he been in the House he would have heard it with deep pain, and immediately resolved to dissociate himself from language of such a character. Although he occupied a seat amongst the Irish Party, he would not hold it for an hour if, by doing so, he was supposed to identify himself with anything un-Constitutional, still less avowedly Fenian; for he claimed to be as loyal a subject of the Queen as any Gentleman in that House. He had no sympathy with illegal action; but it was due to his hon. Friend to say that he associated himself with him most heartily to any amount of self-sacrifice that might be necessary in the effort to reform Irish grievances by Constitutional action. He had the highest opinion of the hon. Member; but he at once disavowed all sympathy with the violent opinions he had now expressed.

MR. HEALY said, that the hon. Member for Tipperary was responsible for his own words, and he was well able to defend himself in that House and elsewhere. Anything he uttered did not implicate his Colleagues; and, for his own part, he felt no obligation resting upon himself to disavow the language he had heard. It was time, indeed, that they should take a lesson from the enemy, and give no one any handle by the use of expressions which were liable to be tortured by the ingenuity of right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. For his own part he was not inclined to do so; but what must be the state of things in Ireland and the condition of the landlords when a Member like his hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon), who was as good and honest a man as the Chief Secretary, felt it incumbent on him to say so? Desperate was the condition of the country, and to such a pass had the people been brought, that if he found an armed party came to turn him and his family out on the roadside he would shoot as many as he could. ["Oh!"] The hon. Member was responsible for his words, and the right hon. Gentleman would be happy if any other Member accepted his words; but he thought they were a little too wide to give the right hon. Gentleman a chance. For himself, when he had anything to say to the Irish farmers, he would say it to their face; and if the Irish people were to be driven to a pass when he considered certain advice necessary, he would not shrink from giving advice, no matter how bad that advice might seem in the minds of some English Members. The hon. Member for Tipperary only put into plain words what was the saying of one of the best English, or rather Irish Generals, the Duke of Wellington, who said—"If you wish for peace you must be prepared for war." His hon. Friend said that if each man had a rifle, and knew how to use it, there would be less unfair evictions. Not being prepared to engage in any war with this country, because the people would simply be mowed down, he (Mr. Healy) did not feel at liberty to give any such advice; but there was sound truth at the bottom of the saying, for if the Irish farmers had guns, and knew how to use them—just as the Boers did—the Member for Tipperary would be found to be very near the truth. The Home Secretary had stated that the doctrine of the Land League was a doctrine of assassination and treason. That statement was a deliberate untruth. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Withdraw!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot allow that expression to pass. It is un-Parliamentary, and the hon. Member must withdraw it.

MR. HEALY would withdraw the expression, and say that the Home Secretary, in so describing the Land League, had stated what was distinctly untrue. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!" *and* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: That is merely a repetition of the expression. I must call upon the hon. Member distinctly to withdraw it.

MR. HEALY said, he was only following the example set by the Chief Secretary, who stated that what an hon. Member had said was untrue.

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member contests the authority of the Chair I shall have only one course to take.

MR. HEALY said, he did not desire to dispute the ruling of the Chair; but the expression was not necessary to his argument, and he would pass from it. ["Withdraw!"] He supposed hon. Members wished the operation repeated half-a-dozen times. So far from its being true that assassination was the doctrine of the Land League, the Land League had distinctly lessened the number of assassinations. Before the Land League they were 132; but in 1880 they were reduced to eight. It was true that there was one assassination which had excited a good deal of comment. But if anyone deserved his fate, it was the person in question; for his cruelty, his evictions, his persistent rent-raising, his exactions as a Grand Juror, his cruelty as a magistrate, marked him out, if such a thing was justifiable, for the bullet of the assassin. ["Oh!"] If the right hon. Gentleman searched the speeches at Land League meetings from first to last he would find a distinct deprecation in every sense, not merely of assassination, but of outrage in all its forms, though the landlords' journals, through which information filtered into English newspapers, ignored such things. The right hon. Gentleman had accused his hon. Friend of having made his statement under the Privileges of the House. But it might have entered the narrow soul of the right hon. Gentleman, if he felt himself obliged to escape from the penal consequences of his acts, to come into the House to make attacks upon absent men, and charge them with committing the breaches of truth that he had committed himself. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!" *and* "Name!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must call upon the hon. Member to withdraw that expression at once. It is the second time that the hon. Member has offended against the Rules of the House, and I must call upon him now to withdraw the expression without equivocation.

Mr. HEALY said, he did so frankly, and without any reserve whatsoever, because the expression only slipped from him. ["Oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite might think it very good play to engage in baiting Members engaged in a struggle of that kind; but they could afford to despise such conduct, as they had behind them the opinion of their own nation. The hon. Member for Tipperary came into the House for the purpose of repelling the charges brought against him by the right hon. Gentleman. They would soon go over to Ireland; and he would venture to say the right hon. Gentleman's opinions as to their cowardice would not be sustained. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the Land League as a "vile conspiracy." He must allow the right hon. Gentleman to choose his epithets; but the Government and the entire might of the British Crown, though attempting to pack a jury, had failed to prove a conspiracy. There was no one who knew anything about the movement that did not know it was a Constitutional and noble movement, and that it had at its head a body of men the most scrupulous in any country—the Catholic priesthood. These were the men whom the right hon. Gentleman charged, by implication, with being abettors of assassination. The right. hon. Gentleman had referred to officers of the Land League in America. No doubt, many of them had expressed themselves without restraint as to the means of getting rid of the cruel laws from which the country suffered; but it was not because the Land League accepted aid from those men that it must be held responsible for what they said. The members of the Land League were not bound by, or responsible for, the politics or the religion of the people who chose to send help to the Irish nation. Whatever men in America might say, they were not responsible to the Land League; those in America carried on their own organization in their own way. The Irish Members were not responsible for the opinions of those in America any more than for the cut of their coats. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, with his usual disingenuousness—["Order, order!"]——

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the House will feel that, after the frequent admonitions I have addressed to the hon. Member, I shall only be doing my duty to the House by Naming the hon. Member. I therefore Name you, Mr. Healy, as continually disregarding the authority of the Chair.

Mr. GLADSTONE: On the declaration you, Sir, have made, I propose that the hon. Member for Wexford be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's Sitting.

Mr. HEALY: The Member for Wexford County.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. Healy be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 233; Noes 15: Majority 218.—(Div. List, No. 106.)

Mr. SPEAKER: If Mr. Healy is in the House, I must call upon him to withdraw.

Mr. Healy rose and left the House.

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he hoped that, in spite of what had taken place, the House would hear him with patient attention. He congratulated the Home Secretary on his invitation to the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) to attend in his place having been accepted, and on his rhetorical triumph, which might be a satisfaction to the right hon. Gentleman, but was no proof of the gravity befitting a statesman. For his own part, he was going neither to explain nor to extenuate the language which had been used by his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary. At the same time, he must say that his hon. Friend had given advice to which he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) could not give his adhesion, and which he thought would rather prejudice than serve the cause which he had so much at heart. On the other hand, he was glad that his hon. Friend had used words which expressed not only his individual opinion, but the burning thoughts of many Irishmen, both in Ireland and in America. It was well that the country should stand face to face with the hot, mad passions which the Government, by its conduct, was provoking. There was no use in coming to that House and telling hon. Members that the patient was merely suffering from cold when fever was in all his veins. The coercive legislation of the present Session was stirring up every bitter memory of the past; and statesmen who were not simply rhetoricians, and whose aim was not, by resorting to paltry witticisms, to win a momentary cheer, were not sorry when the true state of a country was laid before them, in order that, knowing the disease, they might try to apply the remedy. If his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary had used hot language, it was only because he was giving voice to that universal sentiment in Ireland which the insulting sneers and safe braggadocio of the Secretary of State for the Home Department was so active an agent in promoting. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that, in discharging in that House what ought to be the solemn and painful duty of proposing coercive legislation, a spirit of conciliation would have become him, and that taunts and sneers should be avoided, even though by refraining from their use he might receive one cheer the less. The restless vanity of the right hon. Gentleman might, he thought, on an occasion like the present, be satisfied in the absence of such incense. If his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary had been betrayed into a display of feeling to which the right hon. Gentleman objected, he himself was the culprit who had provoked it by his insults. His hon. Friend had spoken of the dreadful possibility of civil war in Ireland, and had stated that if he was a farmer he would shoot as many of those persons who came to enforce an eviction upon his farm as possible. And did his hon. Friend stand alone? They had the words of the Prime Minister to show that the murderous outrage at Clerkenwell had matured public opinion in England. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no.] The right hon. Gentleman had given several explanations on that point; but the fact remained that that outrage matured the opinions of English politicians as to the necessity of practical politics for Ireland. It was well that heated and passionate language like that used by the hon. Member for Tipperary should occasionally be heard in that House as a warning against the criminal and dangerous courses in which the present Government were engaged. The object of the Land Leaguers was that the people should offer a passive but Constitutional resistance to those who rack-rented their farms, and to pay only as much rent as they were able to do. As for the Bill, the best they could hope for it was that it would prove merely ineffectual. He would do all he could to discourage crime; but he very much feared, remembering the previous experience of the country, that crime under that Bill would increase.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, that some of those who sat below the Gangway on the Ministerial side had that night learnt a lesson which they would not readily forget. They had not been willing to include the whole body of Irish Members in one condemnation. They had discriminated between man and man—between, for instance, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), whose courage and candour they had respected, and some of his Coadjutors, who had neither the courage of their convictions, nor the silence of their shame. But the language that night of the hon. Member for Tipperary, although it might, perhaps, be the outcome of excitement, had been vividly impressed on the minds of all who heard it. It was true that his language had been disclaimed by those who sat near the hon. Member; but the hon. Member had expressed by his words, plainly and unmistakably, the terrible sentiments which the House had been told from the Treasury Bench actuated a great part of those who were said to be fighting for the liberties of Ireland. One hon. Member, in disclaiming the policy of murder and civil war, had expressly done so on the ground that he and his Colleagues were "too wide awake" to adopt it. The denial was not made on the ground of moral reprobation. Liberals below the Gangway had followed with considerable reluctance the paths of coercion and repression; but they accepted the Bill as a disagreeable necessity on the part of the Government, for they had learnt that night to believe that those charged with the burden of government had better opportunities than themselves of realizing the actual situation. If that were the same kind of language as used by the hon. Member in addressing public meetings in Ireland, he would ask the House to picture to itself what might be the effect of such words on crowded assemblies of uneducated men, suffering, as it must be admitted they were, from extreme pressure of wrong and injustice. The possible effect of such words was the measure of the responsibility which rested on the Government to deal firmly, nay, peremptorily, with such an evil, terrible as it was in its dimensions, and one requiring to be sternly repressed. There was one thing—perhaps only one—that was more sacred than liberty, and that was human life.

Mr. REDMOND said, that, in desiring to give adequate expression to his feelings as to the unfounded accusations levelled by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department against the Land League, he was hampered by the limits of Parliamentary language, which prevented him from characterizing as untruths statements which he knew to be grossly inaccurate. He was a member of the Land League; but he denied that that association was a "conspiracy for assassination, and treason." The principles of the Land League were well known, and by no one better than the right hon. Gentleman. The Land League advised rack-rented tenants to combine and offer their landlords a fair rent; and, when that rent was not accepted, then to abide eviction if necessary. It endeavoured to create a public opinion strong enough to induce tenants to leave idle on the hands of the landlord farms from which tenants had been unjustly evicted. That, and that only, was the teaching of the Land League, which ever denounced outrage, and ever advocated passive resistance. The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) had not, as the right hon. Gentleman cleverly asserted, spoken authoritatively on behalf of the Land League. The hon. Member spoke in that House for himself, upon his own responsibility. He was perfectly ready to accept the responsibility of his words. He did not compromise the Land League or any of its members, whose policy in the present crisis was one of passive resistance. When the Speaker thought it his duty to interfere, he understood the hon. Member to be expressing his sorrow that the Irish people had not to-day the means of successful rebellion or of civil war against England. So far as that, he (Mr. Redmond) agreed entirely with the hon. Member; because he was firmly of opinion that if the only thing wanting — the possibility of a successful rising against this country existed, it would be an ample justification for the Irish people at the present moment. [Mr. PARNELL: Hear, hear!] Having said so much with regard to the speech of the hon. Member, he desired, notwithstanding what was said by the Home Secretary, to recall the attention of the House to what was the real question under discussion. It was not a speech of the hon. Member for Tipperary, nor an interpretation which hon. Members might please to put on that speech; but it was a Bill authorizing persons to search for arms, and arrest men who might be found in possession of them. He believed some time ago that a policy of repression was about to give way to one of reform; but he was disappointed. Exasperated as, no doubt, the Irish people were with the precedence which had been given to coercive legislation, he knew that all the country to-day were looking forward with feelings of intense anxiety to the promised Land Bill of the Government to save them from the tyranny which, under the admittedly unjust state of the law, at present rendered the life of the tenant-at-will to-day one of continual uncertainty, of hopeless poverty, and helpless misery. But once again their, perhaps, foolish faith in the justice and wisdom of that House had received a severe shock. Reform had been postponed indefinitely, and the policy of force and coercion was to have another innings. They were now discussing the latest development of English Liberalism, and it seemed inevitable that before many days were over this Arms Bill would form part of the laws of the land. He believed the measure would ever remain a fruitful source of injury and wrong, and he had to protest against it as impolitic, unnecessary, and unjust. There never was, he believed, a Government since the so-called Union which had so great opportunities of winning the hearts of the Irish people, and of diminishing natural animosities, and of removing the great and admitted grievances of the country as the present Government. Such a policy was worthy of the great men at the head of that Administration, men to whom the Irish masses turned with confidence and hope, all the more confident and the more hopeful because of the six years of Conservative inaction which they had just passed. The Irish people had fought the electoral battle all over the Kingdom for their Liberal friends, and had listened with delight to the promises of the Candidate for Mid Lothian. They had materially assisted in transforming those Liberal friends and that philanthropic Candidate from a disorganized Party and a discredited Chief into the Rulers of the destinies of Ireland. The whole people cried aloud for the fulfilment of those promises, and what had been the reply? When the history of the day was written it would be a sorry record of what Liberalism was; and he regretted to think that these coercive measures would be the one sole blot on the reputation and character of a man whose name would otherwise be given down to posterity as a friend of the people—he meant the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). The measure was impolitic, because it destroyed whatever chance remained to the Government to consolidate the Irish people by means of remedial legislation, and its very existence proved very clearly what the value of the Government Land Bill would be. If that Land Bill was, indeed, to be of a comprehensive and satisfactory nature, the necessity for repression, if ever it existed, would be at once removed. It was a common assertion amongst a certain class of politicians that agitation in Ireland was ever the result of cunning and self-seeking agitators; but he gave credit to Her Majesty's present Advisers for a keener insight into cause and effect. They knew very well that no agitators could create a movement such as the land movement unless there were real and terrible grievances crying for redress. It was not the Land League that had created the agitation; but the wrongs and miseries of the Irish people had created the Land League. The only politic and sure way to pacify Ireland and make the law respected was to go to the root of the evil, and to rob the law of its injustice and inhumanity. The only effect of this Bill would be to render the agitation in Ireland more formidable, and to increase—if, indeed, it was possible to increase it—the intense hatred which was entertained by four-fifths of the Irish people against the rule of their country by this Parliament. The Government had indefinitely postponed reform; and, in the meantime, what were the people to do? By those coercive measures they had armed the enemies of the people with every hateful weapon known to the history of despotism. Emboldened by the weapons they had placed in his hands, the rack-renter and the exterminator would once more set about their unholy work. The sentences of death would again be showered down upon the people. But did they think the people would tamely submit to a law which they themselves had declared to be unjust and inhuman? What did the history of the whole world prove but that, when open agitation was stifled, the passion of an oppressed people found vent in secret organizations and secret plots. To stop outrages, forsooth! He would tell them what those Bills would do—they would create outrages; and if, as he prayed might not be the case, the history of these measures should be marked with blood—not the Irish Members, whom they suppressed upon the floor of that House, but the Government who, in order to carry their hateful proposals, sacrificed even liberty of speech in that House, would be the guilty ones. That measure was not alone impolitic—it was unnecessary. The measure which had already become law was sufficient to meet every possible contingency. Do not tell him that by an Arms Bill they would take the weapon from the hands of the assassin. He cared not if every house in the land were stripped of arms, the murderer would still find his instruments of murder. To prove the efficacy of Bills of that kind, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland told the House how outrages increased year by year up to 1870, when such another Bill came into operation, and then they suddenly and rapidly dimi nished. When the hon. and learned Gentleman used that argument he (Mr. Redmond) knew he was speaking dishonestly, for the hon. and learned Gentleman knew that in 1870 the Land Act was passed, and that to it, and not to any wretched repressive legislation, was due the change. Now, as then, they said, remedy the grievance and the evils would cease. He listened to the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland with feelings of the keenest humiliation and pain. He (Mr. Redmond) was pretty well accustomed, even from his short experience in that House, to hear English Members misrepresent the Leaders of the Irish people, and calumniate the Irish nation. But, it was with far different feelings he heard an Irishman, the Member for an Irish constituency, rise up and, encouraged by the cheers of ignorant and prejudiced men behind him, level calumnies against his own people and his own nation, in a speech which from an Englishman would have been unworthy, but from an Irishman was absolutely discreditable. If that Bill was impolitic and unnecessary, it must also be unjust; but of its injustice he did not care to say much, for the government of Ireland from that House ever had been, and ever would be, based upon injustice. But he would like to say of one thing that House might be assured. The Irish people would not be intimidated by those measures. They had passed through too many persecutions to learn what fear was now. They felt they were battling for the dearest cause that ever urged the heart of man —the right to live and prosper on the land of their birth. In battling for that cause they were ready that day to suffer as their fathers suffered before them, and their Representatives in that House would be found by their side in the hour of peril, ready to sustain them in their struggles, and share with them in their sufferings. He had done. He cordially detested that measure. Upon every opportunity which was open to him he should oppose it step by step; and when at the close the Speaker should have, in the exercise of his new-born functions, stifled discussion upon every stage of the Bill, then he and the other Irish Members would, at any rate, be able to say they had done their duty to those who sent them there to protect the liberties of the people, and would be able to say with pride, that owing to their efforts that House of Commons was obliged, in order to coerce Ireland, first to suppress, coerce, and to degrade itself.

Mr. BYRNE opposed the Bill, and condemned the language used by Ministers in the course of the debate. The Bill did not even exclude the female population from being arrested. The Bill was unnecessarily severe and cruel. It empowered the arrest of any person having arms or ammunition by any constable or peace officer, without warrant; this—without punning, for the subject was too serious—he regarded as a most unwarrantable interference with ordinary freedom. Clause 4 introduced a new personage upon the scene. Any warrant or order of the Lord Lieutenant could be signified under either his own hand or that of the Chief Secretary, or of the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and this would give the last-named official an amount of authority which was quite disproportionate to his proper function. The 4th sub-section of Clause 4 contained the provisions for proclamation, and he thought that these were altogether inadequate.

Mr. CHARLES LEWIS rose to Order. He wanted to know whether the hon. Member was in Order in discussing the details of the Bill, clause by clause, as if the House were in Committee?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member was not at liberty at that stage to discuss the Bill clause by clause.

Mr. BYRNE said, he bowed to the ruling of the Chair. He was only giving his reasons for opposing the Bill, which was unnecessary and uncalled-for. There was no evidence to show that the people had arms. The language of Judge Fitzgerald on the subject was very unguarded. That learned Judge had no means of knowing that every farmer's son and every farmer's servant had a gun or a pistol. He would oppose the Bill at every stage.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. LEAMY, referring to the statement that Arms Acts had been necessary in Ireland since 1847, said, they had been necessary since the Union, and would be as long as that House governed Ireland. The Home Secretary said that in the Bill the Government had adopted the mitigated Code of the Act of 1875; but he forgot that the present Bill did not contain two important provisions of the Act of 1875. The latter Act gave a power of appeal which was not given by this Bill, nor did it contain a provision enabling a person accused and acquitted to obtain a certificate, freeing him from further proceedings. Moreover, under the Act of 1875, the magistrates had power to dismiss a case which they did not consider sufficiently serious to require the infliction of a penalty. No such provision was contained in this Bill. It was, he thought, a most serious objection to the Bill that it did not give a person who might be convicted at Petty Sessions by a resident magistrate, surrounded by landlord magistrates, the right to appeal to Quarter Sessions. That was a serious restriction upon the rights of the people, whom it placed in a far more unfavourable position than that in which they had been placed by the Act of 1875. He submitted it was unfair to legislate by giving undefined powers to the Lord Lieutenant. It was unfair that power should be given to disarm the people, and allow the landlord class to go armed. He was also strongly opposed to that provision of the Bill which would give to any Justice of the Peace the power to search any person whom he might reasonably suspect of carrying arms. In conclusion, he would observe that so long as measures of coercion for Ireland were before the House, it would be the duty of Irish Members to resist their passing, however anxious they might be to see a Land Bill introduced.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the Bill was not levelled against presumably guilty persons, but against the whole people—the most honest, the most upright, the most just. The power of searching the person ought not to be given to a policeman. As the Bill stood it was a provocative to breaches of the peace and outrages. The right of search should be exercised only under a certain degree of responsibility; and he hoped a provision would be introduced into the Bill providing for compensation in the case of a man whose home had been searched, and perhaps his furniture, without any reasonable ground of suspicion. If the Bill was directed against the criminal classes, why was the night time carefully excluded from its operation? This exclusion was an admission by the Government that the Bill was not necessary. There had been no proof submitted showing that there were such wholesale outrages with firearms as would justify a Bill of this kind. The increase of political badinage, such as that which had passed between the Home Secretary and John Devoy, could not be reasonably adduced as a reason for this Bill. The Home Secretary had dexterously made use of the language which had fallen from the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon); but he had submitted no reason for the Bill. The hon. Member for Tipperary had been betrayed into uttering expressions by the most unfair treatment he had received. He had, no doubt, used language which must be regretted in reference to evictions in Ireland. He (Mr. O'Donnell) could not justify those expressions; but how would those things which took place in Ireland be looked at if they had happened in a foreign country—in Bulgaria, Thessaly, or Epirus? The hon. Member for Tipperary wished to convey to the House the true state of affairs in Ireland, and to show how terrible they were, when Irish farmers were often placed in a position of great peril to themselves and families when evicted and thrown out to starve and die upon the roadside. The rash statement of the hon. Member was not, however, an argument in favour of this Bill, but for the passing of remedial measures. The whole policy of the Home Secretary was one of hitting them when they were down. Instead of proofs the right hon. Gentleman treated them with sarcasm, with quotations, with jokes more or less heavy, and seemed to calculate upon finding some one among the Irish Party more excitable than his Colleagues, who, irritated by the insulting tones and language, would give utterance to words too candid and too violent upon which he could seize. Thereupon he executed one of his characteristic war-dances on the floor of the House, and declared that he had proved that the Land League was a combination of assassins. The right hon. Gentleman had carried the game of irritation and provocation a little too far. One year's duration of this Bill would create a feeling of irritation which for years to come would tell against the Liberal Party.

MR. CHILDERS moved the adjournment of the debate, remarking that it was understood on Tuesday that this Motion would be made soon after 9 o'clock.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

Mr. CHAPLIN wished, before the Motion was put, to make a few observations upon the present position of affairs. ["Oh, oh!" *and* "Divide!"] He was surprised at these interruptions. He had sat some years in the House, and it had not been his habit to unduly trespass upon the time of the House; and he hoped he should not be interrupted in the few observations which he thought it right to make on this Motion. The present position of affairs was most peculiar; and, had it not been for the ruling of Mr. Speaker, he should have said most irregular. The Resolution of the 25th of January, which ordered that preference should be given to two particular measures, still remained unrescinded. Nevertheless, they were in this position. Government Business was taken on Monday last, and was to be taken again to-night, other than that which the House had ordered to have precedence. If this course were continued, independent Members would have to surrender their nights and days for an indefinite period, in order that the Government might get on with Supply. That was not an object for which, generally speaking, he should feel called upon to make any sacrifice, unless the Government were, in their turn, prepared to make some sacrifice in behalf of English Members and English Business in which they were interested. He himself had obtained, by persistent balloting, a place for a matter which he regarded as of urgent and immediate importance; and that was with respect to the foot-and-mouth disease. If the Government would guarantee to give him a place for his Motion before Easter he would consent to the adjournment. Not only that; but he had also a Motion on the question of compensation to tenants for improvements, and this, too, he took leave to consider as "urgent" Business. He thought independent Members ought to raise their voices against the course which was being taken by the Government, unless the Government made some compensation to them for the days of which they would be deprived. The noble Lord had told them that the course taken by the Government was owing to the excessive delay in discussing the Protection to Person and Property (Ireland) Bill. He differed entirely from the noble Lord. He said the Government, and the Government alone, were entirely responsible for it. The unfortunate position in which they were placed arose from two facts—first, from the gross mismanagement of Irish Business by the Government; and, secondly, from the violation by the Government of the solemn pledges they gave to call Parliament together in the autumn. ["Question!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the Question is the adjournment of the debate. He is not speaking to that Question.

Mr. CHAPLIN was perfectly aware that the Question before the House was that of adjournment; but he referred to the pledge given by the Government in order to illustrate his argument—to show that the necessity for this adjournment was solely caused by the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. The noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) complained of delay; but surely he must have foreseen this delay when the Cabinet decided not to call Parliament together in the autumn. ["Order!"]

Mr. DILLWYN: I rise to Order, and wish to ask whether the hon. Member is acting in accordance with your ruling?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already stated that I consider the hon. Member is passing beyond the immediate Question before the House, which is the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. CHAPLIN: As I consider that to bow to your ruling, whatever that ruling may be, is the first duty of every Member of this House, I will not continue my remarks.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Even if I thought I should be in Order, I certainly should not have attempted, upon this occasion, to follow the hon. Member into the remarks which he seems to have found this the most convenient opportunity in the course of these two months to make upon the conduct of the Government in regard to Irish affairs. The course of the debates surely might have afforded a more appropriate opportunity. But I am willing to admit that the position in which we find ourselves is, to a certain extent, an anomalous one. I explained on Monday how we stood, and the circumstances in which we had to ask the House to accede to the arrangements we proposed; and I stated that we were bound by, and were still under, the operation of the Resolution of January 25, by which it was determined to proceed with the Peace Preservation Bill from day to day, and it was our intention, as far as the exigencies of the public service would permit us, to proceed with the Bill; but I stated, at the same time, what was the condition of affairs as to Supply, and that it would be absolutely necessary to interpose, from time to time, with the Business of Supply before the consideration of the Peace Preservation Bill. That is simply the state of the case. I pointed out that it was absolutely necessary that a certain class of Supply should be disposed of within a very short time; and it cannot, therefore, be said that we are moving this Motion in order to go on with any other Business. If the House decline to accede to the arrangement which we proposed, it will be necessary for the Government to take some other course; but I understand it was the sense of the House generally—and, at all events, that it was the sense of the Party opposite, if I may understand it is represented by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote)—that the proposal was acquiesced in, and that, for the purpose of proceeding with certain classes of Supply, the Opposition, at all events, were quite willing that the debate on the Peace Preservation Bill should, from time to time, be interrupted.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The noble Lord has made a personal appeal to myself, and I must say that, to a great extent, I admit what he has said. There is no doubt that in the discussion the other day the Government proposed to ask for urgency for the Arms Bill, with the understanding that the discussion on that Bill should be suspended at a particular time, in order that an important statement of great interest might be made. I expressed my assent to that arrangement; but, at the same time, it should be borne in mind that on that occasion there was no opportunity for discussion. We were unable to do more than ask for explanations; and it is, consequently, not unnatural that my hon. Friend should take the present opportunity of making observations on the course of Public Business, considering that it is not easy to find such opportunities. I hope it will be understood, at all events, that if we consent, as I hope we do consent, to the course proposed by the Government on the present occasion, we do so on the strict understanding that it is for the convenience of the House, and because we are anxious to hear the statement of the Secretary of State for War, and that the House is in no way bound to accept a similar course without full understanding and argument on its own part. It certainly strikes me that my hon. Friend has a very strong case. We have sacrificed the rights of private Members to a great extent in order to give way to the Government for a particular object, which, I think, they have not taken the best means to promote. I am not referring to the necessity of calling Parliament together last autumn; but with respect to this particular Bill within this particular Session, I do think that if the Business is to be urgent it should be urgent throughout, and that the wasting of Monday night and the interruption of the debate this evening have not advanced the Business of the House. For my part, I think we should go on with a determination like that of a man who means to clear a fence, and intends to get over it. However, we are bound by the understanding we came to, and, not so much for the convenience of the House as for the sake of the House and the country generally, to hear the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. It is clearly understood that it is only for that purpose that we propose to adjourn this debate.

Earl PERCY complained that there were very few opportunities for discussing the state of Public Business. The noble Marquess had spoken of the urgency of the Estimates; but, after all, were the Estimates so extremely pressing? This was the 3rd of March, and on only one occasion during the last 10 years had the first Vote for the Army been taken earlier in the Session; the same might be said of the Navy. The Supplementary Estimates, also, had only on three occasions during the last 10 years been taken earlier than the 3rd of March. The point, however, was not a Party question, but rather concerned the rights of private Members, many of whom on both sides of the House felt very keenly the invasion of their privileges by the Government. ["Divide!"] He was sorry hon. Members opposite should be so impatient while their rights were being defended. He would take another opportunity, if one presented itself, of bringing the matter before the House.

Mr. PARNELL wished to enter his protest against the action of the Government in moving the adjournment of this debate at the early hour of 9 o'clock. He could not understand the policy of taking this course. They were told that the Arms Bill was a very urgent matter; but the urgency was only in the view of the Prime Minister, and was of such a character that it could cease at 9 o'clock, or any hour the right hon. Gentleman desired. If a question was urgent yesterday it ought to be urgent to-day. There had been no reason assigned why the discussion on this Bill should cease at this hour, and why the House should proceed to the consideration of a fresh subject. A Resolution was passed on the 25th of January, declaring that the introduction and several stages of the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill and the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill should have precedence of all other Business until the House should otherwise order. And now the Government were attempting to evade that Order. The Government said they were not going to take any Votes. But the right hon. Gentleman was about to adopt an unprecedented course in making a statement on Army Organization before the Speaker left the Chair, thus preventing private Members from exercising their inalienable right of discussing grievances before Supply. The whole course of the Government was nothing more nor less than a dodge to override the Rules of the House, and to do that by a side wind, indirectly ro illegitimately, which they could not do in a straightforward manner. He claimed the right of the Irish Members to continue the discussion on the Peace Preservation Bill until half-past 12, and then the Government could adjourn the debate if they liked. He was not going to lend himself to this attempt of the Government to put aside the Orders and Regulations of the House, and thus deprive them of time for discussing the Bill. He would prefer to obtain such time as he could to show the false position the Government had taken up with regard to it rather than to listen to the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman. The whole conduct of Business for the last fortnight was most extraordinary. A few days ago rumours were circulated in the Press that the Arms Bill was to be abandoned.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not keeping to the Question before the House, which is simply that of the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. PARNELL said, that he was only referring to the introduction of the Arms Bill instead of the Land Bill. He believed that the great body of Members had been misled by the introduction of the Arms Bill; in fact, the policy of the Government had been shifted about in the most extraordinary manner, and they did not seem to have made up their minds for 24 hours together. Let them go on with the debate, and give Irish Members an opportunity of convincing the House by fair argument that they were right. He was sure the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman would keep.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked whether he was to understand that while the Government asked, for their own particular purposes, to have an interruption of the debate to-night, they meant to give the Irish Party any compensation for the time so taken? On the showing of the Government, there was no extreme urgency with the statement of the Secretary of State for War. He did not see why the right hon. Gentleman should not send his speech to the newspapers. The Home Secretary always did so. The Government had entered on the Land Bill in a dilatory manner, showing there was no Cabinet agreement with regard to the measure. They seemed to be engaged in burlesquing their own policy.

Mr. DAWSON, who doubted whether it would be necessary to adjourn the debate, in order that the right hon. Gentleman might deliver a combustible speech, spoke amid cries of "Oh!" "Divide!" and "Question!" and said he was really speaking to the Question, because it was one between a paper war in that House and real war in Ireland.

MR. SPEAKER: I must call upon the hon. Member to confine himself to the Question of the adjournment of this debate.

MR. DAWSON said, they were asked to adjourn the debate on the Arms Bill; and there was an intimate connection between an Arms Bill and war. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War might say, "*Arma virumque cano.*" He sang of arms, and they against arms.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not confining himself to the Question before the House. [*Cries of* "Twice!"]

MR. DAWSON said, no doubt some hon. Members would be glad if it were thrice; but it should not be if he could help it.

MR. SPEAKER: I wish again to point out to the hon. Member that he is bound to confine himself strictly to the Question of the adjournment of the debate. [*Cries of* "Thrice!"]

MR. DAWSON said, he had thought that on the proposed adjournment of a debate on an Arms Bill there was a fair opportunity for alluding to the *status quo* in Ireland; but he did not wish to make himself a hero by coming, at the goading of hon. Members opposite, into conflict with the ruling of the Chair. He was of opinion that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), whom he gladly welcomed to their ranks, had made out a very good case against adjourning the debate.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether, if the Irish Members consented to the adjournment of the debate, the Government would undertake to do nothing to curtail the debate on the Arms Bill to-morrow morning?

MR. FINIGAN expressed his satisfaction that Members on the Opposition Benches had at length had the courage to break down the outworks of Whig tyranny. He did not see why the debate should be adjourned for a matter which was neither urgent nor necessary.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he should vote against the adjournment. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. He considered that two Saturdays and a Monday had been wasted by the Government that ought to have been applied to the carrying forward these measures of urgency which were important for the peace of Ireland. As had been pointed out, it was quite as early now in the Session as it had been customary to introduce the Army Estimates. Therefore, he did not see any necessity for adjourning a discussion on a Bill which had been voted to be urgent.

MR. BYRNE spoke against adjournment.

MR. REDMOND repeated the question of his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Connor), for the purpose of demonstrating that there was a little courtesy left upon the Treasury Bench.

COLONEL STANLEY hoped that, after the expression of opinion which had taken place, the House would assent at once to the adjournment of the debate, so that the Secretary of State for War might have the opportunity of making his promised statement. It had been said the statement of the right hon. Gentleman would not really advance the Business before the House. That was perfectly true in a certain sense; but what really advanced the Business was the Vote for the men and for the Supplies. Unquestionably, as a preliminary to both these, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman must be made; and it was for the convenience of Parliament that the statement should be made when the House was full. He believed it was understood such an arrangement should take place. He quite admitted that his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire had considerable ground for complaining that he was unable to bring forward the important question of which he had given Notice relating to the agricultural interests.

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not know that he should oppose the Motion, because, as a rule, his policy was in favour of the adjournment of debates. He must, however, point out that the course pursued by the Government with regard to a Bill which they had declared to be urgent was extremely inconsistent. But it would, perhaps, after all, be a hardship on the Secretary of State for War that he should not be allowed to proceed with his statement, especially as he understood the greater part of it was in type.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 277; Noes 28: Majority 249.—(Div. List, No. 107.)

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Mr. PARNELL: I beg to move an Amendment — ["Order, order!"] I wish to ask you, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: The Clerk, in pursuance of his duty, is proceeding to read the Orders of the Day.

Mr. PARNELL: Yes; but I wish to ask you whether——

Mr. SPEAKER: Is the hon. Member rising to a point of Order?

Mr. PARNELL: I wish to know, Sir, whether, when you put the Question to the House that the resumption of this debate be taken to-morrow, whether that is not a matter within the cognizance of the House to decide; and whether I shall not be entitled to move an Amendment to that Question—namely, that the resumption of the debate shall be deferred until Monday. I would wish to point out to you a precedent which occurred in the course of the progress through the House of the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill, which has since become law. I think it was after the Committee stage, when the Question was put as to the committing of the Report for a certain day, that I moved an Amendment to that Question that it should be taken on a later day. You permitted me to move that Amendment; it was put from the Chair, and a division was taken; the House affirming the Previous Question, that the resumption of the debate should be taken on the following day. I wish to ask, therefore, whether in the present instance I shall not be in Order in now moving that the resumption of the debate be deferred until Monday?

Mr. SPEAKER: No doubt the hon. Member has correctly stated what occurred on the former occasion, and no doubt that proceeding was quite correct and in Order. If the hon. Member had proposed his Amendment in time, no doubt it would have been in Order; but to-morrow has been appointed for proceeding with the Bill.

Mr. CALLAN rose to speak, but was received with loud cries of "Order!"

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member rise to the Main Question?

Mr. CALLAN: I rise to another point of Order. The Question that the debate be resumed to-morrow was never put to the House; and, Sir, until it is put to the House I ask, as a point of Order, is it not competent for any Member to move an Amendment?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question was put to the House, and the House has decided that the resumption shall be taken to-morrow.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN rose on a point of Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: By direction the Clerk has proceeded to read the Orders of the Day. The Order of the Day for Supply has been read, and I have called upon the right hon. Gentleman to address the House.

Mr. CHILDERS: Mr. Speaker——

Mr. PARNELL: I rise to another and a fresh point of Order not connected with the other point——

Mr. SPEAKER again said that the right hon. Gentleman was in possession of the House.

The O'DONOGHUE: I rise to Order. [*Cries of* "Chair!"]

Mr. CHILDERS: In accordance with the understanding arrived at on Tuesday last, I now rise to explain what are the main recommendations as to Army Organization which Her Majesty's Government propose to follow.

Mr. CHAPLIN rose to Order. He wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman, in making his Ministerial Statement before going into Committee of Supply, was in Order; and he also wished to point out that when the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) wished to make a similar statement on the Educational Estimates on the 10th July, 1877, before the Speaker left the Chair, he was not allowed to do so?

Mr. PARNELL also rose to a point of Order as to whether it was regular for the right hon. Gentleman to make his statement before hon. Members, who had previously given Notice, had had an opportunity of moving their Amendments against Supply? He found that there were a number of Notices on the Paper; and he submitted that if the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to make his statement on the present occasion before the Speaker left the Chair, and before any of the hon. Members who had given Notice had moved their Amendments, it practically precluded those Members from the right which had hitherto been secured to them by the Forms of the House. He submitted that he was entitled, according to the Rules of the House, to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice—namely—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the Boers of the Transvaal, by their valiant resistance, have proved the earnestness of their desire for independence, and earned a right to its restoration."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Before the point of Order is distinctly decided by you, I wish to ask you very respectfully whether, in the course of the last Parliament, you did not declare that my right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) was adopting an un-Parliamentary and irregular course in attempting to move the Navy Estimates with you in the Chair?

Mr. SPEAKER: I conclude the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War is about to conclude with a Motion, and I shall not interpose to prevent his making any observations to the House he may think proper before so doing. At the same time, if the right hon. Gentleman were to go into great detail in regard to the Estimates which will have to be voted in Supply, I should consider it my duty to interfere.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: If the right hon. Gentleman proposes to conclude with a Motion, will it not be necessary for him to confine himself to such remarks as are relevant to that Motion?

Sir JOHN HAY said, that no reply had yet been given to the question of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) with regard to the course which was adopted when the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool wished to move the Educational Estimates in the last Parliament before the Speaker left the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already stated within what limits the right hon. Gentleman would be at liberty to address the House, and, of course, the hon. Member asked me whether the right hon. Gentleman would be in Order in doing so and so. If the right hon. Gentleman is out of Order, of course I shall interfere.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

ARMY ORGANIZATION.

STATEMENT.

Mr. CHILDERS: Mr. Speaker, I rise, in accordance with the understanding arrived at on Tuesday, to move that you do now leave the Chair, in order that I may have an opportunity of explaining to the House the main recommendations of the Government as to changes in Army Organization, and other matters not strictly financial, which it is my duty to place before the House of Commons.

I will first ask the House to recall to their recollection our military condition in 1867, 14 years ago, when General Peel, standing at this Table, moved the Army Estimates. The organization of our Military Forces was far less efficient than it is now. The Militia were still practically separated from the Army; and, indeed, the Militia Vote had only quite recently been prepared and moved by the Secretary of State instead of by a Select Committee. Less than 2,000 Militiamen annually enlisted into the Army. The Volunteers had only about 150,000 efficients against about 200,000 now, were hardly at all connected with the Army, and were still regarded with little favour in many quarters. In the Army itself, the system which we now call that of "Long Service" had, in two respects, entirely broken down. It held out insufficient inducements to recruits; so much so, that from 28,000 a-year in 1859, the number annually recruited had fallen in 1865 to about 13,000, against above 20,000 stated by Lord William Paulet, the Adjutant General, to be required; and it had entirely failed to produce any Reserve. Almost the whole body of the older officers disapproved of the system, and looked back with regret on that which before 1847 had been known as "Life Service," and which had in that year only been abolished, against the general sense of the officers, by the personal influence of the Duke of Wellington. Indeed, it is most instructive to read, on this question, the Evidence taken by the Recruiting Commissions of 1860 and 1866. The Commission of 1860 was appointed because, to use the words of the Report—

> Even when, after the Mutiny, the bounty was increased, and the standard lowered to such an extent as to bring boys instead of men into the ranks, the required establishment was not complete."

But the remedies they proposed failed; and then the second Commission was appointed, in 1866, because the number of recruits had fallen to the extent which I have just described. Then, as before and since, the most varied opinions were given as to every detail of Army Service; but the great majority condemned the then existing length of service—10 or 12 years—as too short. The Adjutant General, in 1866, especially complained of the youth of non-commissioned officers, and urged the increase of pensions as a means of filling the Army with older men. The Commander-in-Chief was anxious for enlistment for 21 years; and did not consider any Army of Reserve necessary. Lord Grey, on the other hand, thought the Militia a gigantic mistake, and that the failure of the plan for a Reserve was due to the manner of its administration. There was a minority who advocated still shorter service; so that every view, from life enlistment to a colour service like that which prevailed in foreign armies, was represented by witnesses before the Commissions.

On the question of the adequacy of recruiting for a 12 years' service, the second Commission were hopeful, if large additions were made to the pay and prospects of the soldier; but as to the formation of a Reserve they practically despaired. For a solid Reserve they said we must look to the Militia; and for two or three years after their Report, nothing in this respect was done.

But, meanwhile, the country was dissatisfied. The Crimean War had indeed shown, some years before, that without a Reserve of men who had passed through the Army, our military force would soon be exhausted; but it was the two great wars in which Germany was concerned that occasioned the deepest anxiety in the public mind. In 1866 Prussia, with an army consisting of men between 20 and 23 years of age, enlisted for three years with the colours, and, supported by Reserves, had, in seven weeks, totally defeated the more veteran troops of Austria; and in 1870 the French Army, which had only recently been re-formed on the basis of containing a much larger proportion of old soldiers, received a still more crushing defeat at the hands of Germany. Is it to be wondered at that the difficulty in obtaining recruits, and the impossibility of forming a Reserve with long service, taken in connection with the evidence of what a short-service system could do on the Continent, made public opinion all but unanimous in favour of such a system being tried here?

Lord Cardwell, however, did not effect this change all at once. In the Artillery and Cavalry it commenced in 1874; and as the period with the colours was fixed at eight years, it is only in the financial year 1881-2 that the Reserve will begin to be fed from these Arms. In the Infantry it began in 1870, and for some time recruits were accepted both for long service—that is to say, 12 years with the colours—and for short service—or six years with the colours and six in the Reserve. But it was soon found that both systems would not work together. Men would not enlist for long service, if they could enter the Army for the shorter period; and at present the only term of Infantry service, with unimportant exceptions, is six years.

Lord Cardwell's second reform, the first in point of date, was to recall from the Colonies a large number of battalions serving there, until the number of home battalions and of those serving in India and the Colonies were just equal. He then took advantage of this equality to combine the battalions in pairs, a system which he found in existence with respect to the 25 first regiments; and for this purpose adopted a plan proposed by the Commander-in-Chief, for linking, as it was called, a pair of battalions, so that each battalion abroad should be mainly fed by drafts from the one at home; which, when low on the roster, would be little more than a recruiting machine. With the two Line regiments he linked two county Militia regiments, establishing depôt centres for the four battalions, which formed a brigade; and to this depôt he appointed a colonel and other officers, both for the recruits to the two regiments and for training the Militia.

Lord Cardwell's third reform was the Abolition of Purchase. The disadvantages of that system were manifest; but it had one great merit, inasmuch as it enabled officers who did not care to make the Army their profession, or saw little chance of advancement, to retire by the sale of their commissions, and thus secured a most unequal, but still large, flow of regimental promotion. It remained, however, to be seen how this promotion could be secured in a professional service.

We have now, Sir, had from eight to ten years' experience of these changes, and the time has arrived for reviewing them, and, if any defects have appeared, for applying the necessary remedies. I will endeavour to point out to the House some of their merits, in what respects they have been criticized, what blots, if any, have been hit, and how we propose to cure them.

I will take, in the first place, the question of the proper length of service. Now, there can be no doubt whatever that to short service we owe the fact not only that we have obtained of late years an ample supply of recruits, but that they are almost from year to year of a better class, and of a higher average of age. Comparing 1871 and 1879, we had in the Army at the former period 190 men in every 1,000 under 20 years of age, and in the latter only 106; and the percentage of recruits under 20 years of age in 1874—which is the first year in which the information is shown in the official Returns—and 1879 was 58 and 43 respectively.

But, on the other hand, there are two considerations to which I think great weight must be attached. The first is, that whereas Lord Cardwell only appears to have contemplated that three-fourths of the recruits should be enlisted for short service, and one-fourth for the whole term of 12 years, the fact that the two systems of recruiting would not work together has led to the whole of the Line being recruited for short service, and hence arises the inability to retain any men with the colours for more than six years, except with their own consent. The second is, that the Army has to provide, not only for service in this Kingdom and its Colonies, but, so far as European troops are concerned, for India; and that a six-year term of service, especially where the Army is, to a great extent, recruited at 18 and 19 years of age, does not practically give an average of more than four years in India. There is, I admit, great difference of opinion, both medical and military, as to the proper length of a soldier's Indian service. But, after carefully considering these conflicting views, I think it may be fairly said that six years is, according to the best authorities, about the time during which a soldier who is not invalided should generally be kept in India, and this undoubtedly points to an increase in the present time of service.

This question of the proper length of service was, in 1879, referred by my Predecessor to a Committee of 11 officers—Generals and Colonels—over which Lord Airey presided. I do not mean that this was the only question upon which the Committee were invited to advise the Secretary of State; but the others were subsidiary to it, except, perhaps, the best means for obtaining more efficient non-commissioned officers. Much difference of opinion was expressed by the Committee. One Member did not sign the Report, and five more signed it with qualifications. But on the question of the length of service, a decided majority were in favour of enlistment for 14½ years, of which six months were to be at the depôt, eight years with the colours, and six with the Reserve.

One very distinguished Member of the Committee, Sir Lintorn Simmons, who is known as the writer of letters signed "One Who Has Served," wholly differed from his colleagues, and advocated enlistment for three years only with the colours, any extension of that period for foreign service being voluntarily made by the soldier. We do not think that it would be possible to rely for the defence of our possessions abroad, requiring about 90,000 men in India and the Colonies under arms on such a system of volunteering; and, after well weighing its merits, I am unable to adopt Sir Lintorn Simmons' plan. But, with some modification, the plan of the Committee is, in my opinion, more feasible; and I will now state in what respects I think it faulty. It assumes that men could be enlisted for 14½ years without infallibly raising a claim for pension. Now, I do not believe this. Under the system in force in 1867, it was found very difficult to obtain 13,000 men for the Army with the obligation to only 10 years' service. I doubt, therefore, whether, without the promise of pensions, or without large bounties, 25,000 men could be got annually for a service of 14½ years. But with pensions, the expense would be such as no House of Commons could be expected to pay. Reference to the 73rd Appendix to the Report of the Committee, which will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow, will show that without pensions the proposals of the Committee would add to the normal expense of the Army about £700,000 a-year; with pensions, this increase would reach at least £1,500,000.

The Report of Lord Airey's Committee also contains a proposal for abolishing the system of linked regiments, and for obtaining recruits for each battalion separately, whether at home or abroad, from large training depôts. I must refer to this part of their Report with some qualification; because, however eminent may have been the gentlemen who constituted the Committee, their opinion on this question was not sought in the official reference to them. On the contrary, they were told—

> "That there was no intention on the part of the Government to depart from the general principles of re-organization which had been accepted by the country since 1870;" and the "formation of the Army in regiments of more than one battalion for the purposes of mutual support"

was expressly stated to be one of those general principles. I find, however, that at the last moment, when five-sixths of the Evidence had been taken, and when the Committee were on the eve of preparing their Report, a note, in an unofficial form, of which there is no record in the War Office, was received by the Chairman of the Committee, saying that they were not "precluded from touching on" this question. Whatever may have been the authority for this note, I must decline to treat the recommendations of the Committee on this head, in which they were not unanimous, as other than the personal opinions of a body of officers for whom, as individuals, I have the greatest respect.

On the question of the effect of promotion on the abolition of purchase, it became soon evident that, without the adoption of some comprehensive scheme, great stagnation would occur under the new system. As I had for some years before taken, myself, a great interest in this question, and, anticipating the consequences of the abolition of purchase in the Line, had studied it as Chairman of a Select Committee with reference to the three corps in which purchase did not exist—I mean the Artillery, the Engineers, and the Marines—I hope I may be permitted to detain the Committee for a few moments while I explain the conclusions at which I arrived, and which formed the basis of the scheme of naval retirement of 1870, with which my name is connected. No plan will secure an efficient and steady system of promotion which is not constructed according to mathematical rules in two respects—one the proper proportion of the higher to the lower ranks of the Service, and the other the ages at which officers must retire from those ranks. If the higher ranks are unduly small compared with the lower, you must provide from the latter a very burdensome and unpopular forced retirement at an early age. If you are able to increase the proportion of the higher ranks, this forced retirement may be minimized and even almost dispensed with. Now, this was what I effected in the Navy, and what Lord Cardwell did in the Artillery and Engineers. By largely reducing the number of cadet entries, and the volume of the ranks of sub-lieutenant and lieutenant as compared with the higher ranks, the Admiralty will be able, when the great surplus list of officers has been reduced, to keep promotion in an efficient state. Similarly, Lord Cardwell reduced the captains and subalterns, and created majors, of Artillery and Engineers, with the result that there will be in those corps little or no forced retirement from the rank of captain. But with respect to the Line and the Cavalry the Secretary of State who succeeded Lord Cardwell appointed a Royal Commission under the presidency of Lord Penzance, which, not feeling itself authorized to propose any alteration in the relative numbers of regimental ranks, necessarily fell back on compulsory retirement at early ages, and so, if they solved the problem at all, did so at an enormous cost, and in the way most distasteful to the officers themselves. I shall give the figures when I describe the remedy we propose; but, in passing, I will only say that the present system will force out of the Army more than half its officers before or when they reach the early age of 40.

I think I have now brought my narrative of the changes introduced into the

Army between 1867 and 1872, and of the controversies which they have evoked, pretty well down to the present day, and I proceed to explain what proposals we have determined upon. I will do so as concisely as possible, first explaining what are those which are of a general character; then giving in more detail the alterations in length of service and regimental organization which we consider necessary.

I will first take changes which affect specially the Auxiliary Forces. Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to decide that the number of her Aides-de-Camp shall be increased by four, and that these much-prized, though honorary, distinctions, shall be conferred on Volunteer officers. Her Majesty has also approved of an alteration in the regulations of the Order of the Bath, under which five Knight Commanderships and 25 Companionships of the Civil branch of that Order will be conferred upon officers of the Auxiliary and Reserve Forces who may, while in command of a regiment, have contributed in a marked degree to its efficiency.

Perhaps I may here state that I am permitted by Her Majesty to announce her intention to hold a Review of the Volunteers in Windsor Park, unless anything unforeseen should occur to prevent it, either in the middle of May or towards the end of June.

My attention has been drawn to some anomalies in the regulations under which Militia and Volunteer officers are allowed to retain their rank or to obtain steps of honorary rank after long service or on retirement. It has been decided that after 15 years' commissioned service in any of the Auxiliary Forces, or in combination with Army service, an officer will be allowed, if duly recommended, to retain his rank and wear his uniform; that after 25 years' similar service in the Militia or Yeomanry, or 30 years' in the Volunteers, a lieutenant-colonel or a major will be allowed a step of honorary rank, and a captain after 20 years in the Militia or Yeomanry, or 25 in the Volunteers. The same boons, if not already granted while serving, will be granted on retirement, and in each case combined service will count like service in the corps from which the officer retires, or in which he gets the step of honorary rank.

There is one other question in connection with the Volunteers, about which, after taking the highest legal advice, I have not felt able to comply with, a suggestion from time to time made in this House—namely, that Volunteer officers should be exempt from serving on juries, to the same extent as Militia officers. Militia officers are, in fact, only exempt while on full pay, which Volunteers never receive; but that is not the only difficulty. I do not see on what ground we could exempt Volunteer officers and not privates, who, for the most part, are of the same social class; and if we exempted the latter, among whom there must be many thousand jurymen, a heavy burden would be thrown on the rest of the community, which it would be impossible to justify. I have, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that I should not recommend to Parliament an amendment in this sense of the Juries Act. I believe, however, as a matter of fact, that Judges will always excuse Volunteers shown to be absent in camp, or on similar duty.

With respect to the Militia, I shall explain, before I sit down, the arrangements we contemplate, acting on the Report of my right hon. Predecessor as Chairman of the Committee of 1876, for still more closely connecting this ancient Constitutional force with the Army proper, by making county Militia regiments the third and fourth battalions of the new territorial regiments. But in thus bringing the Militia into still closer connection with the Line, I think it will be necessary to apply to their officers some rules as to age retirement, the absence of which has certainly produced some remarkable anomalies. I find among colonels and lieutenant-colonels actually commanding regiments—I do not include honorary colonels — officers of over 70 years of age, and some nearly as old among majors. In future we intend to provide that no colonel, or lieutenant-colonel commanding, shall retain his appointment after 55, or, under special circumstances, 60 years of age; and that none now serving remain after 67, or, if at present under 60, after 62 years of age. All future majors will retire at 50, and all present majors at 55. All captains will retire at 50.

Passing from the Auxiliary Forces, I will now fulfil the promise which I gave to the late First Lord of the Admiralty, a few days ago, that I would explain our policy about ordnance. I hope to give full details of the *matériel* to be bought or manufactured this year when we arrive at Vote 12; but, meanwhile, I may say that we are now engaged in a series of important experiments with breech-loading guns of various calibres, from the 43-ton gun to a 13-pounder field gun; and the recent renewal of the controversy between the muzzle-loader and the breech-loader, and the multiplicity of proposals for ordnance of every variety of construction, have led Her Majesty's Government to the conclusion that it would be desirable to recur to the advice of an independent Ordnance Committee, with functions somewhat differing from those of the former Committee. It will consist of officers of the Artillery, of the Navy, and of the Engineers, with two eminent civil engineers; and while we hope to obtain from this Committee technical advice of extreme value, we have determined not to run the risk of the disadvantages felt in connection with the old Ordnance Committee, and strictly to limit its functions to such inquiries and experiments as may be categorically referred to it by the Minister holding my Office. We have every reason to believe that the additional cost to the country, about £3,000 a year, of the services of these gentlemen will be far more than compensated for by the valuable results which the weight of their authority may be expected to secure. I had hoped to be able to name to-day the gentlemen selected for this service; but I find I must postpone doing so for a few days.

I will now state to the House what we recommend as to length of service.

In the first place, we propose to raise the minimum age when a man may be enlisted from 18, at which it now stands, to 19; and not only to that age nominally, but so that no man who (though 19) has not the physical equivalent of that age will be accepted. I should have been glad to raise the minimum age to 20, and I hope that this may be possible before long; but if we did so at present, we should risk not obtaining a sufficient number of recruits. No man under 20 years of age, or with less than a year's service, will, under any circumstances, be sent to India or to a tropical station; and it is most desirable that after arrival he should not be employed on active service for a year or so—that is to say, until he is acclimatized.

In the second place, we propose that the term of enlistment should remain 12 years, as now, but that the period with the colours should be seven instead of six years; and that all soldiers serving abroad should be liable to remain with the colours eight years, and, if serving in India, should always be required to give this additional year. This extra year's service is rarely enforced now; but we propose to make it the rule. The effect of these two changes will be, that instead of serving from 18 to 24 years of age, every man who goes to India will serve in the Army at least from 19 to 27.

We have well considered whether it would be safe to make obligatory colour service longer than eight years; but we have decided that this very considerable increase on the present system goes as far as prudence will allow. I have carefully read the Reports of, and the Evidence taken before, the two Commissions of 1860 and 1866, and Lord Airey's Committee; and while I find many officers anxious to revert to the old term of what is now called long colour service (that is, 12 years), and indifferent to the formation of an Army Reserve, which this would render impossible, I find hardly anyone advocating nine or ten years with the colours. The term we have proposed, and which was formerly recommended among soldiers by Sir Charles Napier, and among civilians by Mr. Godley, will, I believe, both supply us sufficient recruits, and, with the further provisions I shall explain, steadily build up a Reserve. It must be remembered that it is to the attractions of short service with the colours, and passage to the Reserve, that we owe the great majority of our recruits and their continuous improvement, and we must be cautious lest in making the term of service too long we spoil our market, and revert to the disastrous state of things in 1860 and 1866.

We also propose that the Secretaries of State for War and India should from time to time settle the extent to which, and the terms on which, a certain proportion of men in good health, and serving in India, should be allowed to extend their service within the period of their engagement. I doubt whether it will be often necessary to carry out this extension for more than two years, as the previous conditions will insure from six to seven years' service for all men in India who may not be invalided; and probably not more than 10 to 15 per cent of the privates of a regiment will, under any circumstances, be permitted so to extend their service.

I come now to non-commissioned officers; and, in addition to the other advantages of pay, pension, and rank, which we intend to give them, we propose the following boons in respect of service:—

First. Every corporal, on completing a year's probation and being confirmed in his rank, will be allowed to extend his colour service to the full period of 12 years.

Secondly. Every sergeant will be allowed to engage for his second term of nine years, subject only to the veto of the War Office in each individual case; and thus to have an "assured military career" of 21 years, ending with a pension. His deferred pay will also continue during his second term of service, instead of ceasing, as now, after 12 years.

Similarly, every corporal will be allowed, with the sanction of his commanding officer, to engage for his second term of service, and to earn a pension.

Finally, we shall arrange that sergeants, after 15 or 16 years' service, shall be liable to be transferred to the permanent staff of their Militia battalions.

I may say that we propose that the term of seven or eight years' service should be applicable to all arms alike, whether Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, or Engineers.

This change from six to practically eight years' service will have an unfavourable effect on the Army Reserve. Under the present system, the Infantry Reserve may be expected to reach, in about 1890, its maximum strength of 44,000, and even this I do not consider sufficient. To meet, therefore, the effect of the extension of service, and still more to strengthen the Reserve, I propose two things: the first, that men serving at home, and not likely to be sent abroad, should be at liberty, and indeed encouraged, if the state of recruiting permits, to go into the Reserve after completing three or four years' service. One of the inducements to do this will be permission to receive, when so discharged into the Reserve, their accumulated deferred pay, none of which is now paid to men until the expiry of their full time of colour service. The second will be to allow Reserve men, on or before completing their 12 years' engagement, to volunteer for a further period of four years, during which they will receive pay at the rate of 4*d.* a-day, but will not be liable to be called out until after all the other Reservists. We shall limit the number of this class to 10,000. On the other hand, we propose to allow the Enrolled Pensioner Reserve gradually to die out, as such, without diminishing the service liabilities of pensioners. It has been suggested to me that we might allow Volunteers of certain qualifications to join the Army Reserve, and I propose to take powers with this object. But I have not yet had time to mature a scheme for this purpose.

Under these conditions we hope to secure for our military system two great advantages; first, for all regiments on foreign and especially on active service, a full proportion of what are called "seasoned soldiers," by insuring an average of about eight years' service from all men not permanently invalided; and, secondly, a steady flow into the Reserve, not only of men who have served seven, eight, or more years, but of a considerable number who have served three or four years, and who will bring habits of steadiness and discipline into the civil employments for which their age will well fit them. Besides this, we shall be able to set against the great increase in deferred and reserved pay a solid reduction in the Pension List, which, for non-commissioned officers and men, is rapidly approaching £2,000,000 a-year, but which, under our proposed system, will be applicable mainly to non-commissioned officers. Finally, I may say that this great economy will be much more felt by India than by the Imperial Exchequer, and will, I hope, be an answer to some of the plans for restoring a separate Indian Army, upon which I confess I look with unmitigated dislike.

The second great branch of the changes in the period from 1867 to 1872 related to the localization of the Army, and especially of the Line, and I will now state our proposals on this subject.

I must premise by stating that, from everyone who has studied this branch of the question, I have heard, at any rate, this undoubted proposition, that we cannot leave things as they are. Either we must follow the advice of those who, like the late Colonel Anson in 1872, or my right hon. Friend and Predecessor with his influential Committee in 1876, recommended the complete union in a territorial regiment of the four battalions—two of the Line and two of the Militia (and it must be remembered that on that Committee sat Sir Henry Havelock, General Taylor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, General Bulwer, General Greaves, and General Herbert, besides the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Exeter, Lord Limerick, and Colonel Corbett); or, according to every opponent of the system, we must repeal our whole legislation and undo our whole policy as to a territorial Army; convert the Depôt Centre Barracks, for which Parliament voted £3,500,000, into something else; alter the whole system of brigade enlistment; confuse the rights and seniority of every officer appointed during the last eight years; and, by making each regiment recruit for itself, through the agency of its own depôt, add perhaps 11,000, perhaps, according to the Appendix to Lord Airey's Report, 15,000; or, according to some, 20,000 men to the Army. The first 25 regiments of the Line, which are already double-battalion regiments, would be broken up and made into 50 single-battalion regiments, and the Rifle Brigade and 60th Rifles would be similarly divided into four regiments each.

I have studied this question most carefully, with the aid of my professional advisers and by the light of the Committees which have investigated it during the last 10 years, and I have come to the conclusion that in this matter we should adopt an advancing, not a retrogressive, policy. We propose, therefore, that the two battalions of the Line, and the two battalions of Militia which now form a territorial brigade, shall henceforth form a territorial regiment with a county depôt; the first and second battalions being Line and the third and fourth Militia. The officers and men of the four battalions will have the same uniforms, only, in the case of the men of the Militia, distinguished by the letter "M" on their shoulder-straps. The insignia and distinctions of the Line regiments will be carefully preserved, but be common to both battalions. In fact, the whole Line will be organized as the 25 first regiments now are.

To this there would be two classes of exceptions. We do not propose to disturb the four-battalion organization of the rifle regiments; and the special circumstances of some of the Scotch regiments require particular treatment. I will describe them with a little detail, as some most extraordinary misconceptions appear to exist, about projects affecting them and their uniforms, which never entered my mind.

At present there are nine Highland regiments, the 42nd, 71st, 72nd, 74th, 78th, 79th, 91st, 92nd, and 93rd, wearing the kilt or trews; two double-battalion regiments, the Royal Scots and Royal Scots Fusiliers; and three single-battalion regiments, the 26th, 73rd, and 90th, all localized in Scotland, and one, the 75th, localized in England. We propose to group these after a new arrangement, in a manner which I will now describe.

1. The 72nd and 78th will form the Seaforth Highlanders, kilted and with the Mackenzie tartan.

2. The 92nd Gordon Highlanders will remain at Aberdeen, and the 75th will become its second battalion, and receive the same dress.

3. The 42nd will continue at Perth, and the 73rd, which is a Perthshire regiment, formerly the second battalion of the 42nd, will receive the same dress, and form with it the "Black Watch."

4. The 79th will have their depôt at Inverness, and will be the odd battalion of the total 141 of the Army.

5. The 91st and 93rd will form a regiment, with their depôt at Stirling. They will be dressed in the kilt, wearing the tartan, which, we understand, is common to the Argyll and Sutherland clans.

6. The 71st and 74th will be combined at Hamilton as the Highland Light Infantry.

7. At Hamilton also will be the 26th and 90th, formed into a rifle regiment. The other two depôts, Edinburgh and Ayr, will remain unchanged. There will thus be nine kilted battalions and two in trews, as against five kilted and four in trews at present.

Among the Papers which will be distributed to-morrow will be found full details of the changes as to uniforms, titles, badges, and colours, which this amalgamation of the regiments will involve.

This, Sir, is, I think, the place for explaining to the House what changes I propose in the establishments of the Infantry, resulting in an aggregate increase of 2,792 men. One of the most important reforms which a study of these questions has impressed on me is the necessity for increasing our preparedness for such minor wars and expeditions as the history of the last 10 years has shown to be unavoidable. Should we be engaged in a European war, or a war for the preservation of our Indian Empire, we should, of course, at once call out the Army Reserve, and 25,000 trained men so added to the Army, to say nothing of the Militia Reserve, would, even in the present state of the Reserve, fill our battalions at home with seasoned men, ready to take the field. But we ought to be ready for contingencies of a much less serious character, and I will explain to the House how we propose to effect this.

According to the Establishments of the year 1880-81 there were:—Six battalions at home consisting of 800 rank and file; 6 of 720; 6 of 640; 6 of 560; and 43 of 480, all with depôts of 80, except in the case of eight brigades having both their battalions abroad, which had 280.

In the Colonies there were 24 battalions, of which 15 had an establishment of 600 rank and file, and nine of 800.

We propose that in future there shall be at home 12 battalions of 950 rank and file; 4 of 850; 4 of 650; 8 of 500; and 43 of 480. Eight of the battalions of 950 and four of those at 850 will have depôts of 150 rank and file, which will furnish drafts to the other battalion of the regiment; the remainder small depôts of 50. In the Mediterranean and the Colonies there will be 20 battalions, each of 800 rank and file.

The 12 first regiments, containing, with their depôts, 1,100 rank and file each, and six of the Mediterranean regiments, containing 800 men each, and ready to be raised to 1,000 efficients from their home battalions, will, with three battalions of the Guards, six regiments of Cavalry, and 17 batteries of Horse and Field Artillery, be always in a state of preparedness; and next to the 12 home regiments will come four of 850 each, which could also promptly be raised to war strength. We shall thus, after these changes have been completed, be able at any moment, and on the shortest notice, to bring together and despatch a *corps d'armée*, consisting of 18 battalions of the Line, three of the Guards, six regiments of Cavalry, and 17 batteries of Artillery; and this without trenching on the four regiments of Infantry required for our annual reliefs, under a system which I will endeavour to explain to the House.

At present our 70 battalions abroad (50 in India and 20 in the Colonies) are relieved by other regiments at the rate of six a-year. These frequent reliefs not only are a source of great expense to India, but, under the system of double battalion regiments, will be, to a great extent, unnecessary. We propose that, in future, reliefs of whole battalions should be, to a great extent, superseded by annual reliefs by drafts, both in the case of officers and men, so that neither officer nor man should serve in India for more than eight years. The head-quarters of the battalion would be relieved about every 16 years, in some cases by the other battalion of the regiment, in others by another regiment, but so that every year one regiment furnishing a battalion to India will come on to the Colonial roster, and similarly one from the Colonial roster will come on the list of those furnishing battalions to India. Every regiment will thus take its turn for Indian and Colonial service, but at a much less expense than under the present system.

I pass now to the third branch of the reforms which we contemplate—namely, those which concern pay, promotion and retirement. I will take first the non-commissioned officer. I have already explained the advantages we propose to give this important class in respect of what has been called "Assured Service"—in other words, the right to continue in the Army until they have acquired pensions, with the privilege of transfer to the Permanent Staff of the Militia. We propose, however, much more than this. Every regimental sergeant-major will in future have the rank of a warrant officer, with pay in the Infantry of 5*s*. a-day, and with a higher rate of pension. Similar boons will be given to non commissioned officers of an equivalent position. Colour-sergeants will receive on appointment 3*s.* a-day, and sergeants on promotion 2*s.* 4*d.* a-day. Corporals' pay, when confirmed, will be 1*s.* 8*d.* a-day, including good-conduct pay. The rates of pension throughout will be re-modelled, and generally to the soldier's advantage.

We are in communication with other Departments, with a view to increasing the number of civil appointments to be granted to non-commissioned officers, as recommended by the Committee of which I was Chairman in the last Parliament.

We have also, as I promised last Session, taken up the cases of the quartermasters and riding-masters. I propose to make additions to the rates of pay which quartermasters of Infantry and Cavalry receive on their appointment to that rank. These will be substantial; the lowest rate for a quartermaster of Infantry being fixed at 9*s.* a-day instead of 8*s.* 2*d.*, and rising by increases of 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day every five years to 13*s.* 6*d.* Quartermasters will be retired at the age of 55, their pensions being fixed at £200 a-year, with 12 years' service as quartermaster. To riding-masters I contemplate giving the same advantages as regards retirement, and they will receive their present rates of pay, free from the stoppage for forage to which they are now subject.

But the more important reforms in connection with pay, promotion, and retirement, are those which affect the great body of combatant officers, and I must ask the indulgence of the House while I explain to them our proposals in some detail.

I have already referred to the, to my mind, inadequate recommendations of Lord Penzance's Commission, which led to the Royal Warrant of 1877; and I hope that, both with respect to compulsory retirement from regimental ranks and to the system according to which the establishment of general officers is framed, the proposals that I am about to explain will form the basis of very beneficial improvements.

The great blot in the present system of regimental promotion and retirement is the enormous number of compulsory retirements from the Service at an early age, which will shortly be inevitable. I will deal separately with the case of purchase officers—I mean of officers who obtained their present rank by purchase; but the very unsatisfactory prospects of regimental non-purchase officers, when the present system reaches its normal condition, will be understood at a glance when I give the following figures, the result of careful actuarial calculation. Out of 1,000 gentlemen who enter the Line as second-lieutenants, excluding those whose object is to join the Indian Staff Corps, no less than 581 will be compulsorily retired as captains at the age of 40 on £200 a-year. Of course, this number would be diminished by any voluntary retirements. Only 216 have any chance of becoming employed as majors, and only 139 as lieutenant-colonels. About the same proportions will be found in the Cavalry and in the Guards. In due time, as a consequence of these forced retirements, there will be up and down the country nearly 4,500 captains ejected from the Army at the early age of 40, and costing the country £900,000 a-year, besides some 500 more, compulsorily retired as majors. It is undoubtedly necessary to provide some retirement from these ranks; but that more than half the number of captains should be compelled to retire from that rank is intolerable. Now, as I have already shown, there is one way, and only one way, in which this evil can be abated; that is, the re-adjustment of the proportions of the several regimental ranks. Lord Penzance's Commission refer to this remedy, and some details on the subject will be found in the Appendices to their Report; but they considered themselves precluded by their instructions from entertaining it. I have, however, given most careful attention to this, the only method of putting regimental retirement on a satisfactory footing; and, with the entire concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief, we have elaborated a scheme which I will now explain to the House.

A double-battalion Infantry regiment has now two lieutenant-colonels, four majors, 20 captains, and 34 subalterns, two of whom are adjutants.

We propose that the future organization should be two lieutenant-colonels commanding, two second lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, 12 captains, (two of whom will be adjutants), and 30 subalterns. Under this organization the battalion at home and the battalion abroad will each have one officer less, while at the depôt there will be, besides the colonel commanding the sub-district, a lieutenant-colonel, four captains, including two supernumeraries as adjutants of Militia, and two subalterns. We propose, at the same time, to do away with the rank of second lieutenant, giving the same pay to lieutenants of less than three years' service.

This change will greatly reduce the amount of compulsory retirement; as, under it, instead of 216, no less than 516 officers out of 1,000 will, in the Line, reach the rank of major; but we also propose another change for the benefit of captains. Instead of leaving the Service at the age of 40, captains will be allowed, at that age, to go to a list of unattached majors, from which list, as well as from regimental captains, officers will be in future selected for regimental majorities and equivalent Staff appointments. At the age of 43, however, an unattached major must retire on £200 a-year, with the honorary rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the next grade, a major, on completing seven years' service, will become an unattached lieutenant-colonel, unless he has sooner reached the age of 48, when he must retire; and vacancies in the regimental rank of lieutenant-colonel, or on the Staff, will be filled by selection from majors serving and lieutenant-colonels unattached. This increase in the number of field officers will, I may say in passing, warrant us in greatly reducing for the future the grants of brevet rank.

In the two Ordnance Corps the reform effected by Lord Cardwell, under which the rank of major was conferred on the senior captains, has rendered unnecessary any general re-organization of either the Artillery or Engineers. But certain grievances have remained, which were brought before Parliament in 1879 by Colonel Arbuthnot; and I promised last year, instead of appointing a Royal Commission on the subject, to inquire into them departmentally. I shall lay on the Table the Report of the Committee which I appointed, with Lord Morley as Chairman, and I hope that their recommendations, which I have generally adopted, will be satisfactory to the House, and to the officers concerned. As the House is aware, Colonel Arbuthnot's principal demand—namely, that the officers of these two distinguished corps should be declared, for the futnre, equally eligible with the rest of the Army for commands and Staff appointments—has been formally and conclusively recognized.

I referred just now to the case of purchase officers. We propose two changes, both of which have been the subject of debates in this House. The first relates to purchase captains, in whose interest we continued last year the system of Succession Brevet promotions to October, 1881. We propose that, in future, all purchase captains should be allowed, on retirement after 20 years' service, the rank of major, which will carry with it the honorary rank of lieutenant colonel. The other change refers to the near relatives of officers who have been killed in action or died of wounds. We propose, finally, to settle this often-debated question by giving to these relatives the full regulation value of the commission held by the officer in the shape of an annuity or annuities, if these should exceed in value the rates of pension laid down in the present Warrant.

I come next to the establishment of general officers. Omitting the Indian Staff Corps and the Marines, the active list now consists of 77 generals, 116 lieutenant-generals, and 194 major-generals, or 387 in all. Their method of remuneration, whether before or after retirement, is certainly most anomalous, and the best that Lord Penzance's Commission could say for it was that it was not unpopular. Speaking generally, all these officers, whether active or retired, receive—besides, in some cases, good-service rewards of £100 a-year—£450 a-year until they succeed to the honorary colonelcy of a regiment, or a colonel commandantship in the Artillery and Engineers, worth £1,000 a-year; and the only cause for removal from the active to the retired list is, attaining 70 years of age. We propose, with respect to these officers, to apply the principles of the system of pay, promotion, and retirement of flag officers in the Navy. Their number will be reduced to 140—95 major-generals, 35 lieutenant-generals, and 10 generals. The first will retire at 62 years of age, the other two ranks at 67, all two years later than the corresponding ranks of the Navy. Non-employment for five years will also involve retirement. The scale of pay will be—For a major-general £500 a-year; lieutenant-general £650 a-year; general £800 a-year; and the rates of retired pay will be £700, £850, and £1,000 a-year respectively, with the right of earlier optional retirement at a somewhat reduced rate. Subject to vested interests, which will be very carefully guarded, the colonelcies of regiments will be purely honorary; but in consideration of this change, as affecting the colonels of the Household Regiments, the number of Field Marshals will be raised to a maximum of six, with pay at the rate of £1,300 a-year for life. In addition to these permanent arrangements, temporary provision will be made for the present senior colonels whose pecuniary interests may be prejudiced by the change. Good-service rewards will not be received after retirement, and their number will be gradually diminished to one-half.

I may say here that promotion to the rank of major-general will in future be given to any colonel of the arm in which the vacancy occurs, whom the Commander-in-Chief may recommend, and whom he considers that it will be for the benefit of the Public Service to promote. In the absence of such a recommendation, the senior colonel qualified to command in the field will be promoted.

As a rule, all these arrangements will take effect on the 1st of July next.

The House will now be desirous to know what will be the financial result of the reforms which I have explained; but in accordance with my promise I will only give the general result, reserving the details for Committee.

The increase in the length of service from six to seven and eight years, with the extended system of relief by drafts, and the increased proportion of non-commissioned officers and men allowed still further to extend their service, set against the addition to the numbers of the Infantry, will cause an ultimate small saving to the Exchequer, which will be about balanced by an increased charge for the other arms. The improved pay of non-commissioned officers is provided for in the present Estimates. The saving to India will be about £200,000 a -year.

Again, the effective charge for officers from the grade of subaltern upwards will hardly be altered by my proposed changes. But the non-effective charge will be considerably reduced, and the combined saving is calculated by the actuaries at about £230,000 to the English Exchequer, and £14,000 to India. This is, of course, mainly due to the decrease in the number of gentlemen entering the Army, which the great reduction in compulsory retirement will bring about. Instead of 451 young men annually becoming officers, the number of entries will be just 400; and the total number of officers, active and retired, which, under the present system in its normal condition, should be about 14,600, will be only 12,500. The actual prospect of an officer entering the Service will be considerably improved.

Taking, then, the whole of the reforms which we contemplate as to men and officers, India and this country will each, in the end, gain not much less than £250,000 a-year, while both the officer and the soldier will be pecuniarily the better by the average addition to their term of service.

I come now, Sir, to the last branch of my subject—I mean the fulfilment of the promise which I gave to the House last year relating to corporal punishment. As in the Navy, we propose that in the Army corporal punishment shall be abolished. For the offences, on account of which it may now be inflicted, we propose to substitute a summary punishment in the shape of restraint without injury to life or limb, the exact nature of which I will explain when moving the Army Discipline Continuance Bill. It will also be available as a punishment for an offence not now subjecting the soldier to flogging—I mean drunkenness on active service. I am very conscious of the reluctance with which, step by step, the majority of officers have seen corporal punishment disappearing from the Statute Book; but without re-opening now this old controversy, I think I may safely say that the compromise of 1879, which limited this punishment to the case of offences punishable by death, was the doom of flogging; and I trust that the greater popularity of the Army, and the consequent improvement in recruiting, which I do not hesitate to predict as the result of this final step, will reconcile to it many of those who, before 1879, reluctantly clung to corporal punishment as a necessity.

I have now, Sir, finished my task in laying before the House a sketch of our military proposals. It may be thought that at a moment when we have scarcely recovered from the strain of the campaigns in Afghanistan and Zululand, when we have been compelled suddenly to collect a large force for operations in Natal and the Transvaal, when we may have another Ashantee War on us, and, above all, when we have been compelled to keep in Ireland a larger and better organized force than that country has seen for many years, it was not the time to deal with such grave questions as the length of service, the linking of battalions, or the compulsory retirement of our officers. I am, however, Sir, of a different opinion. It is to these very events that we owe the dissection of our system by able and experienced hands, and the exposure of its weak points. I offer our reforms to the House of Commons, assured that they will not be ill-received by those who will see in them evidence of our deep anxiety for the well-being of the Army; and confident that if adopted by Parliament they will add greatly to our military strength and security.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Secretary Childers.*)

Colonel STANLEY: Sir, I believe that I only express the general sense of all around me, and I may add, I hope, of the opposite side of the House also, when I say that the statement which the right hon. Gentleman has just made has, at all events, had this effect—it has caused us to forget, for the last two hours, how the hands of the clock were moving. We have listened to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman with the greatest pleasure and the greatest interest. I do not propose now, in the remarks I am about to make, to enter into any discussion whatever upon the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; but before the discussion comes on, which I understand the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly willing to take, there are one or two points which I think it is desirable to clear up, and in regard to which I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to supplement the statement he has made by giving some further information to the House. Perhaps, before I specify what those points are, I may be allowed, from a personal point of view, to say a word with regard to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman about Lord Airey's Committee. It will be within the recollection of the House that that Committee was appointed to discharge a very difficult and a very delicate duty at a time when it was perfectly clear that our forces were not quite in so good a condition as could be wished, and when, above all things, it was desirable to know, from candid observation, what was the real truth of the case. The right hon. Gentleman has said, and, no doubt, he is perfectly right, that the Committee went beyond their official instructions. Now, I desire to say that those official instructions, although they were framed so as formally to prescribe the limits of the inquiry, were supplemented by constant reference to myself on the part of the Committee, and if the Committee, in any instance, went beyond their original instructions, the responsibility of their having done so rests with myself. I can only bear my testimony to the zeal, ability, and industry with which the Committee pursued their inquiry, and I do not doubt that the right hon. Gentleman himself will acknowledge the assistance which he has received in his scheme from the Report which the Committee felt it their duty to make. I have no desire to enter further into this matter now; but I wish to ask for one or two particulars from the right hon. Gentleman if he feels himself at liberty to give them. I should be glad, if by printed statement or otherwise, the right hon. Gentleman could find himself able, at an early date, to acquaint the House with the nature and general scope of the experiments which the revived Ordnance Select Committee are to undertake. I speak with some reserve; but I must confess the fear which is in my mind, and I believe in that of some other persons also, that if the Committee is appointed for experimental purposes, they may be induced to leave out of sight that which was the original intention of the Committee I had the honour to appoint—namely, to secure, as soon as possible, the best gun for the Service. I hope that the Ordnance Committee will have their instructions limited so that they shall not go off into a series of experiments and put off the securing of the best gun, both for the Army and the Fleet, until a remote date. There is another point upon which, if the right hon. Gentleman is able to give any explanation, it would be of great interest and utility to the Committee when we come to discuss the proposals of the Government in a Committee of this House, and that is the manner in which the roster for the Service will work. It is very easy, and, at first sight, most important, to show by figures how the bringing up of battalions to a particular strength at a particular time will enable drafts to be sent out in regular proportion, and the service to be carried on equally in all parts of the world. But I am anxious that the right hon. Gentleman should give the House such information as lies in his power, and is convenient, so far as his public duty is concerned, to show the House upon what data these calculations are founded, and how the details are worked out. I should like to ask a further question in regard to the proposal for allowing the regulation value of commissions to be granted to the families of officers. I want to know how the right hon. Gentleman gets over what has always been felt to be a considerable difficulty—namely, whether the scheme is to apply to the future only; and, if not, whether he has considered to what extent he will be committed to a retrospective action? Dealing with the past has always been one of the crucial difficulties in dealing with the matter, and I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman can give the House any information on that point. With respect to the reduction of generals, I will not say anything in regard to that proposal at present; but I may have a word to say hereafter as to whether the advantage proposed to be derived from the limitation will really compensate for the disadvantages you may have obtained from striking off from the active list officers who, although above a certain age, are perfectly competent for the performance of all the duties attending strategic command. There is another and a more prominent question, which I dare not touch in detail now. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will be able to accomplish all that he proposes within the limits of the Estimates laid upon the Table. I would really ask the right hon. Gentleman if all his proposals are included within the four corners of the Estimates; or whether he thinks that on any of these points it will be necessary hereafter to take Supplementary Estimates? I am extremely glad that the right hon. Gentleman has found himself able to deal with a case on which, I think, there is a general agreement—the case of the non-commissioned officers. Last year, in moving the Estimates, I said that I hoped to deal with it at an early period. It will, no doubt, be a difficult matter to deal with satisfactorily; and I would congratulate the right hon. Gentleman if he is able to carry out the whole of his proposals within the four corners of the Estimates. I am not going to say one word with regard to corporal punishment, except that, having had occasion to consider the question, and to consider it in a serious and practical light, I believe I speak the mind of a good many persons when I state that I welcome the time when the right hon. Gentleman, acting upon his responsibility for the discipline of the Service, feels himself enabled to dispense with this punishment, although, of course, I reserve my opinions as to the merits of his proposal until I know what he intends to substitute for it. We should all be glad if anything in the character of a sentimental objection could be removed on the part of those who entered the Service. Personally, I may say that, having willingly assented to the changes that were made in 1879, I am additionally glad, if the right hon. Gentleman feels it is safe for the Service, and from his own observation is able, upon his own responsibility, to dispense with this punishment now. I hope it will be fully understood that the right hon. Gentleman can show that it can be done without any relaxation of discipline. It is not necessary that I should touch at present upon any other point. I think, if the right hon. Gentleman is able to give certain details, such as I have indicated, it may facilitate the progress of the Estimates through Committee. Personally, I confess that, so far as my experience goes, the fuller the information given to the House, generally speaking, the more ready has the assent of the House been to the proposals made; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will consider that, in making these suggestions, I am prepared to consider fairly the propositions he intends to submit, and to assist him as far as is in my power.

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLAN believed the statement which had just been made by the right hon. Gentleman gave promise of changes that would be highly beneficial to the Service. It was especially gratifying to those who, knowing they were contending against popular feeling on the subject, had maintained for the last six years that the general lines of the system of short service, when modified, were capable of being made to answer all the requirements of the country, in giving us better means of concentrating Reserves to be called out on an emergency. The announcement made by the Secretary of State for War with regard to the changes about to be introduced was also satisfactory; and, in his opinion, the more those changes were considered, the more they would commend themselves to the country. It had never been maintained that the system was perfectly right; but, on the contrary, it had been admitted that, in matters of detail, it was open to revision and improvement. The changes proposed were, of course, too large to form the subject of discussion that evening; but they contained in themselves the promise that the system about to be introduced would give the country that which had been looked for eight years ago, when the present system was announced. There were, however, two subjects upon which the statement of the right hon. Gentleman did not enter into so much detail as would probably be afforded hereafter. The first was that of the benefits proposed to be held out to the families of officers killed in action; and upon this point the right hon. Gentleman did not say to what degree he would make them retrospective. In making the suggestion, therefore, that the retrospective benefit should be made to include the casualties incurred within the last two years during the Afghan War, he believed the proposal of the Government to that effect would be received by the country with the greatest satisfaction. Again, with regard to the proposal to cut down the list of general officers, he reminded the right hon. Gentleman that within the last year and a-half a considerable number of young colonels—70 in all—were chosen by the late Government to rank as major-generals. He trusted that, whatever changes might be made in the higher ranks of the Army on account of age, they would not apply to those officers. The subject, however, was one that would be considered more in detail upon another occasion. In conclusion, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for giving his attention to all the evidence and suggestions laid before him in the Report of Lord Airey's Committee.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL cordially agreed with almost all that had fallen from his right hon. Friend, and would not, therefore, trouble the House by going into all the details touched upon by him. The enlistment of recruits of not under 19 years of age was a question of great importance, and with reference to it he should have some remarks to make at another time. He was glad to see that the right hon. Gentleman would have no recruits sent to India but those who had at least one year's service, and would like to know whether that rule would extend to the Colonies—whether, in fact, it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman that no soldier should leave the country until he was 21 years of age, and had seen one year's service? Again, while the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the list of generals would, no doubt, cause a great deal of inquiry as well as satisfaction, hon. Members on that side of the House were puzzled to understand how all these proposed reductions were to be effected within the scope of the Estimates. He would also like to know whether the reduction of the number of general officers to 140 was to begin on the 1st of July next; and when the new scale of pay, as laid down, agreeably with the scale of pay to officers in the Navy, would come into force? The recommendations of the Committee over which he had the honour to preside had been dismissed by the right hon. Gentleman in a very few words; but when the subject was again approached it was to be hoped he would refer to it at greater length. With regard to the Ordnance Committee about to be appointed, he wished to ask whether the Chairman would be a naval or military man, and if the right hon. Gentleman could give the names of the Members? However that might be, he thought it most important that the Chairman, whether a military or naval man, should report direct to the Secretary of State for War; for, as the right hon. Gentleman would understand, where two such Departments as the Admiralty and War Office were concerned, uniformity of system and report were most necessary, in order that the wants of the two Services should be uniformly supplied. He had to thank the right hon. Gentleman for his statement; and, although it contained some points upon which he found himself unable to agree with him, he admitted that no one could have placed his proposals before the country in an abler or clearer manner.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR was understood to say that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman had not made it clear to the House in what manner the recruits of the age of 19 and upwards were to be obtained. The difficulty of getting suitable men as respects age and stature was recognized by the Commission of 1866, on which he had served; and he felt sure that since that time no sufficient improvement had been made in the mode of obtaining recruits, so as to supply the heavy drain to meet the short service system. He found that out of 18,000 recruits enlisted last year, 1,000 were entirely unsuitable for the Army; while a large proportion of the men serving in India, the Colonies, and at home were also unsuitable on account of their age. He would therefore like to see the settlement of the important question as to how men of 20 years of age and over were to be obtained. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that in future he would prevent any soldier going to India under the age of 20. But a similar rule had been in force for many years, and it was still found that many of the troops sent to India were under the required age. He suggested, with regard to the battalions on service in India, that the present establishment of 780 privates should be divided into six instead of eight companies, the number of subaltern officers being too few for the requirements of the regiments when divided into eight companies. He would also urge that all men forming the band, the pioneers, clerks, lance sergeants, and corporals now returned amongst the privates being returned separately, and not counted as part of the duty privates.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked whether there was any intention of increasing the retiring allowance to purchase captains, many of whom, having paid £2,000 or £2,300 for their commissions, stood in a worse relative position than the non-purchase captains? He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would direct his attention to this subject.

LORD ELCHO said, the right hon. Gentleman had grappled with nearly all the difficult questions in connection with the Army, and there were some changes proposed as to the value of which there could not be two opinions; for instance, in the age of recruits, and the improvement in the position of non-commissioned officers. Further, there was the main point to be considered of keeping a certain number of regiments up to their war strength, for such campaigns as we had been recently engaged in. Then there was another point, as to the Militia; and upon this matter he wished to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had made no reference to the Militia Reserves, and this was very like leaving out the part of Hamlet from the play of that name. The Secretary of State for War knew the Militia was the backbone of the Army, although it was to be feared it was semi-invertebrate at the present moment. Would the right hon. Gentleman look into this question, so that before the Estimates came on he would be able to say something about it?

COLONEL COLTHURST wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman would take into consideration the desirability of adopting one of the recommendations of Lord Airey's Committee —namely, that such privates as might be recommended by commanding officers should be allowed to extend their service and proceed to pension, provided that the total number of men of all ranks so allowed to extend their service should not exceed 25 per cent of each battalion? There was another matter to which he wished to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention. He had said that the sergeant-major was to be made a warrant officer; but if they were to judge by present experience, the position would be anything but an enviable one. Without going at any length into the matter, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give the House some information on these points.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME wished the right hon. Gentleman to explain the alterations he proposed to make in the Infantry to do away with so many compulsory retirements of officers, MAJOR NOLAN thought the right hon. Gentleman's proposal an excellent one, especially with regard to the improvement in the position of the non-commissioned officers; and he (Major Nolan) hoped that in future years the position of those men would be still further improved. It was satisfactory to know that the right hon. Gentleman had corrected the retirement scheme, as the whole of the statistics upon which it had been based were wrong. He agreed with the proposed plan of fixing the age of the men at 19, although, with regard to the point of service, he was afraid the Secretary of State for War had made a step in the backward direction in yielding to the long-service cry. Many officers, no doubt, thought differently; and the subject was one which admitted of argument, and should be thoroughly discussed; but, for his own part, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman, in increasing the period of service with the colours from six to seven years, had made a mistake. He did not think that more than six years' service at home was necessary, and the problem was to reconcile a short service at home with a tolerably long one in India. It was satisfactory to find that the right hon. Gentleman had not given way to the popular cry on the subject of localization. It was right to put three or four battalions together—much more advantageous than only having two together. In following the example of Continental Armies on this point, and making our regiments as large as we could, we could not be far wrong. With regard to breech-loading guns, he thought this country had made a mistake, for if proper experiments had been made four or five years ago many millions would have been saved. No; we had so many men in the Department pledged up to the lips for muzzle-loading that innumerable experiments would be necessary to change their opinions. It was time to take up a firm position on this subject, and say—"We will have no more muzzle-loading guns, with one or two exceptions." A rapid change to breech-loading was necessary; not that he would wish to see any extraordinary expense incurred; but no more muzzle-loading guns should be made than were necessary for ships of a certain construction, and for other special purposes, and as little muzzle-loading ammunition as possible.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT quite agreed with the general concensus of opinion that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman had been a most explicit, and, so far as he could judge, a most satisfactory one. He would go farther, and say that it was the most important statement that had been made to the House since 1870. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman did not expect, and could not wish, that they should now discuss any of those great changes which he had shadowed forth; and he would venture to ask him that he would now give them the assurance he had tendered to them before—namely, that they should have a clear fortnight for the consideration of his proposals, so that they might consider them in all their various bearings. There was one point which the right hon. Gentleman had not made quite clear. He had told them that the head-quarters of regiments were to be in India for 16 years; but he had then informed them that no individual was to go for more than eight years. It would be as well to have this explained, for if the Staff were to be at head-quarters 16 years, it was obvious that some individuals would be there more than eight years. With regard to the Ordnance Committee which had been referred to, there was nothing that the country was more interested in than its composition. What was wanted was a judicial Committee, and not a constructive Committee. They had had enough of constructive Committees—not that they had done anything absolutely wrong; but they had been too fond, for their own ends, of carrying out their own theories, and of having done what they thought ought to be done, and having made what they thought ought to be made. What was now wanted was a Committee who would judge as to what was best to be done in the interest of the country.

COLONEL WALROND thought it was only proper, before the adjournment, that some Volunteer officer should get up and thank the right hon. Gentleman for the great concession he had made to the demands of the Volunteers. He was a Volunteer officer; and he wished to present to the right hon. Gentleman, on behalf of the Volunteer Force of the country, his sincere thanks for what he had done, and to assure him that the honour he intended to confer on the different officers would be highly appreciated by them, and taken as a compliment by the whole Force. If he understood the right hon. Gentleman rightly, he intended to grant to the Volunteer officers the same honorary rank as Militia officers; and he congratulated the Government upon being able to offer such a piece of good news. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that Volunteer officers should not be exempted from serving on juries; but, at the same time, it was only right that a Volunteer, when in camp on military duty, should be exempted; and he believed a Judge invariably took that view, and on such an occasion exempted Volunteers from their civil duties. The right hon. Gentleman had said that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to hold a Review at Windsor this year. He wished he could persuade the right hon. Gentleman to recommend that it should be held in Hyde Park. He did not see why Reviews should not be held in Hyde Park, and certainly did not think it would do any more damage than the monster meeting held there two or three Sundays ago. He would not further discuss these matters now, as they were sure to have a further opportunity when they got into Committee.

Mr. MACLIVER, though not a Volunteer, had lately been much consulted by Volunteer officers on the various points raised during the discussion, and to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded in the course of his statement. He could concur in the expressions of satisfaction of the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down, because he believed that the concessions made by the right hon. Gentleman would afford considerable gratification to the Auxiliary Forces throughout the country. It was not without reason that some concession had been made to the Volunteer Army, for in London there was not a single Volunteer regiment with its full complement of officers. The same remark would apply to other parts of the country; and the concession that had been made, and others that might follow, involving no expense, would give great satisfaction to the Auxiliary Forces, and bring in an accession of officers which was now so much required.

Mr. CARINGTON wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman did not consider it desirable to have some scheme whereby the Army Reserve could be called upon to act in the regiments when they went out to take part in these small wars that we were now engaged in? The regiments otherwise would, when kept up to their full strength, consist mainly of young soldiers. He wished to point out that a grievance in the Army was the stoppage of 1*d.* a-day on board ship for certain grocery allowances.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN said, the right hon. Gentleman had made a concession to the Scotch regiments; and he would like to ask him whether he could not also make a concession to Irish regiments? There were 16 regiments bearing a Scottish designation, whereas the number of Scotchmen in the Army was under 15,000; but there were only six regiments bearing an Irish designation, while there were 40,000 Irishmen in the Army. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman not to destroy the individuality of two historic regiments like the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers and the 88th Connaught Rangers, by affiliating them, but rather to add to each regiment one of the old Indian regiments, which had had no local connection with the United Kingdom.

Mr. CHILDERS: I have no right to address you again, Sir; but perhaps I may answer some of the questions that have been put to me. My right hon. Friend opposite (Colonel Stanley) for whose encouraging words I am very grateful, asks me to illustrate certain of my statements by a printed paper. I am very anxious that the House, when in Committee, should have before it all the facts as to our proposals in a simple and intelligible form, and I will lay an explanatory Memorandum on the Table. With regard to the question as to how the roster will work under the new system, when the leading regiments will be so much stronger than they now are, we have given great attention to that subject; and there are at the War Office gentlemen who are extremely skilled on this particular point, and who have satisfied me that there will be no difficulty. It has been asked whether any retrospective arrangement will be made with respect to the families of purchase officers who have been killed in action or have died from wounds. I may state that there will be, to a small extent, a retrospective character in our proposals in this respect. I have also been asked whether I can give the Committee when it sits the fullest opportunity of discussing in detail the statements I have made. I will undertake to do so; and by a method, which I need not describe now, I will practically bring before the Committee all the particulars of the proposals I have stated. I am asked whether the limit of 20 years of age will apply to the Colonies as well as to India, and I should say that in regard to some Colonies it would not be necessary to send soldiers to them under that age. The noble Lord the Member for Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) also asked me whether the Chairman of the Ordnance Committee will be a soldier or a sailor, and to whom he will report. He will be a soldier, and he will report to the Secretary of State for War. Another hon. Member asks how we hope to obtain sufficient recruits. I can only say that, in the opinion of the Inspector General, a most efficient officer, we shall obtain them under the new system. He has submitted some plans for bringing the advantages of Army service home to the young people of every village through the instrumentality of the Post Office; and this, I think, will work very much to our advantage in bringing young men into the Army. Living a good deal in the country, I am bound to say that in many places I cannot find anybody who knows anything about the Army, or how to become a recruit, and I hope we shall be able to tap many new sources. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardine asked whether we had consulted the Government of India about charges involving an additional charge on them—as, for instance, the increased number of field officers. Yes, we have done so, and I am happy to say that the charge, instead of being a burden, will be an immediate relief to India. At present, when a captain retires, if he is on the Indian charge, India has to pay the capital value of his retired pay, so that the proposed reduction in compulsory retirements is a benefit to India exceeding any increased charge for pay. As to the question of the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Fletcher), whether any increased payment will be made to purchase captains on retirement, I will look into the matter; but I cannot imagine good ground for it. The hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) asks whether our proposal with regard to sergeant-majors will be a real boon. I certainly think so. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) fears that I have given way to the long-service cry. I do not know from what time he would date this cry; but all the arrangements on the subject of the length of service, down to the smallest details, were certainly settled three or four months ago. He says, also, that I do not pledge myself on the question of breech-loading or muzzle-loading ordnance. I was careful to say nothing on the matter this evening; but when we lay our proposals in that respect before the House, I think we shall be seen to have adopted a perfectly clear policy. With regard to the headquarters of regiments remaining in India longer than now, I can only repeat that, unless they wish, no one need remain in India for more than eight years. An hon. Member suggested that the Volunteer Review to be held by Her Majesty should be held in Hyde Park instead of at Windsor. I am afraid I have nothing to do with that question, as the Park is not under my control. The hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Carington) asks whether any portion of the Reserve will be called out for small wars. I think it is important not to make the Reserve unpopular among employers of labour by increasing the legal liabilities of the men to be called out for service; and so far, when we have asked the Volunteers, the invitation has answered admirably.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Supply Committee *deferred* till *Tomorrow.*

RAILWAYS (RATES ON FARES).

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Railways (Rates on Fares) do consist of Twenty-three Members:—Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BARCLAY, Mr. BOLTON, Mr. CALLAN, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. CROSS, Mr. DILLWYN, Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Mr. GREGORY, Mr. LOWTHER, Mr. MONK, Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, Mr. MULHOLLAND, Mr. WILLIAM N. NICHOLSON, Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Mr. RICHARD PAGET, Mr. JOSEPH PEASE, Mr. PELL, Mr. SAMUELSON, Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Sir HENRY TYLER, and Sir EDWARD WATKIN:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Seven to be the quorum.

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, *4th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Court of Session (Scotland) * (42).

Third Reading — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Clonakilty, &c.) * (31); Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) * (37), and *passed.*

CANDAHAR.—RESOLUTION.

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Earl of Lytton's motion to resolve,

> "That nothing in the information laid before this House justifies the announced policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Candahar,"

read; debate resumed accordingly.

Viscount CRANBROOK: My Lords, the debate which took place yesterday on this important subject went very fully into all the matters which could be fairly brought into such a discussion. I am happy to think that, at all events in this House, no question has arisen as to the advantage of India to this country, and, on the other hand, of this country to India. Believing, as I do, that the latter is the most important relation, as regards that great Empire, which can possibly exist, and believing that, in the absence of the protection of England and the hold which it has upon that immense Empire, India would fall to pieces and relapse into a state of anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed which it would be terrible to contemplate, I think it is satisfactory that all your Lordships appear to agree in the view that we should do all in our power to maintain that Empire over India, and to confer, as far as we possibly can, the benefits of civilization and advancement. Some exception has been taken to the form of the Motion of my noble Friend upon which we are debating. The noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Derby) seems to think that it does not fully raise the question. If the Government have anything else to produce, any evidence to show that Candahar is of so unimportant a consideration, let that evidence be produced. What we have before us is wholly insufficient to justify that belief, and having said that, we practically say that as far as the facts are before us we think that the abandonment ought not to take place. The question has been put before your Lordships too plainly and simply in the speeches which have been addressed to you to leave any doubt in your Lordships' minds as to what the question before you is at this moment. The question is — taking all present circumstances into consideration—Is it justifiable on the part of the Government to give orders for the evacuation of Candahar? I might look upon it as a question of time, and say that at this time the abandonment of Candahar would be disastrous. I might, on the other hand, put it that the permanent abandonment of Candahar would be permanently disastrous. I may add that the noble Lord (Lord Chelmsford) who spoke last night, who served so long in India, did not in any sense intend to support an immediate abandonment, but that he is of opinion that we ought not to take up a permanent position at Candahar, where we are, and where unquestionably we are able to remain. Now, my Lords, the question between this country and Afghanistan is one which has occupied great attention for many years past, and there is no dispute between political Parties on one point, and that is the great danger which may arise from the relations between Afghanistan and a neighbouring civilized European Power which is gradually approaching it—Russia. Now, my Lords, a great deal has been said of the terms in which noble Lords on this side of the House, and those who advocate Conservative principles, have spoken of the advantage of having a strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan. My Lords, I wish to ask those who speak in that way, when there has ever been a strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan? At what period of history has this strong and friendly Government existed? I venture to assert that even in the time of Dost Mahomed, strong as he was—and there has never been a Chief so strong in former days or since—we could place no reliance upon his friendliness in the sense of support. There is no doubt that, having been in India and knowing much of our power, he was most desirous to remain on good terms with us, though at one period he seemed to threaten us with an attack. But even Dost Mahomed had great difficulty in reducing the whole country into one united Kingdom; and since that period there has never been a thoroughly friendly and strong Government, except, perhaps, for a short time under Shere Ali. But it may be doubted whether at any time he was sincerely friendly to us. I think, then, my Lords, we may conclude from the evidence before us that in proportion to the strength of Afghanistan is likely to be its unfriendliness. As Shere Ali grew stronger he became more unfriendly, and we found when his capital was at length visited by us, that in the period during which at his instance we had abstained from going there great fortifications and enormous barracks had been constructed, and vast resources accumulated, guns and materials of war. Now, my Lords, I ask for what purpose were these fortifications made and all these munitions gathered together, and during so many years? Not for the purpose of control over Afghanistan, but as a defence in case of need against ourselves, or in preparation for taking part in the plunder of India. Now, my Lords, I should like to state to your Lordships—and in the remarks which I have to make I shall quote as little as possible the opinions of others—what was the opinion of the late Lord Lawrence himself with respect to this question of India and Afghanistan. He said—

> "It appears to me, also, that it will always be found exceedingly difficult, for any extended period, to maintain a united and strong Government in Afghanistan. The genius of the Chiefs and people . . . . is evidence to this effect. A Chief may now and then arise, who may for a time unite the different provinces under one rule, but when he has passed away the tendency again will be to separation. With the single exception of the pressure of a common enemy, and even this circumstance will not always avail, there appear to be no ties to bind the Afghans together. The history of the country is a history of anarchy and civil war."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 1 (1878), p. 61.]

Then he asks whether any such Chief as Dost Mahomed is likely to come to the front. He did not think there was any such probability; and then in 1869, with respect to the announcement which he received of the wars which were taking place between Shere Ali and his brothers and relations, he took no action. He did not help one against another. He made no attempt to maintain a united Afghanistan. But when one or another rose to the surface in the several Provinces, Lord Lawrence immediately recognized him. That shows Lord Lawrence's opinion. I might quote Sir Richard Temple, who expressed the same sentiments long ago, that it would be impossible under all circumstances, or, indeed, in any circumstances, to create and maintain a united Afghanistan. But, my Lords, what is our position now? I want this House and the country to look at the position of Afghanistan in deciding upon this question. It is disintegrated. There is the Chief who has been placed or who has found himself on the Throne of Cabul. He came to the Throne of Cabul with the understanding that he was to have nothing to do with Candahar, and that he occupied Cabul upon those terms. I will further on in my remarks, if I may be allowed, deal with the relations between him and the English Government. He is at Cabul at present. With respect to Balkh, and the country beyond the mountains Wakhan and Badakshan, we hardly know what is taking place, except that the Ruler of Cabul is not in authority there. At Herat, as far as we know, Ayoob Khan is doubtfully, certainly not firmly, established. Candahar is in our hands, and we desire that, at least at present, it should remain so. We see, then, the complete disintegration of Afghanistan is existing, and there is no proposal on the part of the Government, so far as we are aware, to endeavour to make it united? Do they intend to bring together its disunited members? No, far from it; they say their intention is to abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Well, my Lords, that being so, let us look at the present condition of affairs. What obstacle is there on the part of any person to prevent you from still holding the place in which you are? There is certainly no just claim on anyone's part to Candahar—certainly not on the part of Abdurrahman, because he was expressly told it was not to be given him. Certainly not on the part of Ayoob Khan, because he was defeated in the attempt to reach it. Of other claims I do not know. I never heard of any being suggested. Now, my Lords, what has been the effect—and this, I think, is one of the most serious considerations to which your Lordships have to address yourselves—of the occupation under Sir Donald Stewart, of Candahar and the district around it assigned to his care?

The time was when these districts were uninhabitable by peaceable people. They were subjected to raids from the highlanders, who prevented them from following their industries and robbed them of the produce of their toil. But what is the case now? What is the position of these districts—and I include in them those besides Candahar which were assigned to us by the Treaty of Gundamuk—which you propose to abandon and to leave, with respect to the Government which is to hold them and the Chiefs who are to govern, to the process of natural selection, according to the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll's) theory—to the process which was illustrated by Shere Ali when he murdered his brothers and relations? Such is the fate to which the noble Duke would consign the districts where you have been ruling in peace and prosperity. I will show your Lordships what the condition of those regions under English rule has been, and for that purpose will quote the words of Sir Robert Sandeman, who says—

> "After leaving the broad and fertile plains of Sibi and Kutch Gundawa, which, thanks to our protecting power, are rapidly being brought under cultivation, the line enters the Marri Hills, which is a great grazing country, and has already developed a considerable cattle trade with Scinde and the Punjaub. Since our occupation of Quetta the Khan's revenue from that valley has almost doubled, and the condition of the Belooch and Brahni tribes, from their Chiefs downwards, has improved beyond belief. As evidence of this I can point to the Bolan Pass, which, once notorious for the robberies and murders daily perpetrated there is now almost as safe as an Indian highway. Those only who knew it a few years ago can now see a marvellous improvement in the prospects of our assigned territory which would escape the observation of the passing traveller. That the railway will, from the outset, succeed in paying its working expenses, I myself do not doubt, and that ultimately it will 'Conduce greatly to British interests by increasing and diverting the Central Asian trade to Kurrachee,' is, I believe, equally certain. Politically the advent of the railway at Sibi has already been of the highest value, and its promoters may rejoice at the peace and prosperity it has brought to a large tract of country."

Am I not justified, then, in saying that when you have taken up a position by such means, and induced the people to change their position and to assume one which requires your protection, there is a moral compulsion upon you to protect those whom you have thus brought under your influence and under your rule? The noble Marquess at the head of the India Office has himself recognized this, because in one of his recent despatches he admits the necessity of our protecting our friends. Yes, of protecting your friends, who have even fought for you. The Sirdars, the people, the tribes of whom he speaks, may have been your friends, so far as not offering opposition to you in the work of war goes; but you are bound also to protect the peaceable population who have grown up and are thriving under your fostering care. Beware, when you talk of not committing a breach of faith, that you do not commit a greater breach of faith in betraying the confidence that has been reposed in you and consigning to ruin those who have built up their prosperity on your assurances. I hold in my hand a letter written by a gentleman of judgment and intelligence, who was recently travelling through that country, in which he states that it was the fervent hope of all to whom he spoke that the Government would not give up the Kojak, and still more that they would not give up Pishin, and that to do so would be really wicked; that the most solemn assurances had been given to the people that they would not be surrendered to Cabul; that the Candahar party would show them no mercy; that under our rule the country was more contented and peaceful than it had been at any former time; that Khan, Chief, and people were alike satisfied, and that trade was already developing there to a wonderful extent. He adds—

> "That the country can be held at little or no cost, and that it gives control over future contingencies in South Afghanistan and further."

My Lords, these are the words of one who was an eye-witness of what has happened under your care; and it is proposed now not only to give up Candahar, but Pishin and Sibi—in fact, all the territory that was assigned to you and which has attained to this condition under your protecting ægis. I was surprised to hear the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) say yesterday that a long deliberation had taken place on this question, and that everybody had been consulted who was entitled by knowledge or by authority to give information upon it. Now, the present Government came into Office in April, 1880; and I fearlessly assert that on the 8th of May following the conclusion was come to that Afghanistan was to be abandoned and our conquests were to be given up. And I could show from the despatch of the noble Marquess at the head of the India Office that I am stating what is correct. What the noble Marquess wrote to Lord Ripon was this—

> "The desire of Her Majesty's Government is . . . . that Afghan territory should be evacuated whenever it appears possible to entertain the hope that the prospect of a stable Government has been secured. Your Excellency . . . . will report fully . . . . as to the manner in which this object may best be attained."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, pp. 31-2.]

What object? The object of abandoning every inch of Afghan territory that we have, and including, therefore, Candahar. Yes; but do not say, then, that you did not come to that conclusion until November. The noble Viscount said that it was at the end of the year that this resolution was come to; but the despatch of the noble Marquess shows that it was come to within three weeks of the present Government's accession to Office. Is that a fair way of dealing with a great question on which you have admitted that the balance of military opinion—although I think you are mistaken in that—is at least equal? Political opinion is of the strongest character in favour of the retention of Candahar; yet in three weeks, three little weeks, all that had been done by the Army and by politicians was to be thrown away by the noble Marquess, who knew so much about Indian affairs in that brief space of time. We have been told of the breaking of promises which were given in bygone days. The Proclamation of Her Majesty in 1858 was addressed to the Princes of India; and I should like to know whether any noble Lord supposes that, if one of the Princes of India were to rebel against the British Government, and were to put his forces in the field and throw himself and his people into collision with the English Power, he would have a right to appeal to a Proclamation that was based, not on the warlike attacks of those Princes on the country, but on their peaceful submission to its rule? But Afghanistan is outside India, and the Proclamation was not addressed to its Ameer. The noble Lord who was lately Viceroy of India I think stated that Lord Ellenborough was against annexation when we withdrew from Afghanistan in 1842. How absurd it is to refer to a state of things so entirely different from that which now exists! Why, if Lord Ellenborough said then that he was against annexation generally, did he not subsequently oppose the annexation of the Punjaub and of Scinde, which took place after that period? When Lord Ellenborough could swallow those enormous morsels, he would not have been so disagreeably affected by the small gnat that we wish the Government to swallow now. We say that we have every justification. I know that noble Lords opposite, as the noble Viscount told us last night, think the Afghan War was unjustifiable, and that everything that was done under it was vicious in itself, in its principles, and in its inception. I have said before—although the late Viceroy (the Earl of Northbrook) has condemned me for it—that, supposing for a long period of time you found that this country of Afghanistan, which you had a Treaty with, and which was bound to be friendly with you, was betraying its trust and entering into relations with a foreign country which was supposed to be to a certain extent hostile to your interests, and which admits that at the time in question it was really hostile to them, what would those in power in India, had they been under the noble Earl's Viceroyalty, have done under such circumstances? Would they have taken no steps at all—and, if any, what? Would they have sent an Embassy? They say "No." What course would they have adopted in the case of such a recalcitrant Prince? We did what we could to induce Shere Ali to be at peace and in friendly relations with us. We sent up one who had been a personal friend of his own — Sir Neville Chamberlain. We hoped that our agent would have been welcomed by the Ameer as a friend as well as an Ambassador. We were disappointed. Sir Neville Chamberlain and his escort were turned back, some say without insult—I say with insult, and with a threat of violence, I call that a defiance of the power of England. Even then we gave the Ameer time to repent the course that he had adopted and to take one that was more consonant with our friendly relations. He refused. We did the least that we could in taking possession of points which did not affect his capital—Cabul—because we foresaw that if we marched to his capital that consequences might ensue which did ensue when we marched to Cabul. True, in a *History of our own Times* it is mentioned as a fact that on the first occasion we marched to Cabul. It appears to me to be one of the characteristics of modern history that it neglects its opportunities of being accurate. That history says that we went to Cabul in the first instance. We did not go there, and we did not go for this very reason, that we dreaded disintegrating Afghanistan unnecessarily. Shere Ali fled from his capital which he had prepared for resistance. He did not use the Army that he had consolidated with so much care; but he fled, and he died at a distant spot from his home. Then every effort was made to bring things to an accommodation, and his son, whom we found in power, we treated with, and endeavoured to come to terms, and we did come to terms, and it cannot be denied that we dealt with him with fairness and liberality. No doubt, we had certain districts assigned to us; but the revenues of those districts were assured to the Ameer, and everything was done to make our presence there as little an impediment to his rule as possible. We endeavoured in every way also to show that we were on friendly relations with him. I grieve that I should again have to refer to the terrible catastrophe which occurred at Cabul. I do it only for this purpose—to show how the disintegration of Afghanistan came about, and that contrary to our wishes. Yakoob Khan, I regret to say, from my acquaintance with what took place, could have saved the lives that were destroyed. In my opinion, speaking from the documents that relate to this question, I have no doubt that if he had acted early in the day the lives that were lost would have been saved. It is said that there was no treachery. I have my own opinion. But there was, at least, an imbecility and a want of duty to those whom he had invited to Cabul to be under his protection which made it impossible, after such an act as then took place, to allow him to remain on the Throne. Nay, he did not wish to remain on the Throne; he felt that what he had done caused a distance between him and the English that would make it impossible for him henceforward to be an acceptable Ruler to them, and he abdicated of his own will and departed from that country. It has been said that we have no justification for what then occurred, and that we seized Candahar as our own without fair cause. But, my Lords, it is admitted that great efforts were made on the part of many hostile tribes against us, and the noble Duke opposite, I think, went so far as to asert of the whole of Afghanistan. I I differ from him there. But upon his argument, if the whole of Afghanistan was hostile to us, surely we had rights of conquest over parts of the country. I need not dwell much upon this subject, because the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) said, and no one can deny, that we have the right, and in my judgment it is our duty to exercise it. Therefore, I will take it for granted that we have the right to hold the position which we have got in Afghanistan. We have tried nearness to the country—that is to say, by endeavouring to keep up a sort of intercourse through Native messengers—and a disastrous one it has been. We were told that we could not enter the Khyber Pass without at once bringing upon ourselves the Afridis and different tribes there; but what has been the case? We have a most remarkable freedom from anything of a predatory character in the Khyber Pass. There is no doubt there have been incidents, as there always will be incidents in such cases; but now the Government themselves are about to intrust the Afridis with the custody of peace. Why, then, if you can trust these fierce tribes, are you to assume that all the Afghan people are, and ever will be, unfavourable? The noble Earl, in one of his despatches, speaks of the tribes and Chiefs who have been friendly to us, and there are many tribes and Chiefs who have been friendly to us in the neighbourhood of Candahar. The great body of the inhabitants are a peaceable and trading people and only desirous of carrying on trade. These are the people whom you are going to drive away from that city by handing it over to the worst of the population instead of maintaining possession of it for the protection of the best. Nothing astonished me so much as the way in which opinion was cited by the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) and by the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) on this subject. Candahar was mentioned alone as a subject upon which military opinions differed, and you might have supposed that Pishin had nothing to say to the question, and had never been brought into controversy. But many and many a one of the military opinions which were cited relied upon the possession of Pishin if we moved from Candahar. I should be sorry to occupy your Lordships' time by saying as much as I might do upon these differences of military authorities, to show how much their opinions in reference to giving up Candahar are qualified by what they would retain. Passages were cited from Sir Henry Rawlinson, which, I think, would be much qualified if other passages were read which clearly relate to this question. There can be no doubt or question that Sir Henry Rawlinson is in favour of the continued occupation of Candahar. So is Lord Napier of Magdala without qualification. So are Sir Edwin Johnson and Sir Frederick Haines. And when I speak of the noble Lord (Lord Chelmsford) who addressed us last night, I have said already that I understood his speech to be against a present abandonment and in favour of waiting, at least, till we see what may be done for the security of the country instead of abandoning it to anarchy. The noble Viscount quoted, as he did on a former occasion, a very able and distinguished man, Lieutenant Colonel Browne, as being against occupying Candahar. But on what terms? He was in favour of occupying Pishin with the view of being in the neighbourhood of Candahar; and Pishin, as well as Candahar, is going to be abandoned by the British Government. He was in favour of occupying the Peiwar in the Kuram Valley. I will not dwell upon the noble Viscount's reference to Syndhoor Mahomed, who naturally did not desire to admit us as friends to Candahar that we might keep it as enemies. I need not dwell upon the opinion of Sir Frederick Roberts. But when the noble Lord told us he quoted the last opinion of Sir Donald Stewart, it seems to me he has not read the papers very carefully, because Sir Donald Stewart, in a subsequent Minute, said he agrees heartily with the drift of Sir Frederick Robert's opinion; and it is clear, therefore, that two Generals who have been in command in the country, and know its requirements and its dangers, think it is our duty to keep Candahar at all cost. And it becomes a question what that cost is likely to be hereafter. My excellent friend, Sir Erskine Perry, must excuse me for saying I read with astonishment the introduction of my name into one of his papers. In a multitude of counsellors it is said there is safety; but in conversation with one clearly there is not, because if I am to be told I did not dissent because I said nothing, it seems that I am placed in a rather awkward position. But my opinion is comparatively of little importance. In a confidential paper of this kind, it would have been better if Sir Erskine Perry had stated merely his own opinion, and left me to state mine for myself. There has been a remarkable change in the opinions of those who have been connected with India. Sir Richard Temple wrote formerly very much against what he now approves; but, having seen the change of circumstances, he has changed his opinion on the question. Sir John Strachey, who signed documents long ago in another sense, has now come to a different conclusion. Why I refer to these changes of opinion is because that which has made no impression whatever upon the noble Earl opposite has made a very great impression indeed upon men who have been, and are, intimately connected with India. I waited with some anxiety last night for one of the Cabinet Ministers to rise. I thought that it was a little hard that in a discussion which involved the question whether the Government was right or wrong in this matter, no Cabinet Minister should rise early in the debate to give us some clear statement with regard to the whole policy of the Government upon this point. When the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook), who did at length rise, sat down, I thought that we had not gained much from the Cabinet, for he told us nothing in addition to what we all knew before. There was, however, something that was very conspicuous by its absence in his speech. The opinions of Sir Erskine Perry were quoted, gained, as he says, by long study; but what about the opinions of the present Government of India, who are on the spot and have means of information not accessible to us? The noble Marquess at the head of the Government of India was told, in May, 1880, to make a report to the Home Government as to the best mode of carrying out the wishes of the Government for the abandonment of Afghanistan, and he must have reported; but where is his Report? The Councillors of the Governor General of India are men of the highest eminence, and are engaged in actually administering the government of the country. Well, where are the opinions of the Councillors of the Indian Government on this matter? Is there, with the exception of the noble Earl's namesake (Major Baring), a single one Member of that Council who approves the policy of the Government with regard to this question? I know not what may be the opinion on the subject of Lord Ripon himself; but, judging from the different documents which have been laid before us, I have come to the conclusion that, at all events, not a single Member of the Indian Council except Major Baring is in favour of the Government policy. Major Baring has gone out recently as a Member of the Council of India, and before he went out he contributed a most able pamphlet to the literature on this subject, having been carefully supplied with Papers relating to the matter from the India Office itself, in order that he might do so. Having gone out to India since writing that pamphlet, he, of course, retains the opinion expressed on the subject; but that opinion has not been formed by him from knowledge acquired as one of the Council of India. I want to know, and the country will want to know, why it is that we have not before us the opinion of the present Governor General or any one of his Council? And it would be most important, not only to have the opinions, but the reasons, and any dissents, if there are any, which might be important in such a case as this. There could be no hesitation in telling us why and how they dissented. The noble Earl sat down without giving us any information as to the opinion of the Government of India, and we are left to the assumption that that evidence would not have told in favour of the policy of the Government of India, but that it must be considered in some sense adverse to it. And with regard to Major Baring, he is quite conscious of the difficulties that may arise from the approach of a great Power towards Afghanistan, and he proposed that we should endeavour to stay that approach by diplomacy. He says—"We must find some *modus vivendi.*" What! is a great country like this, which ought to stand on its own strength and to rely upon its own right arm, to find some *modus vivendi?* And such a Councillor have we sent to the assistance of the Governor General of India! The noble Earl told us last night that he quite agreed that the Russian advance had recently become more serious. Ought we not to have taken that fact into account with regard to a change of policy which we may have been initiating since my noble Friend (the Earl of Lytton) wrote his Minute and since the time of the war? Would it not be a folly and a shame if, having watched the great events which have happened since that time, and even within the last few weeks, and the enormous progress which Russia has made, we should not re-consider our position? What did the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) do? He wrote despatches saying that if Russia approached Merv it would then be time for us to send a British officer to Herat, if we could obtain the consent of the Ameer, and to take precautions by means of diplomacy against that advance. And now, what are you going to do? As that advance approaches you, so is your retreat; as are your means of knowledge of what is going on in Central Asia coming towards you, so is your retirement towards ignorance growing more and more. In the face of this great advancing tide, which must go on advancing from the necessities of the case, it is all very well to talk of stopping it by diplomacy and by negotiations with the Government of St. Petersburg. There is nothing to resist the pressure of the great and strong Power now going forward until it comes either to some natural obstacle or until it comes into the presence of an enemy whom it respects, and to whom it will defer and advance no further. You cannot stop the tide by talking to it—that is impossible. This advance is inevitable, and you must prepare for it. You now propose to prepare for it by withdrawing from the scene of action, and from your favourable position, and placing yourselves where you will be kept in ignorance of what is going forward, and where you will be unable to advance at your pleasure. I was struck the other day by a passage in a work which has recently been published, which I thought peculiarly apposite to the present circumstances, and which shows that the art of disturbing the minds of people without advancing troops into the country is no new one. If you substitute England for Austria, and Afghanistan for Italy, the following words of Prince Metternich, in 1819, will not be inappropriate to our present position with regard to Russia:—

> "As to Russia, though I do not permit myself to entertain any suspicion against the feelings and views of the Emperor Alexander, which I believe to be sincere and pure, I am yet very far from being easy as to the spirit and principles revealed by his Ministers and innumerable agents in Italy. It is unknown to me whether the latter are or are not provided with instructions from their Court in this respect. In either supposition it is clear that they are actively employed in a way quite contrary to the interests of Austria, and furnish their Court, if ever a war breaks out between Russia and Austria, with the means of preparing very perplexing complications for us on the side of Italy."

The present Government have said that they will allow of no foreign influence except our own being exercised in Afghanistan. I quite agree that is the right thing to do; but I want to know what preparations they have made to carry into action that idea? Diplomacy! I do not wish to go into the question of the good faith of other Governments; but I ask, has diplomacy on this point succeeded hitherto? You have tried it, because you apprehended danger from the Russian advance; and did you succeed in your object? I must say that the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) surprised me last night when he seemed to think that there was nothing in the letters from General Kaufmann which my noble Friend (the Earl of Lytton) read. In referring to them the noble Earl became excited and even humorous. He quoted the well-known case of "Bardell *v.* Pickwick," and observed that the expression with regard to strengthening the chains of friendship and to confining the alliance between Russia and Afghanistan was like the reference to chops and tomato sauce in that case. Ah! the delicate attentions of General Kaufmann were very superior to those of Pickwick, and if Pickwick had addressed Mrs. Bardell in the insinuating terms of Kaufmann, and had suggested that the chain of friendship between them should be strengthened and their alliance should be consolidated and confirmed the lady would have had much stronger ground for her action for breach of promise. The humour would have been lost, and the verdict a certainty. General Kaufmann did not rush into his latest policy, but skilfully prepared for it year after year. The letters of 1870 and 1878 are links in one continuous chain. The noble Earl has said that the whole thing was an Oriental romance. The noble Earl is unromantic, and appears to have read that Oriental romance with the eyes of a European, and to have failed to see through it. He clearly gave no indications to the noble Duke then at the India Office—I suppose, because he really did not comprehend what was going on, though I doubt if other Indian Officials were as blind. Then, as to the noble Duke, we find during his administration a portentous silence, and a darkness thick as night, which was only illumined once or twice by the flash of an unintelligible telegram. I do not know what the noble Earl may think; but I know what people of common sense will believe, and it is this—that Kaufmann appeared on the scene in 1870 with a view of opening up pleasant communications with the Ameer; then he gave glowing descriptions of the conquests and power of his master; and that at length he began to send confidential messengers, described—not by himself, perhaps, but by the Ameer—as Agents, and who were, in fact, Agents accredited by the Government in Tashkend, and well known as such by the Ameer, Shere Ali Khan, though they may have come from, or been natives of Bokhara, or any other place under Russian influence that may be named. This is shown by letters which passed; but there are others which have not been produced among those published, but to which reference is made. And all the while the increasing Russian influence in Afghanistan was not only viewed without remonstrance, but with actual encouragement, by the noble Earl the late Viceroy of India, who seemed to regard the whole transaction, as he says, in the light of an Eastern romance, but did not himself seem to have foreseen the probable *dénouement* of the little romance now revealed to us. We have been told that this Correspondence is of comparatively little importance, and has little or nothing to do with the present state of affairs. I do not know how any person can separate in his own mind the Correspondence which has taken place from what is going on; but I would wish to take your Lordships a little further. I think the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) was correct last night when he pointed out that my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) was slightly in error in his statement of the date at which General Stolieteff was sent to negotiate with the Ameer. I am myself of opinion, after examination of the evidence, that General Stolieteff started to Cabul on the day after the Berlin Conference met, and not on the day following that on which the Treaty, which was the result of the Conference, was signed. I do not wish, however, to enter upon an inquiry as to this point, or to examine as to the curious and hardly creditable productions of the General in the course of the Correspondence which took place, either as to their character or to the places from which they were written. But I wish to point out to your Lordships that Colonel Grodekoff was sent to Afghanistan in the latter end of 1878, and that the course taken by General Kaufmann in 1879 was precisely similar, as shown by his Correspondence in that year with Yakoob Khan, the new Ameer, and Musa Khan, his heir, to that which had been pursued nine years before—namely, to push Russian influence and interest in Afghanistan. I maintain that all the events which occurred in and between those years were links in a long chain of circumstances, and were not, as the noble Earl strove to prove, simply isolated incidents in the course of events. I do not say that in a time of profound peace there will be efforts made to disturb the relations between friendly Powers; but there may be a process of sapping and mining going on in order to prepare a people sought to be influenced for the time when a quarrel is expected to take place, and so to increase the difficulties that would stand in the way of one of the contending Powers. We are told that to remain at Candahar would involve us in perpetual entanglements and difficulties, in the course of which Candahar would, instead of proving useful to us, be, in fact, quite the reverse. What entanglements have the present Government entered into with certain of the Native tribes in the Kurram Valley, that, in any event, they shall retain their independence! Guarantees of a similar kind were given to the Afridis and others in the Khyber; and it is on the face of the Papers now before Parliament that the following pledge on the part of the Government was delivered to Abdurrahman by Mr. Lepel Griffin, through the intervention of Sir Donald Stewart:—

> "Since the British Government admit no right of interference by foreign Powers in Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all interference with Afghanistan affairs, it is plain that your Highness can have no political relations with any foreign Power except the English, and if any such foreign Power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the Cabul Ruler, then the British Government will be prepared to aid him, if necessary, to repel it, provided that he follows the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations." — [*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, p. 47.]

That seems to me to mean that, in the event of an invasion of Afghanistan, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to assist Abdurrahman in "repelling" invasion—and I beg the special attention of your Lordships to the word "repelling," for I wish particularly to know whether Her Majesty's Government are placing themselves in a fit position to fulfil the engagement contained in the pledge which I have read. Do they mean to go to the assistance of Abdurrahman in repelling the invasion of Russia or any other possible invader? The noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) gave a strange notion of the kind of assistance we should afford. He said that an invader would be occupied a long time in completing the conquest of Afghanistan; and in the meantime we could collect our forces, strengthen our communications, and prepare to defend India. Not very promising for a friendly Afghanistan. Now, what have we got if we retain Candahar? The facts are very simple. In the first place, we are now in the country, the people of which have been very submissive. By means of the railway we can procure easy access from our Dominions, in the event of our completing it, to Candahar; and, in the third place, we have, by way of Kurrachee, easy means of communication by sea for the conveyance of either troops or merchandise; and, above all, we have the means of continuing good government in that country. A large portion of the population is not Afghan, and would welcome our stay. I quite admit there are plenty who would reject our power; but they would ultimately retire to places where they could carry on their predatory habits rather than attack us. You have instances, in the case of some of the Native tribes, of their turning from cattle-stealing to cattle-grazing, and supplying our commissariat with stores. I do not believe in the notion of untameable races, nor do I think we should abstain from endeavouring to tame them. What have you done with the Bheels? You have made them some of the best soldiers in the Indian Army, or efficient police. And what does Russia do? Those tribes of Turcomans, which are spoken of in such terms of horror as man-stealers and robbers, she turns into the best soldiers; and, if the occasion arises, these Turcoman horsemen will be found in the very front of the Armies of Russia. Can you suppose that by retiring from Afghanistan you will have made the Afghans friends, as the noble Earl says in one of his despatches, or that they will become useful allies to you? Lord Lawrence, in a Minute which he wrote in 1869, used these words—

> "I feel no shadow of doubt that if a formidable invasion of India from the West were imminent the Afghans *en masse*, from the Ameer of the day to the domestic slave of the household, would readily join it."

And they would do this, of course, for the sake of plundering India. I would rather trust to watchfulness on the spot, than to that which led to the ignorance of the meaning and intentions of Russia which was displayed by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) during the time that he was Viceroy of the Queen in India. There is one circumstance which, above all, seems to me to appeal to the honour of your Lordships' House, and which may well claim to weigh with your Lordships in dealing with this matter. It is on record that Sir Donald Stewart called together an assembly of the Mollahs and Sirdars in and around Candahar, and assured them that in no circumstances would they become subject to Cabul, treating them, in fact, as a people who were to be relieved from Afghan domination, and in a later period assuring not only the Sirdars, but the people, that they might rely upon Her Majesty's Government making no change in their policy. We have heard, my Lords, of the way in which the Government have kept their promises with the Turis and the Afridis. Well, the keeping of one promise does not absolve us if we break another; and I say that Sir Donald Stewart has pledged not only himself, but the Government of his country, to see that Candahar is not abandoned to a Cabul Ruler, nor to the principle of natural selection, through bloody and unnatural strife, of which the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) has spoken. It would be unjust, it would be grossly unjust, so to abandon it. The mere apprehension that we are about to retire has occasioned alarm; and I believe that when these Papers are read — as they will be in Afghanistan and in Quetta—it will greatly weaken our influence in Quetta and in all those districts. I do not, my Lords, undervalue the position we would occupy at Quetta; but it is said that we could at any time we require to do so advance from Quetta on Candahar. Will the Khojak Pass, I ask, my Lords, be left open to enable us so to advance? Suppose the Pass to be held by trained Afghan troops led by Russian officers and using arms of precision. Would our advance in such circumstances be so easy as noble Lords opposite seem to believe? I fear it would not, and that our troops might be exposed to disasters such as have, unhappily, been recently witnessed. I say, then, that you are bound not only in honour, but also in point of interest, not to abandon the position which you have achieved by your sword, and which you are able to hold by the sword. I have no doubt that you would be able to hold Candahar hereafter with a smaller number of troops than you contemplate. I believe that the result of communication between an intelligent and just people and the people of Candahar would be that you would gain and maintain a beneficial influence over them; and with respect to recruiting, you would find in the neighbourhood the fittest fields from which to draw your troops, and although you might not be able to use them on that spot, you could exchange them and send them to other places where their services might be required. These people are brave, in their way they are chivalrous, they have been predatory, because they are poor; but if you put them in a position to exercise their industry and to acquire wealth, if you enable them to live in prosperity and peace—it may be by degrees, it may be little by little, but still gradually they will rise in the scale of manhood, and you will show them that your object is not aggrandizement, not merely security, but that you are anxious to secure the benefit and advantage of your fellow-creatures. My Lords, I come now to a point upon which it is right that I should say a word—namely, the question of cost. I quite admit that I am not very well qualified to judge that question; but I will refer to the opinions of others who are. Much was said with respect to it by the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) last night. Quite forgetting the admonition of his noble Chief, the noble Earl grew quite warm, and abused us for want of prevision, and for mistakes as to the cost of the war in India. I quite admit, my Lords, that a great mistake was made. It was not discovered by the highest authorities in India. It was not discovered by the authorities at the India Office. There was no suggestion that the reports which came home were not accurate. There were many reasons to make us believe that they were fully accurate; and I deeply regret that one who has done so much distinguished service to his country as Sir John Strachey should have been subjected to so much obloquy for the undoubted error he committed. But he made it in good faith, and in consequence of what he believed to be sufficient information. He was mistaken. But, my Lords, when the time comes for Sir John Strachey's financial history to be written, I venture to say it will be proved that he has greatly benefited India by the modes of taxation which he introduced—by his removal of the Customs line, which caused so much hardship and grievance, and by his modification of the Salt Tax, thereby increasing the Revenue and relieving the many who suffered from it. I am sure that those who appreciate the services of Sir John Strachey will say that he sacrificed his health and gave the best of his intellect in the public interest, and that he has been a successful administrator on the whole, although in this instance he would be the first to admit that he should have looked deeper into what was placed before him, and should have examined more closely the figures with which he was furnished—and that is the extent of his offence. But what is this cost to be? Sir Henry Norman puts it at £1,500,000 in round numbers; but in that he includes the force at Quetta, and all that is necessary to keep Candahar and the line. That, I think, is not a fair mode of dealing with the question, because the troops are already at Quetta, and it is not proposed to give Quetta up. I cannot help here observing that Sir Henry Norman is in favour of the abandonment of Quetta, that he urges our retirement from Afghanistan on the high grounds of morality; and yet, with a strange inconsistency, proposes to hand over Sibi to the Khan of Khelat, a territory our title to which, he argues, we have no claim. I find, however, that Sir Richard Temple, who has held the Office of Finance Minister in India, stated the other day that the cost of occupying Candahar would not be anything like the sum at which it is estimated by the Government. I find, too, that in a pamphlet, written by General Sir Henry Green, which was put into my hand last night, he estimates the cost at £345,000. Sir Henry Green gives the figures, and they can be criticized by any Member of the Government. We are told that there would be great cost incurred for buildings. No doubt, that would be the case if you were pledged to retire to Pishin; but I believe that there are many buildings in Candahar which are suitable for barracks, and could be so used by the soldiers. I saw the other day a letter from a well-informed correspondent, in which he spoke of the preference of the troops for Candahar, with its advantages of bazaars, &c.; and I cannot understand how recruiting for isolated districts would be more popular. But I need not enter into that. The question is Candahar, and I say that there are means there for housing large numbers of troops without it being necessary to incur any great expense. My Lords, I have to apologize for detaining your Lordships; but I feel that this is a question not of Party politics. I deprecate nothing so much as that there should be lines drawn, with respect to Indian politics, by Party limits in your Lordships' House. We have all, I trust, of all Parties learned wisdom from what has taken place. Our Mission may have been a failure; but circumstances have arisen which could not have been foreseen by human vision. Are we now to give up that which we consider necessary for the defence of our interests? We came to the conclusion that a good way to maintain the interests of India—I will not say the best way—was to retain the position we had achieved. As I have said, we are there, the place is healthy—it may be made strong. We believe—I know there are differences of opinion on the subject—that we should strengthen our influence, both in India and Afghanistan, by our retention of that place. We believe that we should benefit the people of Candahar by our sway, that we should introduce trade and commerce—I do not say how much; there are those who are connected with commerce who believe it would be considerable. Mr. Andrews, the Chairman of the Scinde Railway, believes that we should introduce large commerce if the railway were completed and joined to his line. I will not put forward my prevision, lest on a future occasion the noble Earl should show it to be defective. But, at the same time, these are advantages, my Lords, to which, to a certain extent, we have a right to look forward. I believe we should strengthen the hands of Abdurrahman at Cabul; and he never wished, never expressed a wish, at all events, for Candahar. I have spoken of the improvements that have taken place in agriculture, and that I think is one of the most important improvements, because from it our chief commissariat could be supplied. It is a land rich in fruits, and in all kinds of grain, and by improving the valleys they might supply almost all the necessaries for an army; thus getting rid of a chief source of expense—transport. But, besides this, there would be the effect of the railway which is, and has been, a material civilizer, and the best means ever used for bringing countries together. By its means could be acquired a road from Afghanistan to the sea. If that were secured, you would find that many people would settle at Candahar under our protection, and that with that railway and its means of transport, would grow up a condition of prosperity and peace which even Candahar, which is celebrated in the old annals of Asia, has never before seen. It was not without reason that Candahar has always been an object of controversy. Do not, my Lords, believe that it has been selected at haphazard, but rather as a place from which great advantages would arise to its possessors. Then, also, we might "harden," as I may call it, the Frontier of Afghanistan against Russia. We might show that there was somebody there who meant to maintain the independence of the Frontier, and that Russia might come to a certain extent and no further. It would be an assertion, not in words only, that we did not mean to allow any foreign influence in Afghanistan, because we placed our own there. My Lords, with these reasons I might stop, and say that Candahar was a fit object for us to retain. But I have something to say with reference to the speech of the noble Earl who concluded late last night. I want to know—I think this House before it votes, and the country has a right to know—to whom and for what purpose are you going to surrender Candahar? Who is to have it? The noble Marquess said it was to be abandoned when a regular Government was established there. Well, my Lords, a Cabinet Minister has spoken, and he has not even hinted into whose hands it is about to fall. We are to abandon it, and Candahar is to be the prize of some successful conqueror, wading through blood and cruelties, which, if they ensue, will be on the heads of those who could have prevented it, and have not done so. I believe that by holding this position we deter advances which are dangerous; we prevent the intrusion of agents who will sap the opinions of the Afghan people, and who may make them ready, on some future occasion, to join in a crusade against us. It is with a view to make India peaceable and secure on the North-West Frontier, as she is secure on all others, that I support this Motion; and when she has that security she may devote herself to the interests of peace and the improvement of her finances, and, as I believe, in union with England, those blessings will be hers which will be the highest reward to the country which governs her.

The Duke of ARGYLL: My Lords, I wish, in the first place, to express substantial agreement with an observation which fell from the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) last night in respect to the duty and function of this House. I should be sorry to see the day when Members of this House as individuals, or the House as a body, would be reluctant to express any opinion on public affairs on the mere ground that it would not be likely to be coincident with the opinion of the other House of Parliament, or with the existing opinion of the public out-of-doors. I think it is the function and the duty of this House and every Member of it to do that which the noble Marquess said—namely, to influence for the better, as he thinks it, the opinion of this country upon great questions of public concern. I have through the favour and indulgence of this House, for which I can never be sufficiently grateful, taken opportunities to express opinions which I knew to be unpopular in this House at the time, and with respect to which I had doubts whether they were popular out-of-doors. And if this is the right of individual Members, it is still more the right of the House as a public body. I, therefore, do not object to the Motion of the noble Earl on that account, nor on account of its mere form, though it is eminently ambiguous; and if noble Lords opposite succeeded to power to-morrow they might withdraw from Candahar, though having voted to-night for the Motion. But I accept the Motion as one of Censure on the present Government for not annexing and absorbing into the Dominions of the Queen the larger and richer part of the Kingdom of Afghanistan. The first observation that occurs to me is that the Members of Her Majesty's Opposition are endeavouring to censure us for not adopting a policy which they themselves had not adopted when they left Office, 11 months ago. Up to the last moment of their official existence they declared their intention not to absorb any part of Afghanistan; and, therefore, they are now asking the House of Lords to commit itself to an abstract proposition with respect to a policy to which they refused to be a party when in Office, and which, after voting for this Motion, they might repudiate the next day. This is a Motion—I cannot doubt it after the speech we have just heard—condemning the Government for not annexing, not only the Southern and richer part of Afghanistan, but the whole of it. It is impossible, after listening to the speech of the noble Viscount, not to see that every one of his arguments goes directly to the absorption of the whole of Afghanistan, and making our English Empire conterminous with the future Empire of Russia in the East. I wish that the people of this country should understand that this is the Motion before the House. The Conservative Party, as a Party, desire to pledge the House, as far as they can, to a policy which would commit the country to the final absorption and annexation of the whole of the Kingdom of Afghanistan. ["No!"] I shall proceed to establish the legitimacy of the inference which I draw; but I wish for a short time to raise the question above any mere dispute between two Parties. I agree with the noble Viscount that now, for the first time for many years, the foreign policy of the Indian Government has been brought into Party debate. For the last 30 or 40 years there has been no division of opinion between the two Parties as to the foreign policy of the Indian Government. Now, the real question the House and the public have a right to ask is, What is the best Frontier for India in the circumstances in which we are placed with regard to the probable advance of Russia? I should be glad if we could approach that question without reference to the debates of the last few years. But I do not think that possible, for the speech of the late Viceroy was devoted, for an hour and a-half to defending his own policy with regard to Afghanistan. But I should be glad if we could disabuse our minds of all preconceived notions on this matter. I do not know that we on this side are subject to any special prejudice with regard to it, except that in Opposition we denounced the war as inexpedient and unjust. But it does not follow that we should not accept the results of a war of which we disapproved. But there are strong feelings in favour of the Motion. In the first place, there is a feeling that we should retain what we possess. Beyond that, there is the instinct of dominion—the most powerful feeling which can affect a powerful State. It is a feeling which exists, not only in States, but in individuals. Many Members of this House know the expression used in Scotland, which is "earth-hunger," as regards individuals—the desire to add field to field, and house to house, a strong feeling among many of us, and among nations it is also strong. I can conceive no better remedy for it in an individual than that he should be an Irish proprietor, or in a nation than that she should possess Afghanistan. Then you have the glorious instincts of the great soldier profession. No soldier likes to retreat. The mere word "retreat" raises a prejudice against the consideration of this question. If we wish to free our minds from all prejudice we must look at the question of the military Frontier of India in the light of past events and of the progress of opinion in this country. The noble Marquess last night got rid very conveniently of all the history of opinion on this subject by saying—"It is no use going back to the past because the circumstances of the case are now absolutely different." But that is only partially true. I concur with the noble Marquess in this, that the great danger to India lies in the parallel advance of Russia in the direction of Persia, and in her influence over that State. The noble Marquess went the length of saying that at no time was the influence of Russia more paramount at Teheran than at the present moment. But with regard to this matter the circumstances of the case have hardly changed since the first Afghan War. The influence of Russia over Persia is the danger which has been foreseen and made the subject of debate in Indian councils for the last 40 years, and there is not a single argument in the remarks of the noble Marquess in connection with this subject which has not been used over and over again by the able and experienced men who have, during the last 40 years, considered this question in India and at home. Now, I wish to direct the attention of the House to the history of opinion on this matter. The question of the danger to India from Russian aggression through her influence with Persia, and through a possible junction with Persia, was raised in India in 1856 and 1857 by a very distinguished man—namely, General Sir John Jacob, who was the prophet and apostle of the forward school of Indian Frontier policy. I will read the advice which he gave Lord Canning as to the course which should be followed in the event of Russia making an alliance with Persia and threatening our Afghan Frontiers. His receipt was that we should occupy Quetta with a considerable force. I need not remind your Lordships that the question of the occupation of Quetta stands upon an absolutely different footing from the question of the occupation of any part of Afghanistan. The people are friendly to us, and their Ruler is friendly to us, and we have by Treaty a right to occupy Quetta under certain conditions in certain circumstances. Well, these are the words of General Jacob—

> "If we really intend to be fair and just to all men and to conduct our proceedings towards other States according to the principles which guide the intercourse of honest men in private life, the true interests of Afghanistan must be one with our own. . . . If all distrust of us be removed from the Afghan mind, an invasion of India will be impossible. The country has now justly decided that the former war was in itself a great crime and a great error, and in carrying it out the principles of justice, honesty, and common sense were ignored and offended against. . . . To attempt to compete with Orientals in cunning is to insure failure. We command Asiatics by high moral power alone."

I commend these observations of the apostle of the forward school to the attention of the noble Marquess, whose cynical remarks upon the power of moral character and upon moral conduct rang in the ears of your Lordships last night. It was then the opinion of General Jacob that the best Frontier for India was the existing Frontier, if we cultivated friendly relations with the Afghans and treated them with perfect justice and candour, and if we maintained a powerful garrison at Quetta. I will not mention the opinion of Lord Lawrence, whom I knew intimately for 20 years, and whose judicial mind and massive intellect made the deepest impression upon me. His opinions are so well known and so discounted by the smaller men in high places who have been yelping at his heels, that I will not quote them in this debate. I will refer to men who are not included in the Lawrence school, and, first, to Lord Canning, who had before him the opinion of General Jacob. Although at the time Persia and Russia were advancing upon Herat, or, more correctly, the Persian forces, at the supposed instigation of Russia, were advancing upon Herat, Lord Canning did not hesitate to say—

> "I will go the length of stating that in no circumstances can it consist with sound policy that the British army should cross the boundary of Afghanistan. I will not discuss whether it would be wise to send British forces beyond our Western Frontier in anticipation of an advance of an enemy against our territory. The occurrence certainly cannot come upon us without a long note of preparation."

Those words were the keynote of the policy pursued for the last 30 years. It has been grievously and grossly misrepresented in the speeches of noble Lords opposite, who only mention the policy called the Lawrence policy for the purpose of caricaturing it. Then I will take Sir John Peter Grant, one of the leading Councillors of the Government of Lord Dalhousie, who successfully held his own in debate against the powerful intellect and determined character of that Viceroy. He declared his emphatic agreement with Lord Canning, and he said that, even at that dangerous moment, he would not move a man across the existing Frontier. My Lords, some years passed, and the same great questions of Indian policy were raised in connection with another series of events. Noble Lords opposite talk as if the advance of Russia has been especially great during the last few years. That is a pure historical delusion. The great advances of Russia in Central Asia took place between 1864 and 1869. The steps of her progress were then indeed gigantic, and she advanced to the Valley of the Oxus. Thus has she established her Empire march by march. In these circumstances, the question was again raised by Sir Henry Lawrence in a celebrated Memorandum. That brings us to 1867-8. Now, my Lords, the discussion which that Memorandum raised was taken part in by some of the most eminent men who have ever served the State in either a civil or military capacity, and, among others, by the late Lord Sandhurst. My noble Friend who spoke last night upon that subject spoke in a manner to which justice was done, and no more than justice, by the noble Viscount who spoke last. But I wish to say a word about my own impression as to the qualifications of the late Lord Sandhurst. He was not a mere soldier —but eminently a statesman. I shall never forget the interest which the late Lord Clarendon attached—and which we all who were in the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen attached—to the despatches received from General Mansfield, who was at that time Consul General at Warsaw. Of all the despatches, diplomatic or military, which in recent times have been written, there were none to be compared in importance and value to those which we received from General Mansfield at Warsaw. He obtained for us valuable information, and the information thus obtained relating to the affairs of the whole of Central Europe was an important element in the consideration of that Administration. When General Mansfield went to India, he was one of the leading Members of Lord Lawrence's Council. But he was by no means under the personal influence of Lord Lawrence. He was independent in his opinions. General Mansfield informed us with regard to the question of our military Frontier—a question which arose in consequence of the advance of Russia —that it was very questionable whether it was worth while to advance beyond the Frontier, even if the Russians were at Cabul or Candahar. That was a strong opinion, and one to which I do not wish to commit myself. I only quote it as the opinion of a great soldier and statesman. So confident was Lord Sandhurst in the strength of our military Frontier. I will refer to another name which will be familiar to many Members of this House—the name of a man who certainly was not under the influence of Lord Lawrence, but who was, I believe, on many occasions opposed to Lord Lawrence. I refer to Sir Henry Durant. What does he say in 1867, looking to the progress of Russia at that time? He said that our Frontier on the Indus was unmistakably strong, and that we could seize Afghanistan at any time, if it were thought advisable or necessary. That was the opinion of a distinguished man and great soldier. My Lords, the noble Earl opposite asked me last night why no opinion of Lord Mayo had been recorded. I do not know whether there are any public despatches dealing with the question of Central Asia. There may have been some, but they were entirely subordinate to other questions. But I have a private letter from Lord Mayo bearing on this question, from which I will quote to the House. That letter may be seen by any noble Lord who desires it, as, indeed, may any letters from which I quote, because I never quote private correspondence without being willing to show the whole of it. On the 4th of April, just after the Umballa Conference, Lord Mayo wrote—

> "Sanguine politicians at home will be disappointed that what is termed the Central Asian question did not prominently appear at Umballa. I am sure you will agree with me that it was a great blessing that it did not. I certainly determined not to broach it, because I am of

> opinion that it is most desirable to show the Ameer that we have no apprehensions of danger from Russia through Cabul."

My Lords, I commend this opinion of Lord Mayo to the careful consideration of noble Lords opposite. They have political confidence in Lord Mayo; he was one of their Party; and he, in the letter I have referred to, expresses his emphatic condemnation of the nervousness and timidity which have of late been so much manifested in reference to Russian intrigues against India. I cannot conceive anything bettercalculated to promote the interests of Russia than the language which we have heard from noble Lords opposite in this matter. "Look how the House of Lords is frightened at our approach." That is the language which Russia would adopt to the Native States and Princes of India. I will now give another authority, and that is no less a person than the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury). The noble Marquess, in one of his luminous moments, used remarkable language; and it is still more remarkable that that language was used in the Instructions given to the noble Earl opposite on his departure for India. The noble Marquess, in those Instructions, said—

> "Sentiments of irritation and alarm at the advancing power of Russia find frequent expression through the English Press, in language which, if taken by Shere Ali for a revelation of the mind of the English Government, must have been long accumulating in his mind impressions unfavourable to its confidence in British power."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 1, (1878). p. 157.]

And the noble Marquess refers to the British Parliament as the only authority which was to guide him. Still, my Lords, if that was the impression produced in India by the Press, what effect must be produced by the language of the noble Marquess himself, who has been Secretary of State for India, Foreign Secretary, and a Plenipotentiary at Constantinople? If the highest authority in this country preaches in the House of Lords that this advance of the Russians makes him tremble in his shoes for the safety of our Indian Empire—preaches the language of fear—what will be the effect? Well, now, my Lords, I will quote another authority. Noble Lords opposite would laugh at opinions coming from this side of the House. They generally caricature, and then laugh at them. But they will not laugh at this. What I am going to read deals with the question whether it is desirable to enter upon communications with the Russian Government in order to obviate inconvenience that might be apprehended from the progress of that Power in Central Asia. The words are—

> "Upon this point Her Majesty's Government see no reason for any uneasiness or jealousy. The conquests which Russia has made, and which she is apparently still making, appear to be the natural result of circumstances in which she finds herself placed."

I observe that there is an acknowledgment then that the advance of Russia was still going on. Then follows a statement that there was no need of suspicion or alarm on the part of the Government. Those are the words of Sir Stafford Northcote, and it was contained in the first Paper put into my hands when I went to the India Office to ask for Papers. So much for the authorities from 1867 to 1869. I now turn to the progress of opinion on this matter during the Administration of the noble Earl opposite. I do not know whether the noble Earl recollects the allusions he made last night to the drummers and trumpeters of the Liberal Party. But a few days ago there appeared in *The Times*, in large type such as befitted the occasion, a communication from the noble Earl, together with a letter from Professor Vambery. Now, my Lords, I think some of you will remember that on one occasion the noble Earl at the head of the late Government expressed extreme contempt at professors in general. I cannot myself say that I entertain any such feelings. But I must say that I should not go for advice on such a question to a Magyar, who is the embodiment of Magyar antipathies against Slavs. I do not know that the opinion of Professor Vambery was much wanted in this country. I certainly am not inclined to allow the Magyars to satisfy their hatred of the Slavs at the expense of Indian taxpayers and of the English public. But this wonderful letter certainly acts as the "Drummer and Trumpeter" of the character of the noble Earl. I need not quote the wonderful Minute now for the first time published, and which I confess I never saw in the Blue Book. The noble Earl complained very much of the publication of this Minute; but I cannot conceive on what grounds. The Minutes of previous Viceroys have been published, everything contributed by anyone in authority has been published to the world; and I know not why one who looks on himself as the Saviour of India should not enlighten us on this question. I think that is a most legitimate course of proceeding. The noble Viscount to-night remarked on the gloomy silence which he said I maintained on the subject of Central Asia while I was five years at the India Office. Well, there is nothing in my whole public life on which I more congratulate myself than on my silence on that matter. If I had been induced to pen such documents as these I am not sure that I should consider I had contributed much to the wisdom of the country or to the guidance of Parliament. This mass of records seems to me to be one long record of prophecies which have been falsified, of fears that are childish and ridiculous, and of a policy which no prudent Government would recommend. In them the noble Earl distinctly contemplates a division of Afghanistan between Russia and England. But that is not all. The noble Earl said that whatever the Russian views might be, there could be little doubt that she would consent to our occupation of Cabul and Southern Afghanistan, if thereby she could secure the Oxus Provinces—that if the arrangement was to be an amicable one Russia must be offered some such terms as that, because it was evident she would not accept an arrangement so inimical to her own interests as would be formed by final and absolute exclusion from the Northern Provinces of Afghanistan. Here we have the noble Earl, the Saviour of India against Russia, deliberately contemplating the giving over to Russia of the Provinces of Afghanistan which border on the Oxus, and which lie between the Oxus and the Hindoo Kush. I will only say this—that although I may have left on record no words on this subject, there was nothing which I and my Colleagues at the India Office were more anxious about than that Russia should not interfere in any part of Afghanistan south of the Oxus, that the whole of Afghanistan to the Oxus should belong to the Ameer. Yet here we have this contemplated bargain between the noble Earl and Russia, under which the Hindu Kush was to be our boundary, and the whole of Afghanistan beyond that point was to be delivered over to Russia. There is another recommendation in this wonderful Minute, which I may refer to as exhibiting the great wisdom of the noble Earl in regard to our policy towards Afghanistan. The noble Earl said that where it was necessary to establish themselves they would do so by the location of British Agencies. That is to say, he recommends that we should have a great number of men placed very much in the position of the late Sir Louis Cavagnari, where they are almost certain to be murdered. Before I proceed to make some observations on the further development of the noble Earl's policy, I want to say a few words about this wonderful Cabul Correspondence; and I must say that in his account of it there was much that was wholly imaginative. Those communications began in 1870, and the very first of them so alarmed the Ameer that he consulted Lord Mayo. The noble Earl took great care to conceal that fact. He attacked my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Northbrook) for having been ignorant and blind to this Correspondence. He took care to omit the fact that the first reference was to Lord Mayo, and that the first assurance given to the Ameer in respect to it came from Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo said that it was a mere letter of civility, and he actually suggested the draft of the reply. That is the history of all the subsequent communications up to a certain date. The only Governor General who suggested a doubt as to one letter was my noble Friend (the Earl of Northbrook); but hardly any notice of it was taken, I believe, by the Government at the time. There was an important change which took place in that Correspondence from a certain date; and when the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) spoke of the inaccuracy of modern history he gave a singular illustration of it himself. He omitted all reference to the conduct of the late Government towards the late Shere Ali. I am not going into what we are told is *res judicata*. But why did the noble Earl re-open it yesterday? If he had a right to re-open it I suppose I have a right to do so too; but I will only say that your Lordships will observe that in this Correspondence there was a total and absolute change of tone on the part of the Ameer for the first time in April or in August, 1878, and that was at the time when for more than a year the noble Earl opposite had declared that he had taken steps which would throw the Ameer into the arms of Russia. I admit that when the noble Earl went as Viceroy to India the Ameer was sullen; but that makes no real difference to the argument on this matter, the gist of which the noble Earl did not seem to comprehend. When you are dealing with a man whose grievances are purely imaginary, it can hardly be a right mode of proceeding to give him other causes of grievance which are not imaginary, but very real and solid. And my complaint against the noble Earl is that from the moment when he arrived in India he pursued towards the Ameer a policy summed up in the words of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury)—a policy of "ostensible pretexts," a policy which was not straightforward, which professed to give him what he asked, and yet did not give it, which violated engagements by insisting that he should receive European Residents in his country, and which finally took the form of such steps as, by the noble Earl's own confession, would throw the Ameer, and which he knew would throw him, into the arms of Russia. The noble Earl said it was a mere inference of mine that it would throw the Ameer into the arms of Russia. Nothing of the kind. It was the distinct statement of the noble Earl himself. He said that the Peshawur Conference being broken up, that would naturally throw him into the arms of Russia. The noble Earl made a statement to the Vakeel at Simla with reference to our strength. He pointed out that the position of England was so strong that before Russia could move a single regiment to the Ameer's support we could overwhelm him; and he supported that statement by giving in detail the relative disposition of the Forces of Russia and England. I should very much like him to produce that document. That conversation took place with the Vakeel in October, 1876. If the noble Earl would produce that document he would produce a most useful argument in this case, and one which would tend to mitigate the fears of noble Lords opposite as to the weakness of England and the strength of Russia. In May, 1877, the noble Earl said he was confident in the paramount strength of our position. That, my Lords, is our whole case. Then came the invasion of Afghanistan. So rapid was our success in the war, that in three weeks the contest was practically over, and in three months the whole of the Western part of Afghanistan, close up to Cabul, was in the hands of the British Army. A confident opinion was expressed by the late Government that the scientific Frontier obtained by the Treaty of Gandamak made our Indian Empire perfectly secure. I need not trouble the House with quotations; but Member after Member of the late Government pointed out that whatever might happen at Cabul we were now secure. Then came the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and the advance to Cabul. What was the plan of the Indian Government then? Both Cabul and Candahar were to be put under Native Rulers, with British armies to support them. That was the third plan of the noble Earl. It lasted a very short time. So late as January, 1880, the noble Earl declared that it was the unanimous opinion of his Military Councillors that we should not materially extend our military Frontiers, or extend the range of our responsibilities in Afghanistan. And yet it was in connection with that plan that it was proposed to put Native Princes both at Candahar and at Cabul supported by British armies. The moment Abdurrahman appeared the noble Earl offered to him the Throne of Afghanistan. Subsequently, the noble Earl retracted that offer, and said Abdurrahman was to occupy only the throne of Cabul. The noble Earl yesterday had the courage to say that the present Government came into Office with a vast advantage with regard to the scientific Frontier. Sir Frederick Roberts last year gave to the Ameer as distinct an intimation as could be given by a public man that it was not our intention to remain in any part of Afghanistan. On looking at the next page of the noble Earl's volume, I find that he set up the Wali of Candahar. He was a mere puppet in your hands; and it is a remarkable fact that Shere Ali Khan, in accepting the Waliship, distinctly said he accepted it on the part of the British Government, and that he was a Representative of the British Government. What was the result of that policy of the noble Earl? Why, the Wali took part against us. I cannot help observing upon the extraordinary circumstance that anyone so distinguished as Sir Henry Rawlinson and others should recommend a separation between the civil and the military administration of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is not a country in which there is an organized administration separate from the military administration of the country. It is idle to talk of Afghanistan as a country in which there are policemen and postmen, and County Court Judges and higher Judges, and all the paraphernalia of civil administration. It is a country in which every man is a soldier. It is a military government; and it is impossible that you can occupy this country and not administer both its civil and its military affairs. Therefore, the argument that you are to set up puppets as a policy, which was the policy of the late Government up to the time when they left Office, is vain, because that is a policy which must break down. I believe I have shown, by the history of the matter, that really the late Government had no policy whatever. It was a mere policy of drift. From month to month, even from week to week, they knew not what their policy would be. Any invasion of Afghanistan, any attempt to appropriate any part of it, would end in a complete destruction of the Kingdom, and necessitate an English administration of the whole of that country. Your policy has completely broken down in all cases. The policy of leaving the Ameer in the arms of Russia, the policy of dividing his Kingdom into separate Provinces, supported by a British Army, has completely broken down; and there remains nothing now but the policy of a return, as far as possible, to the old policy of the last 40 years, or to the complete annexation and absorption of Afghanistan as a part of the Queen's Dominions. A great authority of the forward school, Colonel Malleson, is favourable not only to the annexation of Candahar, but of the whole country to the Oxus. That is the inevitable result of the policy of noble Lords opposite; and it is not quite fair of them to recommend the House to come to this vote without giving their distinct opinion whether we can stop at Candahar, because one-half their arguments makes it quite certain that they look to further progress. The noble Earl looks to the Hindu Kush as a natural Frontier, and is willing that Russia should occupy a position on the other side of the Hindu Kush. I protest against that. I say now, as I said in 1869, that the Oxus should be the boundary of Russia — I mean the boundary of Russian influence; and I should look with extreme jealousy and suspicion—so much more anti-Russian am I than the noble Earl — on any arrangement which would put Russia on the Southern side of the Oxus. We have before us the unquestionable alternative that we must either go back or go forward. Our present position at Candahar is one that cannot be maintained. Her Majesty's Government have determined that the wisest course for us—the course that is perfectly consistent with our own opinions and with our own honour—is to retire altogether from Afghanistan, and to reverse the policy which was most unfortunately begun by the noble Earl opposite. The noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) spoke of the feelings of the people of Candahar with regard to this matter as being altogether in our favour. Much as I respect the opinion of the noble Viscount, I respect still more, on this subject, the opinions of the civilians and officers in charge of our Army in Afghanistan. Sir Donald Stewart has, I am told, changed his opinion with regard to the political aspect of this question. But whether he has changed his opinion or not, he is a witness to facts; and he says that, although the people of this Province precend to be tired of their present Rulers, yet, he adds—

> "So far as I am in a position to judge, they detest us cordially; and I am under the impression that our immunity from anything like organized opposition is largely due to the fact that our dealings with the people are taken as an indication that our occupation is a temporary one only."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 28.]

I shall not trouble the House longer, further than to say that, in returning to the policy which was departed from for the first time by the noble Earl opposite, we believe that we are doing our best both for England and for India. That policy is not one that is founded upon any confidence in Russian promises. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) sneered last night at what he termed our confidence in Russian pledges. I have as little confidence in the promises or in the assurances of the Russian Government as the Afghan people would have a right to have in the assurances and promises of the late Viceroy of India. Intimations of intentions have been given by Russia, and have been departed from over and over again; and intimations of intentions have been given by the noble Earl opposite, and they also have been departed from over and over again, some of them in circumstances which I think very nearly touch the honour of the British Crown. Therefore it is that I say that our policy is not one of confidence in Russia; and for this very good reason—that agreements made with Russia are made with reference to times of peace, and therefore they are of no use at all in time of war. How is it possible to found a Frontier policy upon agreements of that kind? When war arises these agreements go to the winds; and therefore I have been astonished at the effect which the so-called "Secret Correspondence" appears to have had on some people out-of-doors. I cannot believe that this Correspondence can have had any effect upon the minds of Members of this House who attend to the dates. That Correspondence reveals the astonishing fact that when we go and prepare for war with Russia, Russia will go and prepare for war with us. That Correspondence contains no hint of aggression against us on the part of Russia until long after the noble Earl opposite had been preparing arms against Russia. I have said that our policy is not one of confidence in Russia; and I will add that it is not founded upon an implicit confidence in Afghanistan. I believe that we might have made the Afghans our friends by a steady persistence in the policy of Lord Mayo, and in that of my noble Friend behind me. I believe that, if they were not actually friendly to ourselves, they were, at least, equally hostile to Russia. We have ample proof of that fact, and, indeed, the noble Earl opposite himself has admitted that the Afghans did not sympathize with the pro-Russian tendencies of Shere Ali. I entertain the strong conviction that, if we can induce the Afghan people to believe that we have no desire to annex their country, but to deal honourably and fairly by them, and that we intend to keep to the terms of our announcement that we warred against their Sovereign, and not against themselves, we may rely on their continued hostility to Russia to aid us in resisting any advances of that Power in their territory. That is all we wish them to do. They might well enable us to resist Russia in their country; but any auxiliary force of Afghans otherwise employed would be useless against an organized European force. I say, to use the language of the noble Earl himself, that our policy is founded upon a confidence in the paramount strength of our own position. Let me say one word as to what our policy is to be. Our policy is not to be a policy of mere weakness, of knees which are trembling under the weight of empire, but it is a policy founded on the belief that our Empire in India has reached its natural limits, within which we have enormous work to do, which can only be interrupted, and not forwarded, by the enormous expense and the enormous trouble which the occupation of Candahar and Afghanistan would entail. And, finally, let me say that it is a policy which has been suggested by some scruples of conscience. I know that the noble Marquess opposite said last night that to permit conscience to affect our actions in this matter was absurd.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I object to that statement altogether. It goes far beyond what I said.

The Duke of ARGYLL: In making that statement I intended nothing personal to the noble Marquess. I understood him to say that the doctrines of morality had very little to do with our communications with the Afghans.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: What I did say was that I thought that the impression that would be made upon the Afghan people by our superior morality was nothing to the impression that would be produced upon them by a belief in our superior strength.

The Duke of ARGYLL: I regret that I cannot agree with the noble Marquess. I concur in the opinion expressed by General Jacob, that although our Empire in India was founded by the sword it has been preserved by a strict fidelity to all our obligations; and that, if we were once to begin to disregard our engagements in that part of the world we should be doing grievous injury to our Indian Empire. I think that we should abide by the engagements that we have made over and over again not to annex Afghanistan. This is not the case of a weak State lying between two powerful ones, and being in danger of being made a fortress for one or the other of them. No part of Afghanistan has ever yet been invaded by Russia, and I do not see that there is the most distant prospect of it ever being invaded by that Power. Therefore, in my opinion, it would be a violation of public morality and of public engagements if we were to attempt to seize Afghanistan from its brave and independent inhabitants. In conclusion, I may say that our policy is founded upon these considerations—confidence, paramount confidence in the strength of our own military position, if we husband our resources, and if we try to make the Afghan people a friendly people, and if we repent of the unjust course which we have taken against their rights.

LORD LAWRENCE said, that our prophecies with regard to military matters in Afghanistan had been falsified by the results, and the costs of wars in that country had always proved greatly in excess of the Estimates. His own view was that if this country had spent a tithe of the money wasted in the Afghan War in improving the roads and other means of communication within the existing Frontier, that Frontier could have been made absolutely impregnable. From what he knew of the views held by his late father—views based upon his considerable experience of India and Indian affairs—he believed that had his father lived he would have approved the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government.

LORD DENMAN said, that the question was, whether Her Majesty's Government were, in the information before this House, justified in their announced policy as to Candahar? He reminded their Lordships that Candahar had been an ancient Kingdom, sometimes in possession of the Great Moguls, sometimes of Persia; but Her Majesty's Government seemed to ignore Persia; and though they had no Shah Abbas, yet the present Shah was acquainted with the discipline of our troops, and his ancestors had often possessed Herat as well as Candahar. Candahar was very difficult to take, and very easy to retain. Shah Jehan besieged it three times unsuccessfully. "*Beati possidentes*" was the motto of a great man—Prince Bismarck —and troops at Candahar would make fewer troops necessary in more Southern parts of India. Our English Embassies —1616, under James I. to Jehanghire— had considered Persia, and gone to it from India; and Sir John Malcolm had gone there in behalf of India. The map of Hindostan—under the Great Mogul, 1616—included Cabul as well as Candahah. Sir Henry Durant had only said if our Frontier were strong we could prevail; but Lord Napier had pointed out a stronger boundary. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) had, in 1869, sent a telegram from the Empress of India to Shere Ali; he could not, therefore, object to Her Majesty having all the Dominions of the Great Mogul; and it was stated by the noble Duke that the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty had also sent a premature telegram from the Empress of Hindostan to Shere Ali, who knew its former boundaries; and the noble Duke had described that Potentate as sulky—a term which must be offensive to the Afghan nation. He (Lord Denman) did not believe that the noble Earl the Mover of this Address would ever have agreed to the supposed wish of the Czar—to exchange his non-interference in Hindostan as to our indifference in Turkestan. The Mahomedans were a powerful race; they had often invaded the Deccan from Afghanistan, and they used to think conquest meritorious for the spread of their creed; and a Russian General had tried to make them believe that the British were the enemies of their religion; but this was not believed by their co-religionists in Constantinople, who were extremely tolerant; and in Northern India, in the time of Akbar the Great and his son, free inquiry was permitted into each faith. The noble Viscount the Under Secretary of State for India (Viscount Enfield) had said, with a sneer, that missionaries would reside in Candahar if we retained it, and that they had often done harm; his friend, *The Times*, had omitted to report that portion of his speech, knowing, probably, that it would offend many religious people in this country. The noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) had read a whole leading article, two days old, from an Indian newspaper, and had tried to impress that House with the importance of it; but their Lordships must follow truth and justice, and not follow the opinion of newspapers like *The Times*, who described the speech of the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Marquess of Salisbury) as sarcastic or cynical, which latter phrase was repeated by the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll). It had formerly been said by Bernier that Candahar could not afford a Revenue, and that neighbouring tribes should be excused tribute, in consideration of supplying the inhabitants with food; but shortly the railroad would be completed, and South India would supply whatever might be needed for the mutual benefit of North and South. He (Lord Denman) considered that Sir Frederick Roberts had saved the Empire of India by his conduct in December, 1879, and by his late valour at Candahar; but it never should have been necessary for him to leave Cabul—the pleasant place so longed for in vain by Baber, after his conquests; and the hasty withdrawal of troops from Natal, necessitating Sir Frederick Roberts' command, had caused him (Lord Denman) great regret. But if the Government were determined to go from Candahar under any circumstances, he (Lord Denman) hoped that they would not run the risk of having again soon to attempt to conquer it, and, probably, lose for ever the benefit of all the blood and treasure—with so good a result—expended upon it. The war was just, and was a war of defence; for if a Power withdrew her Ambassador it was a case of war, and if a Power refused to receive the Ambassador of a friendly Power, and entertained one from a doubtful quarter, and then fired upon the escorting party, it must take all the consequences. It had been as complete a conquest as ever existed, and it was brought about by the conduct of Shere Ali, and by the treachery of his son; and if Her Majesty's Government hastily withdrew, as if defeated, they would bitterly repent it.

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, that all ambiguity had been removed from the question under discussion by the character of the speeches which had been made by the noble Earl the Mover of the Resolution, by the noble Marquess who spoke last night, and by the noble Viscount who introduced the discussion that evening. They now knew that the noble Earl meant that under no circumstances should Candahar be relinquished, and that under all circumstances Candahar should be annexed to Her Majesty's Eastern possessions. He would briefly state the reasons which induced him to believe that their Lordships should not give their assent to the Resolution if the interests of England and of India could be maintained by any other means. He belonged to that Party who considered that India and England had a vital stake in Afghanistan. He believed that Russian influence there would be a real and substantial danger to us, which ought to be resisted by every means in our power. Under these circumstances, when the Russian political Mission had been received at Cabul, and when reluctance and opposition had been shown by the Ameer to the reception of a British Mission, he had always maintained that England had no other course to adopt than to appeal to arms. He had always said that the noble Earl the late Prime Minister and the noble Earl the late Viceroy had a just claim to their gratitude for the energy and determination which they showed in this emergency. For his part, his sympathy and approval continued to accompany the late Viceroy up to the period of the rupture of the Treaty of Gandamak by the attack on our Embassy at Cabul. The noble Earl and he parted company from that moment, for then the noble Earl rushed forward to what he must term a most adventurous and lawless policy of annexation and conquest. The noble Earl thus abandoned the policy of previous Governments, a policy which he still believed, after all that had happened, to be wise and tenable, and a policy which up to the present moment had never been condemned or repudiated either by Parliament or by the public opinion of this country. The reasons why he objected to the retention of Candahar were that it was contrary to the traditional policy of England, contrary to our diplomatic declarations, placed an unnecessary charge on the resources of India, and involved an unnecessary aggression on the independence of a free people. The traditional policy of England had been the maintenance of a great, free, united, consolidated State in Afghanistan, in friendship and alliance with the Government of India, and subordinate to that Government in its relations with foreign Powers, and absolutely free from intervention or interference on the part of those Powers. That policy had been approved by all the statesmen who had held the Office of Viceroy, or who had been in a position to direct Indian policy in England up to a very recent period. The only exception he could name was the late Lord Lawrence; and, notwithstanding all that had been said in reference to the views of Lord Lawrence, he did not believe that he would have remained indifferent in the presence of Russian intervention in Afghanistan. It was a policy sanctioned by the unanimous voice of all English statesmen connected with the administration of Indian affairs, and which had not been repudiated by the noble Earl who now held the position of First Lord of the Admiralty. He had heard the noble Earl the Leader of their Lordships' House descant at length upon the evil of a breaking of continuity and consistency in public affairs, and he blamed the conduct of the late Government for revoking the policy of their Predecessors. If consistency and continuity of policy were necessary in foreign affairs, they were particularly necessary in our dealings with Russia, which showed the strongest example of consistency and continuity in her policy. The noble Earl who introduced the subject gave as one of his reasons for the change of policy the unhappy massacre of our Envoy at Cabul. But the massacre of our Envoy was not the deliberate act of the Government to which he was accredited; it was partly the work of a tumultuous soldiery, and partly the result of the premature stationing of an English Envoy in Afghanistan. He did not think that the interests of England and India would be ever properly safeguarded in Afghanistan without the appointment of English officers. But the despatch of an English Envoy to the capital of Afghanistan at a moment when the Government was not yet settled, and when the passions of a defeated army were not yet assuaged, was rash and inconsiderate. He could not admit that the tragical occurrence in question was a sufficient ground for a change of policy. If the policy was just and well-founded before, it was just and well-founded after. When he said that the retention of Candahar was opposed to our diplomatic engagements he did not mean that there were any really binding engagements in existence; but there were engagements of an informal kind which ought to have been renewed and confirmed. Those engagements were embodied in the Correspondence which passed between the noble Earl and Prince Gortschakoff. The noble Earl intimated to the Russian Government that it had no right to interfere within a certain line, and Russia admitted the validity of the intimation adding, he thought with reason, that England, by having laid down a certain boundary and by subsequent assistance to the Ameer, rendered herself in some degree responsible for his conduct. That engagement amounted to this—that while England was not to interfere to the north of the Oxus, Russia was not to interfere to the south. Afghanistan was to stand between the two Empires an independent State, associated with India, and in some degree under Indian control; but not associated with Russia, and not under Russian control. That was a just and reasonable arrangement. But he could not think it wise or desirable that noble Lords who had held important positions in India in the past should embitter our relations with Russia by invidious insinuations. He was of opinion that at one time neither the noble Earl who led his Party in that House nor the noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Derby) sufficiently appreciated our responsibility towards Afghanistan. They did not realize what were the logical consequences of the policy initiated by Lord Mayo; and when it was found that the Government was not prepared to give the Ameer the assurances and guarantees to which he was, perhaps, justly entitled, and to which the policy of the Government naturally led, the Ameer drifted off to a more energetic and unscrupulous party, and allied himself with Russia—an alliance which, in the circumstances, was almost inevitable. If he might offer a suggestion as to our general policy with Russia he would say—"Do not molest the Russian Government with too many representations and remonstrances upon matters in which you are not thoroughly in earnest. Do not vex them with the expression of suspicions and anxieties about any course of action which you are not determined to resist. Do not, for instance, say too much about the Turcomans. Make your purposes known to the Russian Government frankly and firmly. Convince them that you are in earnest, and you will suffer very little trouble or molestation at their hands." One great objection which he had to the annexation of Candahar was that it would impose an unnecessary burden upon the Government and people of India. It was impossible to make even an approximate guess of the expenses that the occupation of Candahar would involve. Fortifications would have to be built, supports maintained, and the wants of a powerful garrison supplied in a poor region vastly distant from India. This occupation would also impose upon us the necessity of organizing extensive Provinces and subjugating them to civil government. A great augmentation of the Civil and Military expenditure of India would therefore be the consequence of the adoption of the policy submitted to their Lordships in that debate. Was this a fitting time for such an augmentation, when India was crying out that her revenues should be expended for public purposes within her own borders? Upon the financial question their Lordships might be guided by what had taken place under the late Government, which showed how injurious to India an aggressive policy in Afghanistan might prove to be. The late Government, although they were responsible for the war, declined to give any financial assistance to India—with the exception of a loan of £2,000,000 without interest. That was certainly not generous treatment. The present Government, although it had not been responsible for the war, had promised to make a substantial contribution—not by way of loan, but of gift—to India towards the cost of the war. He fully agreed that we ought to abandon Candahar. Permanently to maintain it would be an unjust and ruinous policy. He looked upon the war as an unjust and unnecessary aggression. At the same time he did not think that a precipitate withdrawal of our forces was advisable. Candahar might be made an excellent vantage-ground for exercising our influence over the affairs of Afghanistan, and for contributing to what had been so much dwelt upon by the noble Viscount—the creation of a strong and united Afghanistan. A precipitate retreat might lead to disastrous results. He hoped that the Government would still be able to negotiate a settlement in Afghanistan which would be in harmony with previous transactions, which would embody a sufficient security for our interests in India, and which would be conformable to the rights of a people with whom we had been unwillingly involved in hostilities.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he desired to confine himself to the most important part of the question before their Lordships—namely, the retention or the evacuation of Candahar. It was very difficult, however, not to touch a little on the past. That difficulty was shown by the fact that, although many other noble Lords had announced their intention of dealing only with the question of the retention of Candahar, they had been unable to resist the temptation to speak at considerable length on the merits of the different policies pursued by the late Government, and by the present Government when in Office before. The present Government, as he understood their objects, appeared to be desirous of maintaining certain main lines of policy which had been pursued by them formerly, and by their Predecessors; and they relied to a very great extent on opinions that were given some time ago. They allowed that the authorities they quoted had in many cases modified or changed their opinions lately; but the noble Duke the Lord Privy Seal accounted for that by the reluctance which military men were apt to feel for giving up any possession acquired by war. He did not think that was the real reason for the change of opinion, which he attributed to the altered circumstances of the case, and the difference between the position which Russia occupied some years ago and her present position. He submitted, further, that since the time they spoke of a great many important changes had occurred, and that, therefore, in order to retain the spirit of that policy, it was necessary to alter it in matters of detail and in the letter. They ought to look at the state of things now existing, and to judge whether certain modifications in our Indian Frontier were not requisite, and whether that which was good enough for us 25 years ago was good enough for us still. He knew that the noble Duke the Lord Privy Seal described any man who spoke of the bare possibility of an invasion of India by Russia as shaking in his shoes from sheer terror of Russia. Now, though himself no alarmist, he thought it was only wise and prudent to admit the possibility of such a contingency, and to take such measures as were best fitted to guard against it. Some 25 years ago Russia was separated from us by barren steppes of great extent, and vast deserts; but since then she had crossed the steppes, traversed the deserts, and had advanced comparatively close to our Frontiers, absorbing many warlike populations on her way. The Crimea was connected by steamers with Batoum or Poti, which again were connected by railway with the Caspian. There were steamers, also, on the Caspian, and thence a railway was in course of construction, a considerable portion of which was finished, to Askabad. Askabad was not above 300 miles from Herat. From Askabad an army might march on Merv, and so to Herat, or to Herat without touching Merv, or on Candahar without going near either Merv or Herat, by means of an understanding with Persia. It might be asked, what did that matter? It mattered a great deal. Some 20 or 30 years ago Russia was separated from us by some thousands of miles of country so difficult to traverse that it was asserted that she would never overcome it; but she had overcome it, and now the Russian soldier could be transported from the very heart of Russia to within 280 miles of Herat by railway and by steamers. Munitions and artillery could also be similarly transported without the trouble of getting draught animals together. Those facts were quite sufficient to account for the change in the opinion of military men, and ought to make Parliament and the country reconsider the question of the possibility of an invasion of India by Russia. The opinions of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir John Adye had been given as to the enormous difficulties which Russia would encounter on the march to Merv and Herat; but since those opinions were given those difficulties had, practically speaking, been overcome, and the thing that was said to be impossible had been done. Russia had to accomplish but a very short distance to connect by rail her base of operations on the Caspian Sea with a position from which she could move at any time on Candahar, Herat, or Merv. He did not say that Russia intended to invade India; but we now had one of the greatest, if not the greatest, military Power in the world almost within striking distance of us, and that fact involved a very great change. Some sections of the people of this country seemed to think that everything that Russia did was good, and everything that England did was bad. Shortly after the former debate in their Lordships' House upon that subject he received a letter, he did not know by whom it was written, as the writer forgot to sign his name. He did not know why; but probably the writer was a person of a forgetful habit of mind, as he had also neglected to pay the postage. In it he gave him a very excellent piece of advice. He said—"Go and learn wisdom from the Duke of Argyll." He thought that good advice until he read the next and concluding sentence in the letter, which was—"Perish India, Floreat Russia Civilizatrix." If that was the wisdom he was to learn from the noble Duke, he declined to follow the writer's advice. He did not for a moment suppose that the noble Duke's opinions were correctly represented by the passage he had quoted; but the other night the noble Duke had said to him that he ought to be glad that Russia had conquered the Tekke Turcomans and brought them under her civilizing influence. But it was said to be an iniquitous thing that a few thousand Afghans should be brought under English control. The process, as applied to the Tekke Turkomans, who must be a numerous people, as they could put 50,000 men into the fighting line, was first to slaughter a great number of them, and then reduce the rest under the authority of the most despotic Government in the world. If that was a matter for rejoicing, he failed to see why it must be a matter of regret that a few Afghans should be brought, without loss of life, under the dominion of the freest and most civilized Government on the face of the globe. So much for the possibility of invasion. Further, their Lordships had to consider the ease with which Russia could intrigue against us in Afghanistan. That was a matter removed from the realms of conjecture. They had had ample and sad experience of the ease with which Russia could make difficulties for them in that quarter of the globe. It was quite immaterial whose fault it was that she did so. The fact remained that she did, and she could do so again. No human being could possibly say how long or how short a time would elapse before complications would arise in Europe or Asia between Great Britain and Russia. The horizon might be very clear; but in modern times clouds gathered quickly. Her Majesty's Government might see no signs or symptoms; but they might possibly be mistaken. He had the greatest respect for the wisdom of the Members of the Cabinet; but no mere mortals could foresee events. Only a year ago they were told by the present Prime Minister, speaking of Ireland, that—

> "There was an absence of crime and outrage and a general sense of comfort and satisfaction such as had been unknown in the previous history of the country."

Well, we had seen what had taken place in Ireland during the last year. Last May, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs took rather a rosy view of the aspect of foreign affairs. But no man could be so blind as not to see that matters had been somewhat critical in Europe since that period. In fact, the noble Earl himself admitted only a few days ago the great delicacy and difficulty of the Greek Question. It was very likely that serious complications had hitherto been averted only by the great skill and prudence of the noble Earl. He did not impute the slightest blame to Her Majesty's Ministers. No mere human beings could foretell the future. He merely wished to point out that it was impossible, therefore, even for the accumulated wisdom of the Members of Her Majesty's Government to satisfy us that there was no danger of such a state of things arising between this country and Russia that would make it desirable for Russia to do what she could to incommode us by intriguing in Afghanistan. It was necessary, therefore, for us to guard against that possibility. There was another factor to be considered, and that was the Ameer of Afghanistan. We might feel quite satisfied about Russia; but it was possible that the Ameer might not feel so secure. As a matter of fact, we knew that Shere Ali was very much alarmed about Russia; and although the noble Duke assured him that he was not a bit afraid, that was not sufficient to re-assure Shere Ali. If the noble Duke was going to be Ameer of Afghanistan, it might be very satisfactory to us to know that that country would have a Ruler whom Russia could not terrify. But, as far as he was aware, there was no intention on the part of the noble Duke to become the Ruler of that country. It was very possible, therefore, that the present Ameer at Cabul, or any future Ruler there, might become so uneasy at the proximity of the great Northern Power as to render him most desirous of entering into very friendly relations with that Power. The noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) said that the Ameer would have no desire to lean upon anybody, or to enter into friendly relationship with Russia. Very likely he might not wish to; but he would have to do so. Afghanistan must inevitably lean upon either England or Russia. The Ameer knew very well he could not stand alone, and he would never try to do so. Considering this fact, and having in view the ease with which Russia was able seriously to incommode us in Afghanistan, and bearing in mind, also, the altered relative position of the Russian and English Frontiers in the East, it was not to be wondered at that many authorities should have changed their minds as to the value of Candahar during the last 25 years. What we had to consider was whether, having regard to these changed circumstances, our Indian Empire could be best secured by our remaining where we were, or by our retiring within our former boundaries. There was a double aspect to this question—one purely military, and the other partially political. As to the political, all Parties, he believed, agreed that it was necessary that England should exercise a considerable control over the foreign relationships of Afghanistan, and we could not do this without having some position to enable us to exercise that control. With Candahar we could exercise that control; without it we could not. We might retire if we pleased; but if it became necessary to interfere in the foreign relationships of Afghanistan we must advance again. If Candahar had been in our possession in 1878, this country would have been saved £20,000,000. The idea that we should do what was suggested by Syud Mir Mahomed—namely, that we should maintain a large force at Quetta and march into Afghanistan whenever a demonstration became necessary, marching back when we had accomplished our end, was absurd. It would be much too expensive. Either we must have nothing whatever to do with Afghanistan, or we must occupy such a position as would enable us to exercise the control we thought necessary in the cheapest and most efficacious manner. The idea of a strong and friendly and independent Afghanistan was all nonsense. The strength of the country depended upon the existence of some Ruler or Rulers capable of consolidating and governing the country; and that depended again entirely upon the amount of moral and material assistance given to such a Ruler or Rulers by Russia or by England. The friendliness of Afghanistan depended upon what inducements could be offered to her to be friendly. We could assist the Afghans to secure good government and the blessing of peace; but in the way of bribes we laboured under a disadvantage. Russia could offer the loot of India, and we had nothing of that kind, and no such seductive vision, to lay before them. As for the independence of Afghanistan, the country had never been independent, except for a very few years under Dost Mahomed. It had always been a prey to internecine strife. Its only chance of independence lay in the strong rule of some Sovereign supported by either Russia or England. On one Power or the other Afghanistan must certainly lean. If she was to lean upon us, we must be in such a position as to assure her, not only of our willingness, but of our power to help and protect her in the hour of need. The military opinions of the best men were strongly in favour of retaining Candahar. Without exception, all the authorities acquainted with the Frontier were of that opinion. Sir Donald Stewart's views, as expressed in the Memorandum recently published, were formulated prior to the abandonment of the so-called "scientific Frontier." If that Frontier was attained, he did not attach so much value to Candahar. But when that Frontier was given up, he did attach the greatest importance to Candahar. Sir Garnet Wolseley's was the best known name connected with the scheme of abandonment. He only defended this course on the supposition that we could go there when we wanted, and that we did not want to be there at present. In the first place, was he correct in saying that we could go there when we wanted? As far as the Afghans alone were concerned, we might be able to do so; but supposing Candahar to be strengthened and held by an Afghan force, and that a small Russian force was moving to their relief, were we certain that they would not be able to hold it long enough to detain us until the Russian force should arrive? It should not be forgotten that during the summer months it was practically impossible for us to move a force from the Indus to Candahar on account of the great heat. It was at one time supposed that the country between Herat and Candahar offered great difficulties to an army. That delusion had been dispelled by Ayoob Khan, who made the march without difficulty with a very large force and 36 guns. Besides, we had to calculate the cost of re-taking the place. It was not a question of taking it now, or taking it when the necessity arose. It was a question of keeping it now, when we had got it for nothing. If the Afghans were going to pay us £20,000,000 to give up possession of Candahar, the question would be a totally different one. We were asked to give up what we had now got for nothing, on the ground that we did not want it, and that we could take it again, at considerable cost, whenever we required it; and no man could possibly say how soon the necessity might arise. It was a great mistake to talk of Candahar as if it involved the acquisition of a large amount of territory. It did not. We were extending our territory, but extending it towards home. Candahar was a great bastion to our present Frontier, with a speedy communication with our base, the sea, and, consequently, with our arsenals at Bombay, in the Mediterranean, and at home in England. Candahar was not further from our base than a dozen places of the first importance in India, and it did not weaken us one atom in that respect. The advantages of Candahar, from a military point of view, had been repeatedly pointed out. It blocked the main road to India. It took in flank any army invading India by any route. Its possession would enable us to befriend our allies the Afghans, or, if necessary, to overawe them if they were disposed to turn against us. He was astonished to hear the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Chelmsford) say that he attached little importance to Candahar from a military point of view, and that he would invade India through Cabul and the Khyber if Candahar were held in force by the enemy, and had open railway communication with the sea. Well, it might seem presumptuous of him; but he ventured to assert that few military men would be as rash as the noble and gallant Lord. And the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) spoke of the foolishness of blocking men up in Candahar in the event of a war with Russia. Why, it was the very best place in the world for them to be. Such an argument was absurd. It told equally against holding any strong position with an armed force. In the terrible contingency of an invasion of India, accompanied, as it would probably be, by internal troubles in that country, it would be an inestimable advantage to us, and would give us time. We could supply our troops there with all the necessary munitions of war direct from the Mediterranean or England, and India could not even be threatened until she had had ample time to make necessary preparations. The expense was the only real and solid ground of objection to remaining at Candahar. We had a perfectly moral right to remain there. As far as that went, it was doubtful if we were not morally obliged to remain there. We certainly gave our assurance that Candahar should never come again under the yoke of Cabul; and now we were going to leave the people a prey to the struggles of rival claimants to the Throne, and propose to ourselves to witness complacently at a distance the result of that struggle, which would end, as the noble Duke said, in the survival of the fittest. The noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) waxed eloquent about the magnanimity of our resolve to retire, and offered to their Lordships' dazzled imagination a pleasing picture of the way in which the gossip of the bazaars would recount how England, having accomplished her purpose in Afghanistan, left the invaded country. He thought the noble Viscount forgot the concluding part of the sentence, which would be that we had left the country, leaving our friends behind us to do the best they could for themselves, and to pay the penalty of their friendship. Was it impossible for us to retain our probity and sense of honour in the East? Was there something in the Asiatic atmosphere that rendered it impossible for anyone to be honest? The noble Marquess reminded their Lordships of the number of Russian promises that had been broken. Were we to follow that bad example, and was England to break faith also? We promised the Candaharis that they should never again come under the yoke of Cabul. Were Her Majesty's Government prepared to carry out that undertaking? Could they guarantee the Candaharis against the yoke of Cabul if we left the country, or did they propose to return at any moment to Candahar to protect our friends there? It was said that the late Government broke faith also in the matter of the Kuram Valley. Was that any reason why the present Government should do the same? Was a breach of faith the only thing in which the Liberal Party would follow the lead of the Tories? We made certain promises, and we were morally bound to fulfil them. Was breaking them the proper way to ingratiate ourselves with the Afghans? The noble Viscount grew very eloquent about the Afghans and their love of independence. He said that they did not care for danger—in which they resembled the noble Duke—and they did not care for poverty, in which they resembled nobody he had ever heard of. But, granting for a moment that they did not care for either poverty or danger, he could not quite follow the noble Viscount that, therefore, they must necessarily detest our rule. As a matter of fact, there were some 700,000 Afghans dwelling very peaceably in the Peshawur district under our government. Were we to suppose that they were afraid of danger, and did dislike poverty, and that, in consequence, they were contented with our rule; or was it not more likely that the noble Viscount was somewhat mistaken in his estimate of the difficulties which we should encounter in endeavouring to ingratiate ourselves with the Natives of Afghanistan? It would be a strange thing if we, who had succeeded with savages and semi-savages, with populations, more or less civilized, all over the world, should fail in this particular instance of Afghanistan. The noble Duke, quoting the opinion of General Jacobs, said—"We command Asiatics by high moral power alone." But another high authority, Prince Gortschakoff, in a Circular despatch, says—

> "It is a peculiarity of Asiatics to respect nothing but visible and palpable force; the moral force of reason and of the interests of civilization has, as yet, no hold on them. . . . . The work has then always to be done over again from the beginning."

The noble Duke quoted Sir Donald Stewart's opinion as to the feelings of the Candaharis towards us. No opinion on the subject could be worth anything to us at present. The Candaharis were not Afghans. The Afghans were their masters. Since we had announced our intention of leaving the Candaharis to the tender mercies of their conquerors, it was not likely that they would dare to express their preference for us. A great deal of stress was laid upon the fact that, whereas it was difficult for us to gain the confidence of the Afghans, it would be at least equally difficult for Russia. It was said that the Afghans would never put up with Russia as a conqueror. But Russia would never come as a conqueror. She would come as a friend and an ally, a warm supporter of some aspirant to the Throne, either in Herat or Cabul. The terms which she would offer would be men and money, the Sovereignty of Afghanistan, the recovery of that portion of the Punjaub which once belonged to Afghanistan, and the loot of India. What the real cost of the occupation would be it was impossible to say. It had been estimated very highly, as high, he believed, as £2,000,000 a-year. Other authorities, however, had computed the extra cost at about £500,000. Moreover, no allowance for the value of the trade was made, and the value of the Central Asian trade must be very great. If Russia had no designs upon India, and if the Central Asian trade was of no value, what on earth could Russia's object be in going to the vast expense she had incurred in pushing her way towards India? The noble Viscount, quoting from a lecture given by Colonel Browne, mentioned Dr. Bellew and Mr. Andrew, as being authorities from whom we might find that with regard to commerce, &c., our previous relations with Afghanistan were satisfactory. But he (the Earl of Dunraven) found that Dr. Bellew had said that the gold mines of Candahar, if properly worked by Europeans, would be a considerable source of revenue; and Mr. Andrew says—

> "As the English Government have betrayed an indifference towards the development of trade in Central Asia, so have the Russian Government increased their endeavours, and with success, to stock the markets of Turkestan. Instead of trade between India and Central Asia having augmented of late years, it has actually diminished."

He had little doubt that in a short time the trade would develop to such an extent that the revenues of the country would pay for the administration of it. He thought, further, that we could very well afford to pay the Ameer such a proportion of the present revenue as would be fair, and that the occupation would not be a source of expense to this country. Why could we not occupy Candahar in the same way as we now occupied Quetta? Why should we not make an arrangement similar to that which we had with the Khan of Khelat? As to the cost, he must take exception to the figures of the noble Viscount. If he understood him right, he quoted the whole cost of building barracks and fortifications, and charged them to the yearly expense of Candahar.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD was understood to observe here that he had not done this.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: The noble Viscount must have intended to give them the interest on the capital sum, and not the capital sum itself. The noble Viscount also spoke of saving the expense of the railway. The expense would not be saved unless the railway were continued to Candahar. The railway, as it was, was like an Irish famine-road, beginning somewhere and ending nowhere. If not continued, the whole cost of it must be written off. The military expenses had certainly been overrated; and he must ask their Lordships to bear in mind that the actual force in India was not increased, and that the troops sent to Candahar and on the line of communication would be deducted from those stationed on the present Frontier. The cost of maintaining troops at Candahar, with a railway to the sea, could not be very great. The cost of the military occupation was really insignificant as compared with the advantages to be gained. Even if the retention did cost £1,000,000 or £1,500,000, he believed it would be money wisely spent. He believed it would be most false economy to give up Candahar. The evacuation would certainly cost us, at some future time, a war of re-occupation. And retention might possibly save us from the frightfulcal amity of a general war with Russia all over the world. He did not at all approve the policy which was generally attributed to the late Government. He disliked a policy of ambition and extension of territory. He believed our Empire was large enough as it was. But he held that Candahar could not really be looked upon as an extension of territory. He was keenly alive to the necessity of economy. It was on that ground he advocated the retention of Candahar. He was strongly in favour of the principles of the present Government. He only wished to see them really carried out. Virtues when pushed to the extremes sometimes became vices, and principles sometimes degenerated into prejudices. He feared that through the mere desire to appear to be economical, from the wish to seem not to desire extension of territory, England would be throwing away an opportunity to strengthen her present Frontier, and would be committing an act of extravagance, the extent of which the country would not be able to judge of until it was staggering under the heavy burden of a great war, or complaining of the considerable, though comparatively small, expense of a third Afghan campaign. That the country would give up Candahar he very much feared, because the country would think it was saving money by so doing. If they understood what was really the case—that to give up this position was a most expensive luxury, and that thereby they were degrading the good name of England and weakening India — he was sure there was not a man in England who would consent to the evacuation. That it would be necessary to keep Candahar for all time he did not assert. If they had seen a strong and friendly Ruler in possession of that country, and felt assured that in retiring they could trust to his friendship and his ability to maintain his position, he did not say but what they could have retired to the Indus. But such was not the case. He should have preferred if the words "at present" had been introduced into the Resolution before the House. But, as it was, he had little hesitation in voting with the noble Earl opposite, although it was with great reluctance that he felt himself compelled to differ from Her Majesty's Government.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: My Lords, I rise to support the Government in their resolution to redeem their pledges to restore the independence of Afghanistan; and not only theirs, but the pledges of the late Government and of the late Viceroy, who proclaimed that we were making war on Shere Ali, and not upon the Afghans. I rejoice that the despatch of Lord Hartington, of November last, has taken such high moral ground, and has put in so prominent a place the question of our duty to restore the independence of Afghanistan, and for that consideration only I should give my vote to Her Majesty's Ministers; but I hope to show that they are right on grounds of expediency also. A considerable part of the speech of the noble Earl who moved the Resolution seemed to be an indictment of the noble Marquess who was Secretary of State in 1878. For the noble Earl imagined the case of our Frontier officers in correspondence with the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara, and said that the noble Earl, now the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, would have promptly and properly complied with the Russian demand to cease such letters. If so, why did not the noble Marquess prefer a complaint to Russia; and why did not the late Government obtain, and remain satisfied with, the explanations of Russia, who was the real offender, instead of invading Afghanistan? The noble Earl, after mentioning what Russia could offer to the Ameer of Cabul as a bribe, said that we could offer him nothing. That is hardly the case. Has the noble Earl forgotten the Pathans, a numerous and most valuable part of the population of Hindustan? They are the children of Afghans, who, in the time of the Moguls, were encouraged to come to India, and ought now to be similarly encouraged. India should be to Afghanistan what England was to Scotland after the accession of James I., or what France was to Alsace. The noble Marquess said a good deal about the constant increase of danger from Russia, and the rapid advance of that Power. What is much more remarkable is the rapid and sudden change of mind of the noble Marquess, from the time when he spoke of maps on a small scale. What confidence can the noble Marquess ask your Lordships to have in his opinions, when he has changed from the extreme of confidence in Russia to the extreme of distrust; when he has only now become alive to the manner in which Russia invaded Turkey by means of Servia; when he succumbed to the wiles of General Ignatieff, and, again, to those of Count Schouvaloff; and whilst the discrepancy between his secret Agreement of June 19 and his Circular of April 9 is still unexplained? The noble Marquess says we cannot make war with Russia all over the world, since we cannot touch Cronstadt or make war in the Black Sea, except in alliance with Turkey; and scoffs at Her Majesty's Ministers because they cannot form such an alliance, as though the noble Marquess had not done as much as Mr. Gladstone to destroy Turkish confidence in England; and when he says that we cannot touch Russia in the Baltic, he forgets that the re-constitution of Poland and the restoration to Germany of the German Baltic Provinces are still unsettled questions. If we come to expediency, great stress has been laid upon the Russian Correspondence captured at Cabul. I do not attach any importance to it; it tells nothing which was not known before of the Russian designs. Nobody acquainted with Russian history expected good faith from Russia, and nobody would be disappointed. In this case there is not so much duplicity; and I must admire the tenacity and energy of the Russians, and regret that there is not the same energy and thoroughness on the side of my country. For what does the noble Earl the late Viceroy say of war with Russia in Central Asia in paragraph 46 of his Minute?—

> "The more closely I contemplate such a catastrophe, the greater is the repugnance with which I regard it—a repugnance amounting almost to horror. In such a war we should doubtless be successful, for we can meet Russia with far superior forces on the Oxus. But it is the consequences of success that we have to consider. We should probably stir up a Mahomedan rising throughout the Khanates, and we can realize the horrors of such a rising if we picture to ourselves another Indian mutiny."

Why does the noble Earl show this tender solicitude for the Russians, when he is contemplating an invasion of India by them? He also says, in the same paragraph—

> "A British statesman, remembering the American War, and the lasting effect which a few hostile cruisers have had on America's commercial prosperity, may well hesitate before exposing British commerce to the same risks." —[*Afghanistan*, (1881). No. 2. p. 12.]

So that, with all our ships and supposed maritime superiority, we are to shrink from a contest with Russia, even on our own element. It is true that we have tied up our right hand by the Declaration of Paris; and what more conclusive testimony could be brought forward against the abolition of privateering and the right of search than this confession of fear by the noble Earl of the results of a war with Russia? The noble Earl objected that the publication of his Minute was not a patriotic act, because it was a confidential statement of our means of attack and defence. It reveals, however, nothing to the Russians that they did not know perfectly well before, except, perhaps, the desponding view taken by the noble Earl of the results of a war with Russia. General Skobeleff, when in Roumelia, revealed much more of the hostile designs of Russia against our rule in India than anything contained in these Papers, and his conversation was published at the time by an English newspaper. I have much more to say; but, as I see your Lordships are anxious to go to a division, I will not detain the House longer.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, the question really before your Lordships is whether it is or is not wise to evacuate Candahar; and I shall endeavour to confine my observations strictly to that subject, or, at least, with one exception of a slight character. I see no use in reviewing again the history of the Afghan War, or of the proceedings which preceded it. Your Lordships, having been appealed to on that subject, have given your opinion in great numbers and after long and full discussion. It would, therefore, in my opinion, be unnecessary for me now to enter upon a consideration of that matter in detail. There are one or two salient facts to guide us in coming to a correct conclusion, and which I now allude to from the tone which the debate has taken. It is on record that the Ameer of Afghanistan appealed for succour some years ago to the Viceroy of the Queen in India, who is now First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Viceroy thought it his duty to reject the overtures made to him. It also stands upon record that this rejection was the origin of all the misunderstandings and misfortunes which have since occurred. It also stands upon record that about three years afterwards, panic-stricken, I suppose, by the rumour that the Russians were approaching Merv, the then Viceroy decided on the plan which, in his opinion, should be then adopted to meet the difficulties and dangers of the case; and he proposed an offensive and defensive Treaty with Afghanistan, and the establishment of a resident British Minister at Herat. These are great salient truths; and I am quite surprisd, remembering these historical facts, at the tone which the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty took with reference to my noble Friend the late Viceroy of India. One would suppose that the noble Earl was not only a pupil of the peace-at-any-price school, but that he was also graduating for higher honours in the more refined school which would wage war and at the same time negotiate peace—and negotiate with all the more readiness if our arms had been defeated. I was much disappointed, my Lords, at the reply the noble Duke the Lord Privy Seal made to my noble Friend near me (Viscount Cranbrook). I had listened, as a very full House had listened, with pleasure to that speech; and a speech more exhaustive, more animated, more completely touching every point of the subject, I have rarely heard. Well, I knew that my noble Friend was to be followed by one whose ability was equal to any emergency—one who is an ornament of this House, and invariably delights the audience which he addresses. Well, my Lords, what did we hear? Was there any answer to the speech of my noble Friend? On the contrary, we had a series of biographies of Indian worthies, and when the list closed it was, as usual, flung at the head of my noble Friend the late Viceroy. Under these circumstances, I think we have had enough of recurrence to the past, and that we may confine our consideration to the point before us. My Lords, there is, however, one point only, before I touch upon the question of Candahar, on which I would like to make one or two remarks, and that is about our relations with Russia, which have formed so important a portion of our discussion to-night, as on previous occasions. Now, my Lords, when my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) and myself were commissioned to proceed as Plenipotentiaries to Berlin nearly three years ago, our instructions were to achieve, if possible, two great objects. One, of course, to secure and guard the interests of our own country, and the other to combine with the other Powers, if possible, for some unity of feeling which might secure, if not the perpetual, at least the lasting peace of Europe. Well, my Lords, it was obvious that it was quite impossible to arrive at any understanding which would give a fair probability of a lasting European peace if there was not sympathy on the part of Russia, and the time seemed to have arrived, a Congress being called upon to settle the affairs of Europe, to make some effort to come, if possible, to some direct understanding with Russia which might tend to the beneficial result we had in view. I must say that before we could take any such steps we were anticipated by the illustrious Chancellor of that Empire, who expressed a desire on the part of Russia that some attempt should be made to put an end to that chronic misunderstanding which seemed always to be recurring between the two countries of Great Britain and Russia. I do not, my Lords, mean to say that there was at any time an intention of an Alliance, or a Treaty, or a Convention; but what we all seemed to desire was that, if possible, instead of hostile distrust, there should be, at least, some approximation to confidence, and that when any occurrences of a controversial character took place in those parts of the world where the interests of Russia and England clashed, there should be, at least, a friendly and candid communication of views between the two Powers, which might remove causes which were not at all adequate reasons for misunderstanding. Well, my Lords, when we returned to England, I took the earliest opportunity of declaring in this House that, with regard to those circumstances which had occurred in Central Asia, the unconcealed object of which, on the part of Russia, was to embarrass and disturb English interests in that part of the world, that, so far as those preparations had been made by Russia in the belief that war was immediately pending between the two countries, we held that we had no cause to complain, and that we were willing to forget, and wished to forget, all that had occurred in that respect. And, in consequence, a formal communication of our views, which I do not doubt will be found in the annals of the Foreign Office, was made on the subject; and we received, as I stated at the time, an answer from St. Petersburg of the most satisfactory kind—in fact, expressing all those views and sentiments which Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor of the Empire, had expressed to us at Berlin. Your Lordships are aware that within a short time there has been laid upon your Table a Correspondence which has been described as a sinister Correspondence, and which has for so long a time been the subject of interest, I would say of suppressed interest, in many political circles. Your Lordships may remark that at the end of that Correspondence the present Russian Ambassador alludes in a summary to a despatch of Count Schouvaloff, in which there is a long quotation or summary of what I had expressed to Count Schouvaloff in a conversation. I am sure, my Lords, that nobody who took up those Papers but would believe that it was an account of the Russian Ambassador's interview with me, after the discovery of the Cabul Correspondence, entirely condoning on my part the past, and approving everything that Russia had done. Otherwise they could see no reason for the publication of that despatch. But, my Lords, if you look at the date of the despatch, you will find that it was in November, 1878; whereas the despatches between the Russian authorities and the Ameer, which were discovered after the second capture of Cabul, were not obtained by the British Government until exactly a year afterwards—namely, October or November, 1879. And therefore it does appear to me most extraordinary that while the despatch of Count Schouvaloff, giving an account of his interview with me, condoning the conduct of the Russian Government under certain conditions and circumstances which are almost *verbatim* what I did express in this House about a month previously—that anyone could think there was any connection between those despatches so found a year afterwards at Cabul and that conversation. Your Lordships may also remark that in this curious publication there is, in inverted commas, what purports to be an announcement on my part that in my opinion the Government of India had forced our hands upon the subject of war, and had occasioned a declaration of war not only before it was necessary, but when it was, perhaps, altogether unnecessary. The case was exactly the opposite of that. Instead of Her Majesty's Government complaining of being forced by the Government of India to make war, it so happened that the Government of India was most anxious to avoid war. We were sometimes appealed to by the Government of India to know what was our decision, as it fell upon them to make preparations for war, if war were decided upon; and it was of the greatest importance that the season of military operations should not be lost. But the Government of India was as anxious as the English Government to avoid war; and when the affair came very near, the Government of India pledged itself voluntarily to undertake no military operation without our sanction and advice. Her Majesty's Government, as your Lordships may well remember, for it is in the Papers on the Table of the House, were anxious to give Shere Ali a *locus penitentiæ*, and instructed the Government of India to concede to him a period of three weeks again to consider what he would do. We had to calculate every day, and consider the exact time that would not interfere with military operations if they became necessary. My Lords, I am quite certain that Count Schouvaloff was utterly incapable of intentionally misrepresenting anything I expressed to him. He was well known to every Member of this House, a great ornament of society, a most honourable man, and I am sure incapable of any miserable manœuvres of the kind; and therefore, when I announced that there was no foundation for that reported declaration of mine, I suggested that it must have been a misapprehension. I understand that it was a misapprehension, and that it referred, not to our hand being forced by the Government of India to go to war—that was absolutely absurd—but to the Mission which two months before had been sent by the Indian Government, but not with the sanction of the English Government. Your Lordships are well aware of the failure of that expedition; but the expedition was not an operation of war; it was a mission of peace, and the Indian Government sent, as its head, an individual who was the personal friend of Shere Ali, and who they believed would have succeeded in accomplishing their great object. I have taken the liberty of making these remarks, because I considered it was absolutely necessary that I should recall your Lordships' attention to the fact that the alleged conversation with Count Schouvaloff appended to the Papers discovered at Cabul took place, in fact, one year before they were discovered; and, further, that the expressions which excited my pain and surprise really referred to other circumstances, and the matter, therefore, requires no further comment. I will now ask your Lordships to consider this question of Afghanistan. I ought, perhaps, to notice a remark that has been made—Why, when these despatches were discovered at Cabul, were they not published by the late Government? Now, I should have thought that the reply to such an inquiry was an obvious one. Certainly it would not have been in harmony with good feeling between the English Plenipotentiaries and Prince Gortschakoff, if we took, at the earliest opportunity, a step which would not have tended to the cultivation of that friendly sentiment between the two countries, which was our object. It was our opinion that the publication of these despatches would cause considerable irritation both in England and in Russia, and that for the public welfare they ought not to be published. We are asked—"Why do you assent to their publication now?" Well, I am not the person who has assented to their publication now—it is the Minister. But I am not all surprised at their appearance. I always took it for granted, after the extraordinary proceedings which occurred with regard to Afghanistan during the General Election, that sooner or later there must have been a discussion on the subject. It was when in the frenzy of the hustings the country was enlightened on the causes of the war in Afghanistan, when it was denounced as one which had only been conceived and occasioned by the late Ministry unnecessarily, and to the great damage of the country—it was not until these expressions were used, and when we found, on the change of Government, they were going to be acted upon, that it became necessary to consider whether some steps should not be taken on our part to enlighten the country generally upon this question of Afghan politics. Why, you know, my Lords, what has occurred. Who could have supposed that our successors, with the Cabul Papers, not published, but in their possession to guide them, should have announced in the manner they did that the whole of our policy in Afghanistan would be repudiated? Our whole policy in Afghanistan was described as a monstrous romance, as if there had been no occasion for a single incident that occurred. Our recollection of the previous connection of the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) with the Ameer seemed to be entirely effaced from the memory of the nation. And, therefore, when my noble Friend the late Viceroy found that the only reward for his public labours was public calumny, when he found himself held up in so false and distorted a form to his country, it is not surprising that, as a Member of this House, he should have taken an opportunity of calling your Lordships' attention to the subject of these despatches. Now, I will refer to the real subject before us, and I would ask the Lord Privy Seal why he did not answer the two most important questions asked in this debate—they were asked by the noble Viscount near me. The first is, What do the Government mean to do with Candahar when they evacuate it in a month hence? The next question is, Why are we not favoured with the opinion of Lord Ripon and his Councillors? These are two questions which we have certainly a right to have answered, and I hope they will be answered before the vote is called. My noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), who made an animated speech—and I do not know there is anything that would excite enthusiasm in him except the contemplated surrender of some national territory—made a distinct point on this head. He asked why we made such a great point of retaining Candahar at present, when we were willing, when we made the Treaty of Gandamak, to restore it to the Native Prince? Well, I should have thought—although my noble Friend dwelt upon the point as if it were quite incapable of an answer—that the answer was obvious. When we negotiated the Treaty of Gandamak our policy was, if possible, to create a powerful and an independent Afghanistan; and if that were our policy, which unquestionably it was, everybody must feel that to attempt in any way to retain Candahar under these circumstances must baffle and defeat that policy. And what is that policy, let me ask? Why, my Lords, it is the old policy with regard to the relations between this country and India and Afghanistan, which has been approved by all public men. I say all public men. I believe that Lord Lawrence, who is always to be spoken of with great respect, although the Lord Privy Seal says we systematically insulted him, was as decided as anyone on the old and accepted policy of this country about Afghanistan. It was that there should be fostered an English interest in Afghanistan, and that a Russian one should not for a moment be tolerated. That is the policy we pursued. What is the policy you are going to adopt? Where will English interests be when you have evacuated Afghanistan? What will be the state of Afghanistan? Without exaggeration, it will be a state of anarchy. We have always announced, as a reason for interfering in Afghanistan, that we cannot tolerate a state of anarchy on our Frontiers. Is not that an argument as good for Russia as for us? Will not the Russians say—"Afghanistan is in a state of anarchy, and we cannot go on civilizing Turkestan when Afghanistan is in a state of anarchy?" Therefore, you are furnishing Russia with an occasion for advancing. When I speak of this policy of Russia, I do not speak of it in a hostile spirit. Russia has a right to its policy as well as England. Russia has as good a right to create an Empire in Tartary as we have in India. She must take the consequences if the creation of her Empire endangers our power. I see nothing in that feeling on the part of England which should occasion any want of friendliness between this country and Russia. We must guard against what may be looked upon as the inevitable designs of a great Power. Lord Palmerston, in one of the most considerable measures of his life—the fortification of the Channel—a much more expensive one than even the retention of Candahar, according to the estimate given by Sir Henry Norman—when Lord Palmerston proposed to fortify the Channel, was that looked upon as a symbol of hostility to the French people? We all know that Lord Palmerston was a Minister who, in all matters relating to foreign affairs, took the course which he believed to be most advisable for the interests of the country. Yet everyone knows that he was, in feeling, very friendly to the French Alliance; and yet that was an operation immediately directed against France for the purpose of putting an end to the continual fluctuations of bluster and fear which such a situation as England was in at that time must necessarily entail. I come now for one moment to the question of finance. I am not going all over the Estimates. I am only surprised, considering the Estimates that have been produced, that anyone has had the courage to bring them under our notice. I should have thought that the Government, with their minds intent on this great question, could have obtained from the authorities of India some business-like document to put before us. I shall not enter into a discussion as to whether Sir Henry Norman's hurry-scurry estimate is the best or the worst. I shall take it for granted that whoever has the responsibility of dealing with this matter will take care to have due information before he acts. But I will remind your Lordships of this one fact—that everything that has been alleged respecting the retention of Candahar, and the consequent expenses of thus retaining it, was said about the Punjaub when you took it. We heard, when the retention of the Punjaub was proposed, that it was impossible to raise any respectable revenue there; that the country was bare; that the population, compared with India, was sparse; and that it was quite impossible that the expenditure of our government could be repaid. All these arguments were urged against annexation of any kind. But, eventually, you found a very prosperous country in the Punjaub and Scinde, which proved a source of wealth and strength to India. I will not believe, without much better proof, that the retaining Candahar—the capital of an extremely fertile district—will entail upon you a result less satisfactory than the result of the retention of the Punjaub and Scinde. The *primâ facie* evidence is, I think, in favour of a rich district paying its expenses, and, in time, probably paying more than its expenses. There is another point connected with Candahar of which much has been made in this debate and on other occasions. It is said that we are debarred from annexing or retaining

Candahar by our public declarations and agreements, and in the front of these is always placed the celebrated Proclamation of the Queen when she accepted the Sovereignty of India. Now, my Lords, I can speak with some confidence upon that subject, for, to a certain extent, I am responsible for that Proclamation. It never entered into my head that there was anything in that Proclamation which should prevent the Queen, if she went to war with a foreign Power, making such terms on the conclusion of peace as she might think fit, and availing herself of her power to take any Provinces by right of conquest. The Proclamation is essentially a domestic Proclamation addressed to the Princes of India, and the obligation of that Proclamation has been most rigidly observed. There is no instance in which Her Majesty has been counselled to deviate from it; and I must repudiate the attempt to treat the Queen's Proclamation on her assumption of the full Sovereignty of India as a bar to the retention of Candahar if the Government should deem that retention wise and prudent. As to the petty observation that the Commanding Officers announced to the people that they were making war against Princes only and not upon subjects, it may be easily disposed of. Such an announcement is not peculiarly an Oriental custom. In all the wars that have taken place of late—certainly in some of them—similar assurances have been given by the invading Power; but it has not prevented rich countries losing their capitals, and ancient Empires being dislocated. It has generally been found that you can drive a coach and six through declarations of that kind, and the fact that the people whom you have subdued have not attempted to drive you back would be a sufficient reason for treating them less as enemies when peace has been arranged. I have now, my Lords, attempted to touch upon the principal points in this question of the retention of Candahar. I have not heard an answer to the speeches of my noble Friend who introduced this subject to your notice, of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), and of the noble Viscount who addressed your Lordships first this evening. We may, I trust, have an opportunity of obtaining that information. There are many authorities, both in oratory and statesmanship, who have not yet addressed the House, and we may receive the information we desire. It will not be unreasonable, therefore, if I repeat a few points on which we may lay particular stress. We want to know why we are not favoured with the views of Lord Ripon and his Council, and what scheme the Government have in view if they evacuate Candahar in the short space of time announced—namely, in less than a month. On this subject I have not taken any exaggerated view, though I wish myself that Candahar should be retained. Noble Lords opposite cheered the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) who addressed us from those Benches with so much power, and who seemed to admit that he would be satisfied if Candahar were to be retained for a certain period of time. Well, that is not a subject we are called upon to discuss; but there is nothing unusual in retaining possession of a considerable town or province until the country, after great disquietude, war, and revolution, has subsided into comparative tranquillity. That is not an Oriental practice. It has been practised in some of the greatest countries in Europe. There have been such things as military occupations before the present time. If the Government had come forward and announced that they intended to give up almost everything that we had obtained, but that in the present state of Afghanistan they did not see their way to leave Candahar, though they did not think fit to appropriate it absolutely, I should still have regretted their not annexing Candahar, but I should have felt that they were making a reasonable and statesmanlike suggestion, which should be received with attention. Such a course would have received the respectful consideration of this House. But when we have been told, without the slightest preparation, that events are about to take place that may exercise a most injurious influence on our Indian Empire and the general welfare of our interests, I think the time has come when it befits the House of Lords to express its opinion upon the subject. I myself believe that even if we abandoned Candahar we should still be able to retain our Indian Empire. I do not think that is absolutely essential to us. There are some very important places which are called the keys of

India. There is Herat, and there is Merv. I do not know whether Merv has yet been taken by the Russians. I see in the newspapers it is taken. Perhaps the First Lord of the Admiralty will be able to inform us.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK: It is not a seaport.

The Earl of BEACONSFIELD: No; it is not a seaport; but in these days in Central Asia railways connect places with seaports. Still, there is Merv; then there is Herat, Ghazni, Balkh, and Candahar. My opinion is that, though such places may not be absolutely essential to us, yet that I should regret to see them in possession of any great military Power—I should look upon such an event with regret, and perhaps with some degree of apprehension; but even if the great military Power were there I trust we might still be able to maintain our Empire. My Lords, the key of India is not Merv, or Herat, or Candahar. The key of India is London. The majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliaments, the inexhaustible resources of a free, an ingenious, and a determined people—these are the keys of India. But, my Lords, a wise statesman would be chary in drawing upon what I may call the arterial sources of his power. He would seek to sustain his Empire by resources prompt and ready at hand. You have observed that system in this country for the last 100 years. You have skilfully acquired many of the strong places of the world. You have established a chain of fortifications which has connected the Metropolis with its most distant dependencies, and when you have had to consider your boundaries by the valour of your soldiers and the skill of your engineers, you have generally managed to obtain a precise and scientific Frontier. Well, my Lords, I hope we shall pursue the same policy. If we pursue the same policy, Candahar is eminently one of those places which would contribute to the maintenance of our Empire. It is advisable to retain it on economical grounds. As my noble Friend said in his speech, would it be a becoming course for us now to withdraw, when the fact that the power of England can be felt promptly and on the spot is the best security for peace, and therefore the best guarantee of economy. I think the views taken by my noble Friend below the Gangway (the Earl of Derby) on this subject are essentially erroneous views, and in no point more erroneous than in decrying the duty which the House of Lords may occasionally fulfil to express its opinion upon questions of this magnitude. I have no wish in any way to take an exaggerated view of the feeling of the country on the question of Candahar. I believe it to be a real, deep, and increasing feeling. I believe that every day the subject is more considered the opinion will become more matured that our Ministers are taking a rash and precipitate step in that which they propose. If that be the case, then, when opinion is restless, when its absolute bias is ambiguous, what can be a more legitimate occasion than for the Peers of England to come forward and give to the country the result of their thought, their wisdom, and their experience, and give it, as I hope they will to-night, for the maintenance of the Empire of India?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, there was one portion, and only one, of the noble Earl's speech with which I agree, and that is the one in which he disagrees with my noble Friend below the Gangway; and I can say that was the only part of the remarkable speech of my noble Friend which he made last night in which I am not able to concur. I do not in the slightest degree complain of this subject having been brought before your Lordships for consideration. I remember a noble Lord who was a great authority in the construction of Votes of Censure. He used to say—"You cannot make them too mild. The mildness does not signify, and you catch all the mild votes." I think that story applies to the noble Earl opposite. I cannot conceive a milder Vote of Censure than that—as was pointed out yesterday by my noble Friend—which has been proposed by the noble Earl. I think, as I shall point out later, that I can find one reason why the noble Earl made it so mild. There is, however, one peculiarity I would point out. When he brought this Motion forward, he said there was not sufficient information before the House, and that at a time when he did not know what information was going to be supplied to your Lordships. The course of this debate has been somewhat singular. It appears to have been one very instructive and very interesting; but I cannot help remarking that, although some of our independent Friends on this side of the House have spoken some in favour and some against us, and have uttered the very friendly criticisms which they very often bestow on the Government behind whose Benches they sit, and although noble Lords opposite have come down in such enormous numbers to vote, while we have had magnificent speeches from three ex-Secretaries of State and from the late Prime Minister to-night, there has not been one single independent Conservative Peer who has said one word on the subject, and yesterday there were only two, one of them the only military authority in this House, who spoke against the Motion. Now, the other day, in anticipation of this debate, the noble Earl the late Prime Minister said that we were to free this debate from old stories that were already settled; and in that sentiment I entirly and cordially agree. But when the noble Earl brought forward this Motion I am not sure that an hour or an hour and a-half of his speech was not entirely occupied with those old stories which his Chief wished wholly to dismiss. Another peculiarity of this debate, which I regret very much, was that a noble Lord, notwithstanding our request, should have insisted on getting up to close the debate, although several Peers were desirous of speaking, one of them being the late Under Secretary of State for India in the present Government. I think, my Lords, we have a right to speak, even although we may be opposed by an enormous majority of votes. Those who have spoken in favour of the Motion have had one advantage over us, which is that, while in arguing against this Motion we were obliged to bring forward what reasons we could find, noble Lords opposite have had this resource—that if it was not convenient to reply to some of the arguments which have been made, or if any arguments failed them, they could fall back on abuse of Russia. And this abuse comes with peculiar flavour when it is addressed by two ex-Seretaries of State, one of them the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and perfectly certain to occupy some of the highest Offices in the Government of the country. Having said that, I must state how marked was the difference presented by the late Prime Minister's speech. It appears to me that he spoke with his great experience, and with much more political tact, and that there was not one word in his speech which betrayed unfriendly feeling towards the Russian Government, or one which was likely to excite the feelings of this country to re-act again in Russia by rousing feelings which it is certainly our interest to soothe and not to inflame. The noble Marquess opposite could not contain his dissatisfaction at the statement made by the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) that our relations were friendly with Russia. Now, I must say that during the last year, seeing as I have done the plans that were contemplated by Russia on the one side and by this country on the other, as possibly carrying out the greatest possible injury to each of those countries without conferring the slightest advantage on either of them, I feel great satisfaction not that we have any special alliance, because we have none, not that we have any secret understanding with Russia, because we are absolutely without one, but that we are on that friendly footing with Russia which I desire to be upon with every country in the world. The noble Earl spoke in regard to Russia, and to the circumstances connected with the despatches that were found at Cabul, and he gave an explanation which I was very glad to hear of a sort of controversy that had arisen as to a conversation between himself and Count Shouvaloff. I need not say that, if there was any difference between a Russian statesman, however distinguished, and one in the position of the noble Earl, I am sure that your Lordships would be inclined to believe your countryman as to the accuracy of the statement. At the same time, it is satisfactory to find that by the explanation given by the noble Earl to-day there seems to have been no difference whatever between him and the Russian Ambassador, and that the only difference was that it was not with regard to the war, which Count Schouvaloff did not say, but with regard to the Mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain—the origin of the whole mischief—that the Home Government appeared to have entirely disapproved. There is one question with regard to these letters on which I must say a word. It is not my place to make any defence of or charge against the Russian Government. It is an affair of the late Government. I could never quite understand the course which they took—namely, that of utterly refusing either to let the Russian Government know anything about these Papers, or to let the English public do so; and then, when we came into Office, thinking it desirable that they should be produced. I do not understand the distinction as far as the public advantage is concerned. But I have nothing to say about these Papers. Many noble Lords who have spoken seem to think that we are absolutely the slaves of any assurance that Russia might give. Now, I am always ready to believe when an assurance is given to me that it is intended with perfect sincerity at the time; but I certainly should not think of shaping my future policy on the basis of the certainty that that assurance would always be maintained, and would never yield either to circumstances or to persons. So that the real question remains, with the possibility of Russia at some future time—I own that I think at a very distant time—trying to invade India, or even intriguing in Afghanistan or elsewhere, what is the best way of meeting such an attack if made? There is one question which we have asked three times, and to which we have never had an answer; and I will venture to repeat it a fourth time. It was asked by the noble Duke behind me of the noble Earl the late Viceroy of India, What was the foundation of the assurance that the Viceroy sent to the Ameer that Russia was quite ready to share with England in the destruction of Afghanistan? Now, it is quite impossible that the noble Earl should have made that statement without having a perfectly solid and authentic foundation for it. We are really interested in knowing, whether publicly or secretly, what was the character of the negotiation between the noble Earl and the noble Marquess with regard to Afghanistan; and I must say this—that I think that I have a right to complain, as I think that any Conservative successor to the Foreign Office would have a right to complain, that such an important negotiation should have gone on between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government, and that in two important Offices—the India Office and the Foreign Office—there should not be the slightest record on the subject. Now, my Lords, I go to the question whether it is desirable to retain Candahar or not. There is one point which has been introduced, which I should not have originated—namely, that of morality. After what has fallen from the noble Lord, I do wish to enter a small protest on the question. I protest against such language being used, and suggest, in the same way as International Law is based on certain principles, which are also the foundation of municipal law, I have no doubt that the ruling principle of the intercourse of nations ought to be based on the same general principles as the intercourse between individuals. I do protest against morality being called sentiment, because that is an argument that might apply to the person who objects to the man who is picking my pocket. The next question is the military question. I am absolutely without self-confidence on military matters. I have not the ability which enables the noble Earl the late Viceroy of India to write pages on strategical considerations. I own if I were to go upon my own unaided opinion I should say it would not be a good military move to take an isolated fortress, in a mountain country, 400 miles from your own Frontier, with the road to it going through deserts, mountains, and defiles, presenting all the difficulties of forage, fuel, and water.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: It was proposed to make a railway.

Earl GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess says a railway is about to be made; but I am not so perfectly certain of that. The expense of making a railway and the fortifications required to defend it is enormous. I know the noble Marquess does not care about that. I come to the question of military authority. On reading these military Memoranda, I find that they are not in the least confined to military considerations. I found in General Merewether's Memorandum, for instance, that there is a certain number of lines with regard to military considerations, that there is double that number with regard to political considerations, and four times that amount with regard to trade. I do not know whether the illustrious Duke on the Cross Benches would allow me to allude to his Memorandum. We all know the illustrious Duke's ability and his knowledge; and though I am afraid I sometimes differ from him, I can most honestly state that I am always glad to see his opinions on large or small subjects before I form an opinion. But what I do know is this—that the illustrious Duke has a remarkable knowledge of everything connected with military matters. I remember Sir George Lewis telling me he was very ignorant when he joined the War Office, and that there was nobody there, or in the Horse Guards, who gave him such immediate and accurate information on all details as the illustrious Duke. I turned to the illustrious Duke's Memorandum, and I found hardly anything about military considerations; but there is a great deal about political considerations, and, like General Merewether, his great argument is that of trade. Well, I happened to be in the Board of Trade twice. I gave some attention to economical subjects. I have been more or less a tradesman all my life; therefore, *ex officio*, I think I have a right to have an opinion as well as the illustrious Duke. I cannot help thinking, when I find so much political and trade padding put in by General Officers, that they must have felt they required considerable assistance to fill up the argument for the retention of Candahar. But what is the amount of this trade? In our last Return, the whole trade going through Candahar amounted in English money to £250,000. The English portion of that amount was £134,000; and if you put a pretty fair profit, say to the extent of 20 per cent, on it, the total profit would amount to about £26,000. Why, my Lords, if that amount was quadrupled, or even a still greater amount produced, is it possible to imagine it would justify the expenditure of so large a sum as would be unquestionably necessary to keep it up? Well, now, with regard to the authorities on the political question. The noble Earl has requested me to answer two questions which were put by the noble Viscount this evening—one was, that I should tell your Lordships exactly what was proposed to be done in Candahar if we evacuated it; and the other was, what was the opinion of the Governor General and Council in India? With regard to the first, I have the satisfaction of being able to inform the noble Marquess that the Secretary of State for India hopes, as his Colleagues do, that he is making arrangements which will be satisfactory as regards the evacuation. ["Hear, hear!" *and laughter.*] That is his opinion; and I hardly understand the noble Lords who occupy the official Benches opposite take the matter up facetiously, as they must understand that at this moment it would not be for the advantage of the Public Service that we should make any more definite statement on the subject. As to the second question, I do not think that it requires an answer, because the noble Lord seems to know all about it, and stated himself that the Governor General of India did not approve of the evacuation of Candahar.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I beg pardon. I asked the question of the noble Earl. I asked him to say what the Governor General of India's opinion on the subject was.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think that it is not many hours ago since the noble Viscount assumed that the Governor General of India was opposed to the evacuation. Whether that was an assumption or not, I can state that he is perfectly wrong; and I am not at all sure that he is right even about the feelings of the rest of the Council, always excepting Major Baring, whose opinions are well known. Reference has been made to the Minute of Sir Donald Stewart. It has been said that we have not brought it forward. We have not brought it forward because we have not yet got it. But I have reason to know that when your Lordships see that Minute, you will find that Sir Donald Stewart has not changed his views at all with regard to the military position; that he does not think that the occupation of Candahar will be a source of strength to us, but of weakness; and that his change of opinion is purely political, and is founded on the reason that having once announced our intention of retaining Candahar we ought not to retire from it. That may be a perfectly legitimate argument; but it is not one which in the slightest degree affects the military question. With regard to this political question, I think that we are agreed now that we are considering what would be the best way of meeting aggression by any foreign Power, and that we are not sitting down supinely waiting until we are attacked. I was glad to hear from the noble Marquess a perfect contradiction of what he had recently said about his apprehension of any actual invasion of India by Russia. It has been said that our opinion as to the evacuation of

Candahar should have been changed by the fact that the Russians, having sent their best General with a small but well-equipped army into Central Asia, have achieved a great victory over the nomad Turcomans. My Lords, this fear of Russia has not sprung up within the last few years. I dare say that many of your Lordships have read a Memoir of Lord Ellenborough, in which it is stated that that noble Lord, some 50 years ago, differing from the Duke of Wellington and Lord Hardinge, who regarded the idea of a Russian invasion as a nightmare—the very expression that was adopted recently by the noble Marquess—said that the India Company were terrified with regard to Russia, that he was terrified also, and that it was his feeling that it would be his fate to meet the Russians near the Indus and to gain a great victory over them. That was said 50 years ago. Lord Ellenborough unfortunately died, as people do generally after a certain age, without that Russian invasion having taken place, and it is possible that no real invasion will ever be attempted. But the noble Lord said, with more truth, that Russia or other foreign countries may try intrigues and other sinister influences. How do you intend to meet it? The other day you unfortunately sent one of your cleverest European Envoys, Sir Louis Cavagnari, to Cabul; but he was kept utterly in the dark, and he failed to get as much information as would have been got by your Indian Envoys, who were thrown over so unnecessarily. Let me ask, therefore, how is the occupation of Candahar to prevent secret intrigues going on at Cabul? I believe that one of the greatest evils, the principal evil of the unfortunate change of policy—because what has been done by noble Lords opposite in this matter has been to repudiate a policy of 40 years—adopted by the late Government, has been that it has absolutely manured the soil of Afghanistan for the purposes of foreign intrigues. I have before stated, with no want of respect for Russia, that I do not admit that Russian statesmen and diplomatists are so eminently superior to those of all other countries in Europe. I do not often believe in diplomatic successes—they are very often hollow and dangerous; but of all the diplomatic successes I ever heard of, that of Russia in Afghanistan is the greatest. Without sending an army, without spending £1,000, by the mere Mission of a General at an opportune moment they drained us of £20,000,000, and lost us all sorts of valuable lives, and they threw Afghanistan into a state which was absolutely contrary to that which our Government professed it to be their great object to maintain. The noble Lord gave us very re-assuring accounts of the financial value of retaining Candahar. The noble Earl the late Prime Minister talked of the helter-skelter estimate given by one of the most eminent members of the Indian Council—a man who has served in Afghanistan, and who for nearly 20 years has been the actual War Minister of that country. I think that that was rather a helter-skelter observation on the part of the noble Earl. I have arrived at that age when, in taking estimates, I think it safer to take the highest; and therefore I do not feel that the noble Lord's estimate is, after all, so very re-assuring. None of your Lordships can imagine that this was the only instance of the kind. Do you imagine that our Estimates for fortifications have never been exceeded? When Lord Napier, with great skill and success, conducted the Abyssinian War, the late Government assured the country that the cost would not exceed £3,000,000; but, as matter of fact, the amount reached £9,000,000; and I now say, perfectly without Party feeling, that Sir Henry Norman's Estimates, which have been most carefully and moderately made, and set down at £1,400,000, will be found to reach, at least, £2,000,000, even if they do not exceed that amount; and let it be understood that this is not a capital sum of which I am speaking, but a yearly payment as estimated by Sir Henry Norman, which, in my opinion, will be exceeded by £500,000 or £600,000. Is it the custom, let me ask, in this country, whenever military officers recommend that a thing should be done—which they do most conscientiously and loyally—for it to be done? I remember the time when the late Duke of Wellington, thinking that Cherbourg was a standing menace to this country, recommended that a large harbour should be made in the Channel Island group, and that the islands themselves should be fortified. The result was that a very large sum of money was spent; but the fortifications do not exist, the harbour is choked up, and I do not think any public spirit has been evoked in order to procure the completion of the fortifications. I have a great notion that if you have £2,000,000 a-year to expend on military affairs, and consult military officers of experience concerning the best way of expending it, you will be told that there are better channels into which the money could be poured than by retaining and fortifying an out-of-the-way place, lying 400 miles from the Frontier of our Indian Empire. There are many persons in high positions who hold this view, and at the risk of boring your Lordships by speaking on a subject to which I have often referred in your Lordships' House, I may mention Dover Harbour. The illustrious Duke the Commander-in-Chief, and all the military and naval authorities, entertain a strong view as to the importance of Dover Harbour in a military point of view, and it was settled it should be improved in that sense; but, after two or three years, the late Prime Minister refused to go on with the works, and did this exclusively on grounds of economy. And what was the ground of the economical consideration on that occasion? It was not a question, as now, of an annual outlay from £1,400,000 to £2,000,000 upon the retention and fortification of Candhar, but a capital expenditure of not much more than £1,000,000, which was refused on grounds of economy which rose between the Board of Trade and the Treasury, as to whether the whole of the interest of that sum would be recouped or not. Therefore, the works were discontinued during the Government of the late Prime Minister, and I dare say that some of my economical Colleagues may follow the bad example set to them. But, although such a work as that recommended by military men is refused, we are asked with light hearts to make the large expenditure to which I have alluded in order to maintain an isolated fortress in a distant land, which some military men declare will be a source of weakness rather than strength. My Lords, we have received a number of lessons in the course of this debate on high policy and patriotism. I will certainly not concede a monopoly to patriotism to noble Lords sitting on the opposite side of the House, nor, indeed, do I think they would claim it. But, with regard to their policy, particularly with regard to India, are we encouraged to follow the advice of the noble Lord? In January, 1880, we were told that the intention of Her Majesty's late Government was to prevent foreign influence predominating in Afghanistan, and to make it into a strong and independent country, a state of things which everyone would like to see accomplished. But what has become of that policy? Shortly afterwards it was known that a Russian General had arrived at Cabul. So much for the prevention of foreign influence in Afghanistan. Then we were to have a scientific Frontier. What has happened with respect to that? There were three points in it. First, it was the Khyber Valley, which at one time was of the greatest importance; then it was the Kuram; and next it was the Pass we still retain. But the Khyber and the Kuram Valley Passes have been thrown away as utterly useless; there is no question about that, and these were the principal points of that scientific Frontier. I remember a noble Friend of mine who fell overboard from his yacht. Dreadful anxiety followed, and the boat was at once ordered to be lowered. Before it could be done his dog—a magnificent Newfoundland dog—jumped into the sea. The sailors cheered. In three minutes the dog triumphantly brought back to the vessel, not my noble Friend, but his cap, which was the first thing he had been able to find. I cannot help thinking that my noble Friend the late Viceroy has acted the part of that noble and intelligent animal. His whole policy fell into the water, he jumped in, and laid hold of the first thing he could, which was this discovery of the importance of the retention of Candahar. I cannot conceive that this discovery is very much more valuable than the gold-laced cap was which the dog rescued and brought back. I cannot understand why he recommends to your Lordships such a mild Motion. It does not in the least bind anyone either to the retention of Candahar, or to the retirement from it, or to an enormous extension by annexation to the Empire of Afghanistan. The noble Earl, who now avoids asking your Lordships to retain Candahar, says—this is the despatch of the 9th of September, 1878—

"That the recent occupation of Quetta has materially improved our position. The command of the southern passes is now in our hands, and from Multan to the sea, a distance of 500 miles, our frontier is well guarded. While we, securely established at Quetta, can at any moment descend on the plains of Candahar, or advance to meet our adversary in the open field, no enemy can debouch on our plains without first besieging and taking Quetta—a task of no slight difficulty, and involving much loss of precious time—and then forcing a long and difficult pass held by us."

That partly disposes of Candahar. The noble Lord then says—

"From a military point of view, our position here leaves little to be desired, beyond the improvement of our communications between Quetta and the Indus. . . I do not consider that the occupation of the town of Candahar would greatly strengthen our western frontier."—[*Afghanistan* (1881) No. 2, pp. 6 & 9.]

I could quote similar passages written to the same effect by the noble Earl in 1879. It is rather inconsistent on the part of the noble Earl to be the Mover of a Resolution of this kind, which, though in words it avoids expressing an opinion, will be voted on generally by your Lordships as bearing directly on the question whether we shall retain Candahar or not. My Lords, I say that Her Majesty's late Government have left us no policy to repudiate or continue; and, therefore, we shall do that which we think best, not in blind confidence as to our position being absolutely secure, though we do feel perfect confidence we could resist a foreign foe—but we shall do that which bears least heavily on the taxpayer of India, while, at the same time, it gives us an absolutely strong and powerful military Frontier.

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Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)
Churchill, L.
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Coleridge, L.
Congleton, L.
Crewe, L.
Dormer, L.
Ebury, L.
Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Emly, L.
Ettrick, L. (*L. Napier.*)
Foley, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Lawrence, L.
Leigh, L.
Lismore, L. (*V. Lismore.*)
Lyttelton, L.
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Methuen, L.
Moncreiff, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Mount Temple, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Ribblesdale, L.
Romilly, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Seaton, L.
Sefton, L. (*E. Sefton.*)
Skene, L. (*E. Fife.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Sundridge, L. (*D. Argyll.*)
Thurlow, L.
Wenlock, L.
Wolverton, L.
Wrottesley, L.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

COURT OF SESSION (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to reduce the number of the Judges, and to improve the judicial arrangements of the Court of Session—Was *presented* by The LORD CHANCELLOR; read 1ª. (No. 42.)

House adjourned at half past Twelve o'clock, to Monday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 4th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Thames River, *deferred.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98]—*Third Night.*

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Presumption of Life (Scotland) [86]; Coroners (Ireland) [73].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

THAMES RIVER BILL. (*By Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER moved that the second reading of the Bill be deferred until Tuesday, March 15.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time upon Tuesday the 15th of March."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL begged to move, as an Amendment to the Motion that the second reading of the Bill be postponed, that the Order for the Second Reading be read and discharged. The Bill was of enormous importance, and one of very great interest to the City of London and all up and down the River Thames. Taking in view the period of the Session at which they had now arrived, and the improbability of the Bill being able to be brought on at a time when it should be discussed at that length and with that care which its importance demanded, before it was passed into law, taking in view the extraordinary circumstances under which the Bill dealt with public questions, and even, as he understood set aside the Statute Law; viewing the nature of the Bill and its extraordinary character, and also the very curious manœuvre which was being adopted in reference to the measure by putting it down on the Paper conditionally from day to day so that it was impossible to know when the authors of the Bill proposed to proceed with it—under all these circumstances, he felt justified in moving that the Order for the Second Reading be read and discharged in order that the Bill might be withdrawn and replaced by a Public Bill introduced on the responsibility of the Ministers, who would put their names on the back of it.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the noble Lord persists in moving that Amendment it will be my duty to put it from the Chair; but, at the same time, I think it right to point out to the noble Lord that the course he proposes to take without Notice is one which is very unusual.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "That the," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be read and discharged,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*,) — instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir CHARLES FORSTER might say that he knew nothing whatever about the Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER, interposing, said, the original Question was that the Bill be postponed until the 15th of March, since which an Amendment had been moved to leave out all the words after the words "That the" for the purpose of adding these words—"Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be read and discharged."

Sir CHARLES FORSTER said, the Bill was one which involved very important principles, and he would suggest to the noble Lord that the course which he proposed was a very unusual one to take without Notice. He hoped the noble Lord would withdraw the Amendment, in order that those who were interested in the matter might have an opportunity of being present when the Bill came on regularly for discussion.

Sir HENRY TYLER expressed a hope that the noble Lord would not persevere with his Amendment. It was quite clear that it was a very unusual one to make. The Bill was one which largely and very closely affected the interests of his (Sir Henry Tyler's) constituents. He would not trouble the House, at the present stage, with any arguments in favour of the Bill; but he would simply state that an association at Harwich had an interest in something like 800 vessels in which a very large sum of money, amounting to more than £100,000, was invested. These vessels plied upon the Thames, and they were subjected to great losses and inconveniences incidental to the system of compulsory pilotage. For that and for other reasons he should feel it his duty, at the proper time, to support the Bill. He believed there were many other hon. Members who were prepared to support it when it came in a proper way before the House, and he hoped the Amendment would either be withdrawn or negatived.

Mr. LITTON said, he did not propose to speak upon the merits of the Bill; but he thought the course adopted by the noble Lord was one that was wholly unworthy of him. It was a most unusual course to move an Amendment such as that which the noble Lord had proposed without Notice. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who had charge of the Bill, and who had already expressed his desire to consult the convenience of the House in regard to the second reading of the Bill, was not aware of the course which the noble Lord contemplated taking, or no doubt he would have been in his place. He felt bound to say that it did look something like sharp practice for the noble Lord to adopt the course he had now taken. It was quite plain, from the state of the House, that hon. Members generally had not expected that any serious discussion would arise. It was generally understood that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would move to defer the consideration of it until after the urgency which had been declared by the House in regard to other measures had been disposed of; and the course now proposed by the noble Lord, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, was certainly one which the House ought not to approve of, and which he thought, on reflection, the noble Lord would see ought not to be adopted. He trusted that the noble Lord would withdraw the Amendment. [Lord Randolph Churchill: No, no; certainly not.] The noble Lord was, he felt certain, open to argument; and a sense of fair play would certainly lead him to re-consider the matter, and withdraw the Amendment.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF thought the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Litton) had taken a good deal upon himself when he undertook to lecture hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House who had sat in Parliament for a much longer period than he had. The hon. and learned Member talked of sharp practice and of unusual events. Now, the Session had been full of unusual events, and perhaps none more unusual than that the President of the Board of Trade and the Secretary to the Board of Trade should have brought in this measure as a Private Bill, attempting, by doing so, to take an unfair advantage. The measure was one which, unquestionably, ought to have been brought in as a Public Bill on the authority of the Ministers of the Crown. He hoped that his noble Friend would persevere with his Amendment, and that he would succeed in throwing out the measure.

MR. WALTER said, he had come down to the House early in the hope of hearing a discussion on the Bill, in regard to which the people of the Thames Valley were very much interested. But he had not been prepared to hear such an Amendment as that which had been moved by his noble Friend opposite. He entertained grave doubts as to the propriety of bringing in a Bill of this kind in this way, and he also doubted the wisdom of some of the clauses contained in the measure; but as yet he had not heard the question discussed, and until he had an opportunity of hearing it discussed, it was impossible that he could assent to the Amendment of his noble Friend, which would have the effect of getting rid of the measure by a sudden and unexpected blow. If he were to entertain all the objection it was possible to urge against the Bill, he could never consent to a Motion for disposing of it in this way. He hoped his noble Friend would not press the Amendment.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW hoped that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) would withdraw the Amendment. Although he (Sir Sydney Waterlow) had a Motion on the Paper in opposition to the Bill, he had not placed it there for the purpose of preventing a discussion upon the merits of the measure. The Bill raised very important questions affecting compulsory pilotage on the River Thames. There had already been two Bills before the House which proposed to abolish compulsory pilotage—one in 1870 and one in 1871. The question was one of great importance; but he hoped to see it discussed upon the present Bill. No doubt, the Bill itself was a Private Bill, and dealt with important interests which ought to be dealt with by a public measure; but he did not see that any advantage would arise from adopting the course proposed by the noble Lord, and thus shutting out all discussion upon the merits of the Bill. He himself believed that the system of compulsory pilotage ought to be materially modified, if not abolished; but it ought to be done by a measure introduced, as a Public Bill, upon the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government. Nevertheless, although he opposed the present Bill, he could not support the Amendment of the noble Lord for discharging the Order for the second reading.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY hoped that his noble Friend would not press the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who had charge of the Bill, had postponed the second reading until that day with the view of naming a day when it could be taken. The right hon. Gentleman was absent now. The Secretary to the Board of Trade was also absent; and he thought his noble Friend, under these circumstances, ought not to press the Amendment.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT thought that a very unusual course had been taken in bringing in the Bill as a Private Bill. He was not going now to enter into the merits of the Bill; but he hardly thought he would be acting rightly by those whom he represented on the Upper Thames if he did not avail himself of the opportunity of saying how extremely they disliked the bringing in a Bill of this sort as a Private Bill. There was another objection to the bringing in of it as a Private Bill —namely, that it entirely precluded those who were best informed upon the matter from forming part of the Committee on the Bill. All persons who lived in the Upper Thames Valley were interested in the measure. The Bill itself was of a most important and interesting description. It went far beyond the powers that were given in the Public Health Act of 1875; and, whatever course might be taken—whether the noble Lord pressed his Amendment to a division or not—he felt that he should not be acting rightly, if, on the part of his constituents, he did not say how much they disliked the Bill.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR: Unfortunately, I was not present in the House when the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) made this Amendment; but I trust the noble Lord will not press it to a division, because I think that I shall be able to show the House that, whereas the House has frequently considered Bills of this character as Public Bills, they have, nevertheless, more frequently considered them as Private Bills. I hold in my hand a list of various Acts which have been passed with regard to the Thames navigation; and of these, I find that two of them have been introduced as Public Bills, whereas four of them have been introduced as Private Bills. I do not say one word in regard to the merits of the present measure, because that is not my duty; but I merely say that there is certainly rather more precedent for introducing Bills of this character as Private Bills than as Public Bills. I trust, at all events, that the Motion of the noble Lord will not be pressed. The President of the Board of Trade is not present in his place to explain why he has made this Bill a Private Bill; and, under these circumstances, I hope the noble Lord will not persist with his Amendment.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, the argument that the President of the Board of Trade was not in his place was scarcely one which the House ought to consider. He was inclined to think that the right hon. Gentleman ought to have been in his place, knowing that a matter of this importance might possibly come before the House. As to the nature of the Bill, he (Baron De Worms) ventured to think that a more remarkable measure had scarcely ever been introduced into the House. It had been fostered by an unnatural alliance between the Thames Conservancy and Her Majesty's Government, and neither of them chose to accept the paternity. It appeared to him that the Bill, in certain respects, partook of the nature of a public measure. It had all the strength of a public measure; but, at the same time, it possessed all the disadvantages of a private measure, and he was bound to say, on behalf of the constituency he represented, that every species of opposition he could offer to the Bill he should offer.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he did not rise for the purpose of entering into the merits of the Bill. He had intended, when the Bill came on, to move a Resolution on the subject; but he simply rose now to protest against the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means, who, while professing to abstain from entering into the merits of the Bill, had said that there were more precedents one way than the other, an observation which was certainly directed towards the merits of the measure. Under these circumstances, he (Mr. Ritchie) thought he had a right to say, in order to prevent an improper impression from getting abroad, that he was prepared to meet the right hon. Gentleman on every one of his precedents, and to show that there was not one of them which bore upon the point. He flattered himself that when the right hon. Gentleman brought them forward he should be able to dispose of them in an entirely satisfactory manner. For his own part, he must say that he did not wish to see the Bill disposed of in the summary manner proposed by the noble Lord, because he looked forward with pleasure to the time when he should be able to show that the Government were altogether in the wrong in the course they had adopted. Therefore, as far as he was personally concerned, he had no desire to see the Bill thrown out at the present moment, being most desirous, he would repeat, of showing how completely wrong the Government were in every step they had taken in reference to the Bill. He would only say this in justification of the Amendment of his noble Friend—that the Bill had been postponed so frequently, and on one occasion after a particular day had been absolutely fixed for the consideration of the second reading, that hon. Members had been put to much inconvenience in regard to it. Many of them had been brought up from the country, from time to time, to oppose the Bill; and now, again, that evening, although the measure was on the Orders of the Day for a second reading, by an arrangement it was going to be again postponed. Therefore, although no doubt the Amendment of his noble Friend was not one that was usually made, yet it must be acknowledged that his noble Friend had ample justification for proposing it.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY really must say that he was astonished at the line of argument taken by his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie), and at the course he had taken. It was arranged the other day that the Bill should not be taken until a formal Notice was given, and if it had been intended to bring it on for discussion he (Mr. Ashley) would have been in his place. But after such an understanding had been arrived at, and after four days' Notice had been given that it would be on the Paper that day, simply to be deferred until another day—for his hon. Friend to take advantage of the temporary absence of those who were in charge of it——

Mr. RITCHIE: I rise to Order.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Under such circumstances, to move that the Order for the Second Reading should be discharged was, he thought, to take an unfair advantage.

Mr. RITCHIE wished to say a few words by way of explanation. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade had been in his place, he would not have made the observations he had just made in reference to him (Mr. Ritchie). He had neither moved that the Order for the Second Reading be discharged, nor had he said one word in regard to it. What he had said was simply an answer to the remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means, and he had not the slightest intention of taking any part in the debate on the subject, nor was it at all upon any proposal of his that the question was now before the House.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE was strongly opposed to the Bill, and should use his utmost exertions in order to prevent it from being read a second time; but, at the same time, he could not join in the present Amendment of the noble Lord, because it was clearly understood that when the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade postponed the Bill until to-day, it was not intended that it should come on for discussion to-day. He entirely agreed with all that had been said in regard to bringing in the Bill as a Private Bill. It was undoubtedly a Public Bill, considering the large interests at stake, and he was quite prepared to discuss it on that basis, and to oppose in the strongest manner, any proposal to retain it as a Private Bill. At the same time, he hoped the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock would withdraw the Amendment he had made.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK did not think that his right hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means was open to the accusation which had been brought against him by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie). The right hon. Gentleman said he was not prepared to discuss the measure upon its merits; and, in point of fact, he only mentioned the question whether it was to be discussed as a Public or a Private Bill, which was an entirely different matter from discussing the measure on its merits.

Mr. HERMON would be glad if the Secretary to the Board of Trade would inform the House whether the reason for deferring the Bill was that further negotiations were taking place outside the House in reference to the measure. He understood that the Board of Trade had made certain overtures to hon. Members in order to induce them to withdraw their opposition to the Bill. There ought to be a clear understanding as to the reason why the Government desired to postpone the second reading of the Bill, which had already been fixed twice for a particular day, but was now proposed to be postponed again. The House was entitled to ask the reasons for the postponement.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the only reason why it had been put off on previous occasions was that it would have been necessary to take it early in the day, and that there were measures on the Paper in regard to which "urgency" had been declared. No negotiations were going on in regard to the Bill.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA remarked, that what he felt puzzled about was this—that two hon. Members—the Member for Gravesend (Sir Sydney Waterlow) and the Member for London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence)—who were strongly opposed to the Bill, and one of whom had put down a Motion that it should be read a second time on that day six months, should now object to the Amendment moved by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), which, if carried, would have the effect they appeared to desire. He (Sir Joseph

M'Kenna) did not intend to vote for the Amendment of the noble Lord; but he did wish, while he had the opportunity, to call attention to the fact that the Motions which had been placed on the Paper for the rejection of the Bill were not intended *bonâ fide* to throw out the measure, but were simply in opposition to the proposal to proceed with the Bill as a Private Bill. Under these circumstances it would be taking an extreme course to vote for the discharge of the Order for the Second Reading; but he certainly did sympathize with those who, in defence of the public principles that were involved in the measure, argued that it ought to be dealt with as a Public Bill, and that it should be discussed at a time when its merits could be fully considered on the second reading. In the case of a Private Bill, that was not possible. No doubt, this was a season for making New Rules; but if hon. Gentlemen really desired not to defeat the Bill before the House, he did not see why they should have put down Motions for the rejection of the measure and then decline to support the Amendment of the noble Lord, which was intended to effect the same object.

Mr. FINIGAN said, he took a very deep interest in the Bill, and he intended to read and consider it most carefully, because he considered that whoever had framed it had framed it in the interests of the public welfare. But, at the same time, he must say that the conduct of Her Majesty's Government was of that peculiar type which they had been practising lately to the detriment of the best interests of that House, and he quite agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock that the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill ought now to be read and discharged. The Government appeared to be in the habit of bringing in a Bill to-day and postponing it to-morrow, and thought they could play fast-and-loose with the House. He protested against such a policy, or rather, he protested against such an impolicy; and he would suggest that as there was nothing before the House to-night except a mere matter of Supply—as he expected the Irish debate would be finished tolerably early—the Government might proceed with this Bill forthwith and have it fully discussed. It ought to be discussed at once; and he did not hold with the plan adopted by Her Majesty's Government for dealing with either public or private measures. Private Bills, were, in his opinion, introduced in a very unjust manner; and, therefore, he should support the Amendment of the noble Lord, and he hoped the House would, without further delay, go to a division.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that, perhaps, the House would allow him to state that, under the circumstances, he would not press the Amendment to a division. He thought, however, that the discussion which had taken place would be a useful lesson to the promoters of the Bill to exercise a little more care in future as to the mode in which they attempted to force such measures upon the House.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *Tuesday* 15th March.

NOTICE OF QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — THE MILITARY COMMAND.

Captain O'SHEA gave Notice that, on Monday, he would ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has read the telegram in the "Standard" of the 4th instant, from the Correspondent of that newspaper in South Africa, whose great authority on the events and feeling in that country is universally acknowledged, which telegram contains the following passage:—

> "The arrival of General Wood has inspired the troops with great confidence. The Boers also avowedly fear his enterprise. They constantly inquire as to his whereabouts, and the reputation which he gained during the Zulu War, in which he had a corps of Boers fighting under him, evidently has a great effect on their minds;"

and, whether under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government still intend to supersede Sir Evelyn Wood by any officer unlikely to inspire the troops with such confidence, the colonists with such respect, or the enemy with such fear?

Mr. CHILDERS: I can answer that Question at once, Sir. I have read the telegram in *The Standard,* and Her Majesty's Government do not propose to alter the arrangements which they have made respecting the command in the Transvaal.

Mr. COURTAULD: On Monday next I will ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether it has not been the constant custom to confer superior local rank on officers connected with commands in the Field; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government do not think this course might be adopted to the public advantage in the case of an officer of such proved ability as Sir Evelyn Wood?

Mr. CHILDERS: I may at once state, Sir, that Her Majesty's Government have this day conferred upon Sir Evelyn Wood the rank referred to by the hon. Member.

Mr. E. JOHNSON said, he would also give Notice that, on Monday, he would ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering his high qualifications, the authorities will take steps to leave Sir Evelyn Wood an independent command, and in that way to utilize his untrammelled services in a country where he has already proved his high qualifications as a soldier and a negotiator?

Mr. CHILDERS: I must appeal to the House. I have answered this Question twice or thrice already, and must decline, Sir, to answer further Questions of this description. I do not believe the House of Commons really desires to interfere with those who are responsible for matters of this kind after they have clearly stated what they intend to do.

Subsequently,

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that, in order to prevent any misunderstanding and to provide against any inconvenient precedent being set up, he should like to ask, Whether the right hon. Gentleman, by the answer he had given, intended the House to understand that hon. Members were to be excluded from putting Questions and legitimately expecting an answer, or from raising a debate on an appointment which might be made by a Minister of the Crown?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir, I did not mean to say that such Questions should not be put. What I meant to say was, that after I had given the clearest answers I could to three or four Questions on a subject which is expressly within the responsibility of the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief—I mean the selection of an officer under the Commander-in-Chief in Natal—I conceived it was not the wish of the House that these Questions should be continually repeated, although it is quite in the power of any hon. Member to challenge the conduct of the Government in the matter. From the manner in which my answers were received on previous occasions, I conceived that to be the general opinion of the House.

QUESTIONS.

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SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS) — SPEECH OF MR. EVELYN ASHLEY.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether he is correctly reported, in the "Daily News" of to-day, to have stated at a public meeting at Cowes—

> "That, to protect her prestige, before England attempted to enter into negotiations with the Boers, they must be compelled to lay down their arms, as a warning to their neighbours that England could not be treated as a weak and impotent Power;"

and, whether, if he so spoke, he spoke on behalf of Her Majesty's Government?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, a new terror will be added to political life if a Member on his return from his constituents is to be cross-examined as to a telegraphic abstract of one sentence of his speech by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle. I beg to reply that in the words he has put on the Paper I recognize an approximation, but no more than an approximation, to what I said; and I can re-assure him by stating that the words were the words of the Member for the Isle of Wight alone, with no more knowledge of the inner councils of the Government than is possessed by the hon. Baronet himself. As he has drawn such public notice to what I said, perhaps the House will, in justice, allow me one word in explanation. Torn from the context the passage might appear as if I had gone out of my way to preach a crusade or raise a feeling against the Transvaal Boers. That is not so. The words were spoken in reply to a previous speaker, who had urged that we might at once, and unconditionally, retire from the

Transvaal, because the nations of Europe were too well acquainted with our courage and resources to misunderstand our motives. I felt bound, in consequence, to point out to the meeting that it was not so much a question of what the nations of Europe might know or think, but, unless we were going to retire altogether from South Africa, the question was what the effect might be on the peoples and tribes out there.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — TREATMENT OF NATURAL-BORN SUBJECTS OF HER MAJESTY AND OF NEUTRAL STATES.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether natural born subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, or of neutral powers, serving in arms against Her Majesty in the forces of the Transvaal Boers will be treated as belligerents like the Boers, and what instructions regarding the disposal of such persons when taken prisoners have been issued to the General and other officers in command in South Africa?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that certain instructions, as was known to the House, had been sent out directing the mode in which the Boers of the Transvaal were to be treated during the present hostilities. The Secretary of State for War had already stated that he had sent out instructions contained in the following telegram:—

> "That, though the occasion had not arisen for determining any question of belligerent rights, the Boers were to be treated according to the recognized rules of civilized warfare, including the exchange of prisoners."

Those instructions were applicable to the Boers of the Transvaal exclusively. Their case was peculiar, and therefore justly excited a desire for information as to the course Her Majesty's Government had taken, or might take, in regard to them. As regarded other subjects of Her Majesty, or the subjects of neutral Powers, he did not see any reason why their case should not fall under the general rules which were applicable to other cases of hostility. At any rate, Her Majesty's Government, placing confidence in the discretion of the Commander, did not at present see the necessity of making any new rules on the subject.

Mr. Evelyn Ashley

MR. DILLON asked, Whether the House was to understand, from the right hon. Gentleman's answer, that Dutchmen from Holland, or from States bordering on the Transvaal, were, if captured, to be treated as rebels and hanged, rather than dealt with as belligerents?

MR. GLADSTONE: The same Question might be asked with regard to hostilities in any country whatever, and it would have to be dealt with according to its merits. It is not a case in which, I think, it would be wise for us to issue instructions, and I apprehend that it would be much more likely to do harm than good.

STATE OF IRELAND—OUTRAGE AT CLONAKILTY, COUNTY CORK.

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether an outrage took place on Sunday 13th February, on the farm of Mr. Donovan, at Clonakilty, county Cork; and, if it is true that one of the labourers recently imported into the neighbourhood by a landlord is in jail charged with having committed the outrage?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): Yes, Sir; an outrage took place at the time and place mentioned in the Question; but it is not true that a labourer recently imported into the neighbourhood by a landlord is in gaol charged with having committed it. A labourer not imported, but born and habitually working in the neighbourhood, was arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in the outrage; but informations were refused against him, and he was discharged on the 17th of last month.

LAW AND JUSTICE—COST OF LITIGATION.

MR. BLENNERHASSETT asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that during the trial of the case Fell and wife *v.* Apps, at Westminster on Monday last, Lord Coleridge, commenting on the fact that the costs of an administration suit referred to in the course of the proceedings amounted to a very large sum, instanced a case in his own experience where an estate of £1,300 was administered by the Court of Chancery and only £156 remained to be distributed, and added "I can only say that a system that permits such a state of affairs is scandalous, yet so it is;" and, whether he will recommend this expression of opinion by the Lord Chief Justice to the attention of the Government?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I have no doubt whatever that the statement made by Lord Coleridge was correct, as the matter was within his own cognizance. It does not appear to me, however, that there is any necessity for formally recommending it to the notice of the Government. The Lord Chancellor, upon whom the responsibility of the matter rests, is most strenuously endeavouring to lessen the cost of litigation, and is taking practical measures to that effect.

TREATY OF WASHINGTON, 1854—AMERICAN FISHERIES—THE FORTUNE BAY DISPUTE.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any progress has been made towards the settlement of the Fortune Bay Fishery dispute; and, whether he can, consistently with the public interest, inform the House what is the present position of the case?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: In asking my hon. Friend to postpone his Question from last Tuesday to this day, I hoped, Sir, to be able to make known the position of the negotiations which were then proceeding; but, as these have not yet come to a conclusion, I can only promise that no delay shall take place in communicating their result to the House.

ARMY—ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to give to the senior officers of the Army Pay Department any compensation in consequence of their being superseded by their juniors through the operation of paragraph 8 of the Royal Warrant of December 25th, 1880?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I will look into this matter; but, as at present advised, I do not consider that the senior officers of the Army Pay Department referred to in the hon. and gallant Member's Question have any claim whatever to compensation.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE BASUTOS (NEGOTIATIONS).

LORD ELCHO asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, as the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies recently stated that Her Majesty's Government disapproved of the terms offered by the Governor and his Ministers at the Cape to the Basutos, which terms were then under negotiation, he will inform the House as to the definitive conditions which Her Majesty's Government propose that the Cape Government should offer to the rebels; and, whether any telegraphic Despatch upon this subject has been received from the Governor of the Cape since the 25th ult.; and, if so, whether he will communicate to the House the substance of such Despatch, and of any reply that may have been sent to it?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the full details necessary to give an intelligent, or, at least, a clear answer had only that moment reached him; but he hoped that, substantially, he could give the required answer. Her Majesty's Government had no intention of informing the House, or of suggesting to the Government at the Cape the definitive conditions which they would propose should be offered to the Basuto rebels. The ground taken in reference to the Basutos and the Cape Government by Her Majesty's Government had been stated generally in the Queen's Speech; it was well known to both parties, and they had no intention of deviating therefrom. Then, his noble Friend very naturally inquired why it was Her Majesty's Government expressed no opinion on the terms offered. For that there was the greatest possible reason, which he would explain as well as he could. Her Majesty's Government had been made parties in the step immediately preceding—namely, the arrangement of the armistice. On the 2nd of February, Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed the reply which, with the concurrence of the Ministers, he proposed to send to the Basuto deputation, praying him to intercede for them. On the 3rd, Lord Kimberley telegraphed his approval of that reply, with certain modifications, to bring it into accord with the position Her Majesty's Government had taken up. The modifications were accepted by the Cape Government, and an armistice was agreed to, commencing on the 18th and ending on the 24th February. Therefore, to that proceeding Her Majesty's Government were complete parties. On the 23rd of February the Cape Government signified to Sir Hercules Robinson that they intended to offer, and Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed that they had offered, to the rebels certain conditions of peace that were to be accepted or declined within 24 hours, and that unless accepted hostilities would immediately be resumed. Under these circumstances, Lord Kimberley felt that, having been a party to the step immediately preceding, it was absolutely incumbent on him to make known that he was not a party to the step taken by the Cape Ministry on their own responsibility, and without reference to the Home Government. It was quite obvious that, reserving the right to appeal to the Government at home for advice, it must be well understood how far Her Majesty's Government had been parties, and in what they had not. That was the reason that caused his noble Friend (Lord Kimberley) to have the answer given by the Under Secretary of State on Monday last. The eight conditions of peace had been sent to the Basutos on the 23rd of February, and they were made known to Sir Hercules Robinson and the Colonial Secretary; but not until the 28th were they declared to the House. With regard to the effect of the declaration then made, he understood a remonstrance had been sent by the Cape Government; but, until that arrived, it was not in his power to give further information. All he at present knew was that there was reason to believe that the armistice was prolonged; and if that was so, he could not but regard it as a happy circumstance, and possibly it was in consequence of the declaration of the Government.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE ROYAL MARINES.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, in addition to the Naval Brigade now employed in Natal and the Transvaal, it is intended to make use of the services of any portion of the corps of Royal Marines?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is no present prospect of the naval detachment now serving on shore in Africa being increased. The First Lord of the Admiralty has a high appreciation of the Royal Marines, and would always give them an opportunity of serving where their services were called for. But Sir George Colley and Sir Evelyn Wood asked for guns and rocket parties, and seamen only were accordingly sent.

ARMY—THE ARMY RESERVE—VOLUNTEERS.

Captain O'SHEA asked the Secretary of State for War, the number of men in sections B and C of the 1st Class Army Reserve who have volunteered to return to the colours on the terms of the Army Circular of the 12th of February 1881, and the proportion per cent. of those who have volunteered, to the strength of those sections on the 1st of February 1881?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, men from the Army Reserve are volunteering from day to day, and it would be quite useless at this moment, even if we had the particulars, to give the proportions from sections B and C to the aggregate strength of those sections. If my hon. and gallant Friend will speak to me on some day late in April, when volunteering has closed and all the Returns have come in, I may be able to give him the information he requires.

BOUNTIES ON FOREIGN SHIPPING—THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY.

Viscount SANDON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is now in a position to lay upon the Table of the House, a report from Sir Edward Thornton with respect to any measures which have been recently proposed in the Congress of the United States, with the view of providing bounties for American merchant shipping; whether he will obtain a report for the information of Parliament from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, as to any similar proposals with respect to Italian shipping which have recently been made to the Legislature of Italy; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, any communications upon this subject which have been addressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rome and Washington?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Report from Sir Edward Thornton has been to-day laid upon the Table, and Sir Augustus Paget has been requested to forward a similar Report on any proposals that may have been submitted to the Italian Legislature. There have been no other communications between Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Representatives at the place in question.

CENTRAL ASIA—MERV.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the report that the Russians had advanced to Merv?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, we have not received any information on that subject.

AFGHANISTAN—RETENTION OF CANDAHAR.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet made, or have any immediate prospect of making, any arrangements for the permanent and peaceful settlement and government of Southern Afghanistan, which will justify the withdrawal of the British forces from Candahar during the present season?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, I have to point out to the hon. Member that a permanent and peaceful settlement and government of Southern Afghanistan is not an indispensable preliminary to the withdrawal of the British forces from Candahar. It is quite possible that the unhappy state of things resulting from the late war may postpone a permanent and peaceful settlement in Afghanistan for an almost indefinite period. In reply to the Question itself, I have to state that arrangements are in progress which Her Majesty's Government, fully recognizing the importance of leaving, if possible, a settled government in Southern Afghanistan, hope will conduce to that end. I do not think that it would be at present to the advantage of the Public Service to enter into details on the subject.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked whether orders had already been given for the evacuation of Candahar?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Certainly no such orders have been given from home, and I do not understand that any positive orders have as yet been given by the Government of India.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL —DEPOSIT OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been directed to the South African Act for the better preservation of Peace (assented to 2nd August 1878), under the 14th section of which all arms and ammunition deposited within a given time shall be duly valued, and the amount fixed by the valuation paid to the owners so depositing; and, whether, with a view to encouraging the speedy and peaceful deposit of arms and ammunition under the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill now before Parliament, he will consider the expediency of introducing a Clause embodying, with due safeguards, the principle of payment contained in the South African Act?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not think, Sir, that such an arrangement as the right hon. and learned Gentleman suggests could be conveniently introduced into the Bill, for there would be very great danger of people buying arms cheap in order to give them up to the Government dear. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not think that is at all an improbable arrangement in any country. But I think it is a very proper thing to consider what should be done with reference to the deposit of these arms and the manner of allowing persons to get rid of them on reasonable terms; but I think it will be better to leave that to the Lord Lieutenant to arrange by his Proclamation.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I beg to give Notice that on Monday next, at half-past 4 o'clock, I shall move that the state of Public Business is no longer urgent.

Mr. PARNELL: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, What will be the course of Public Business on Monday?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill would be proceeded with on Monday.

Mr. CALLAN said, it would be a great satisfaction to the country if the right hon. Gentleman could hint to the Irish Members when it was probable that the Land Bill would be brought in.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in an answer to a similar Question a short time ago, I, no doubt, hinted to the effect that I would make a statement with regard to the general course of Public Business, and accompanied that with a hope that we might be able before long to discuss the Land Bill. I have been cherishing that hope for many weeks, almost from day to day; but it has been intercepted and postponed in consequence of proceedings for which I really think we are not responsible. Hon. Members may depend upon it that the Government are most anxious, and are sensible of the great public advantage which will attend the making known of its intentions with regard to the Irish Land Question. We will lose no time in bringing the measure before the House; but, in the present state of affairs, it would be idle for me to hold out any hope as to the time when we shall be able to do so, unless we can see our way to measures which are immediately and absolutely necessary.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [2nd March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. Parnell

Mr. PARNELL: Sir, I take this opportunity of expressing my belief that the course which Her Majesty's Government has adopted in introducing and pressing to a conclusion coercive legislation for Ireland is one which will have lasting and permanent effects of a kind very different from that which they anticipate. I cannot imagine anything that the most ardent Nationalist could do to make the breach wider between England and Ireland, and to conduce eventually to the disruption of the Union between the two countries, worse than the course the Government has undertaken in forcing coercive legislation upon our country. And it is not alone the fact that you have introduced and persevered in this legislation, but it is the tone which has been adopted by every prominent Minister upon the Treasury Bench. The tone and the manner and the proceedings which we have witnessed in this House from day to day and from night to night make it very evident that you have done more to create and preserve a chasm between England and Ireland than the exertion of all the American Fenians from New York to San Francisco. I think it is an unlucky thing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland should have had the carrying out of these measures of coercion. That right hon. Member is slow to move, and when he went to Ireland he went as a Radical; and, as Member for a prominent Radical constituency, it was supposed that he would have carried some of his Radical traditions with him; but there were not wanting among the permanent officials in the Chief Secretary's office at Dublin Castle men who openly boasted that, great Radical as he was, three months would not elapse before he became the veriest Tory of the whole lot. But whatever may be his faults—and I will not lay undue stress upon them—certainly the change we have seen in the hands into which the carrying out of this coercive legislation has now fallen has not been a very happy one. As little wanting in the way of conciliation as is the right hon. Gentleman, certainly the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department has not been an improvement upon him. We have seen, on three previous occasions, that the right hon. Gentleman is not very tolerant of Irish

Members; but he has certainly reserved for the carrying out of this Bill an exhibition of temper that the most resolute of its opponents never expected to have seen from him. With all the skill of a practised orator he has seized upon words which were spoken by my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), and he has not been ashamed to twist those words, and to hold up my hon. Friend in this House as an assassin, and a person who wishes to incite to assassination. If you ever again have to carry a Coercion Bill for Ireland, I would at least recommend you to do it with some other instruments and some other Minister than the right hon. Gentleman. I would recommend you to apply to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), who throughout these proceedings has certainly not shown the same virulent animosity against Ireland that has distinguished one or two of the other Ministers. We heard a character given to Mr. John Devoy by the right hon. Gentleman. We were informed that that gentleman had sent a threatening cablegram to the right hon. Gentleman, threatening to stamp upon him. I was surprised when I heard of this intelligence, and I at once cabled from Paris to Mr. Devoy to know whether there was any truth in the statement, and I received back a message next day to say there was no truth in the information that he had sent any cablegram threatening the right hon. Gentleman, but had simply used the same words which the right hon. Gentleman had used in this House against the Fenian Society; and if the right hon. Gentleman is entitled to say in this House that he will stamp upon the Fenian Society like a nest of vipers, surely the Fenian Brotherhood are entitled to say in return that they will, if they can, stamp, not on the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, but upon his Government. But the right hon. Gentleman was not satisfied with perverting and misrepresenting the meaning of the cablegram which he received from Mr. Devoy, but he tried to fix an additional stigma on the character of that gentleman. He spoke of him as a convict. But this is not the first time for Irishmen who have sacrificed their all for what they believed to be the good of their country, and have cheerfully faced the horrible punishment of penal servitude for their opinions, to be stigmatized in this House as convicts. But look at the contrast between the right hon. Gentleman and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. That right hon. Gentleman, in speaking of another convict, once a Member of this House, the late Mr. John Martin, my Predecessor in the Representation of Meath, did not speak of him as a convict, although Mr. John Martin had been committed and sentenced to transportation for the same crime of treason-felony as Mr. Devoy. That Gentleman, coming up to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, asked to shake hands with him, saying that although he (Mr. John Martin) knew he was the enemy of his country, the right hon. Gentleman had never said an insulting thing about Ireland. You cannot say that of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. You cannot change the nature of the man; but if he would have imitated the high character of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he might perhaps have facilitated matters, instead of having avowedly gone out of his way to insult and traduce absent men, and thus might have prevented the widening of the chasm between England and Ireland, which must inevitably result from every occasion such as this. But not satisfied with misrepresenting Mr. John Devoy, he very ingeniously connects together two passages in a speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary, in which my hon. Friend advises the people going to meetings to march thither, and a subsequent passage in which he advises every man who has a rifle to keep it in his house, and then suggests from it that my hon. Friend advises the Irish people to go out at night firing into people's houses. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT assented.] The right hon. Gentleman nods his head. He did, then, misrepresent my hon. Friend. I know it is very hard for an Irish Member to put himself right in this House; but I do not believe that hon. Gentlemen, even in this House, will believe that my hon. Friend would do such a thing. Now, Sir, I pass from the Secretary of State for the Home Department with this word. He throws doubt upon the courage of the Irish people; but I leave him with the remark that it is not always those who go about flinging charges of cowardice at others who are themselves the bravest. The Land League has been represented as akin to Fenianism. That I deny. I have the greatest respect for many Fenians. I have the greatest respect for men who announce themselves publicly to be Fenians—who believe in the separation of England from Ireland by physical force, and who do not look to Constitutional agitation. And although I do not believe that they are right, I say the Ministry of to-day are doing their best to prove that those men are right; they are doing their best to thrust men like myself, the hon. Member for Tipperary, and many others, outside the lines of the Constitution. We shall not oblige them. But though I have this respect for those men, I have never been able to see that a physical force policy was practicable or possible to adopt, either in Ireland or out of it, as regards the relations between the two countries; therefore, I have always avoided connection with it. There are organizations of the kind in America; but the bulk of our money has not come from them, simply because they have their own organizations to support. They may have sent us money, as individuals; but I deny that there is any connection, either open or secret, between the two organizations. We have been represented as advising the assassination of landlords; but I cannot help thinking that an unhappy passage in my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary's speech has been seized on by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and has been twisted to suit his purpose. I regret exceedingly that my hon. Friend should so have committed himself by those words, as he undoubtedly did. Knowing, as I do, his natural disposition, and how his mind shrinks and revolts from any recourse to physical force, he could not contemplate injuring the smallest creature, much less one of his fellow-creatures, without the greatest repugnance. I can well understand how, in the heat of the moment, he was led into the announcement which he made yesterday, that if he were an evicted tenant he would fire on his evictors, and defend his homestead. But I believe that my hon. Friend meant that he would do it openly. I believe he meant that he would not shoot from behind a hedge, but that he would fire at his evictors face to face, and shoot them if he could, and be shot in return if he could not. Although that is not a possible, a wise, or a judicious policy; although a recourse to such method should not be recommended; and although I myself could not, for a moment, tolerate such language, I should say there was nothing like cowardice in that. There was nothing mean or dishonourable in the announcement my hon. Friend made, nor did he invite anybody else to imitate his example. But if my hon. Friend had been Professor Blackie, if he had used the words which Professor Blackie used a short time ago in addressing a public meeting in Scotland, then, indeed, he would have incurred the imputation which the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to attach to him. Professor Blackie, the other day, during a lecture delivered at the Literary Institute, Edinburgh, said that, at the time the Covenanters were reduced to desperation, Scotland was in the same state that Ireland is in now. There was no protection from the law, just as there is no protection from the law in Ireland; just as there is no protection from the law for the property of the Irish tenants, and nothing for the tenants themselves but starvation and death, which the Prime Minister last year said were threatened against 11,000 of the men, women, and children of Ireland. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] If it was not a sentence of death by starvation, I do not see what else it was to be. Professor Blackie said—"We will declare war, partly open, and partly, it may be, by assassination." Then he referred to the case of shooting landlords in Ireland, and said he did not defend the war of Parnell, or those who shot landlords from behind a hedge; but he did say, in the same spirit as Sharp was pulled out of his carriage and murdered by the Covenanters, "Serve him right!" He firmly and completely sympathized with the murderers. It was the rude refuge of nature, and if the law was not the ministry of the God of Righteousness, but of the devil of lawlessness, he wanted to know why it should be called assassination because it took "a rude course to do what the law could not do." If my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary went over to Ireland and said what Professor Blackie said, he would be laid by the heels by the Chief Secretary for Ireland under the recent Coercion Act, and locked up in prison. But my hon. Friend has not used any language of that kind; but the language he used has been deliberately twisted and perverted by the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the purpose of blinding and misleading hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. We have been told that the state of society in Ireland is desperate, and that the Government must have this Bill to disarm the people. I tell you that you will not prevent a single murder by this Bill. You will scarcely deprive a single one of the *mauvais sujets*, and the village scoundrels, referred to by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in a former debate, of the power of shooting his landlord if he desires. You will not get at one of the Fenian guns, if there are any Fenian guns in Ireland. No; but you will get at the shot-guns of the farmers, who have bought a few of them. I may remark that the Government have not produced any statistics showing the number of such arms; but they were afraid, I suppose, that if they did so, the number was so small, that this House would scout their Bill. You will just take the arms from the farmers, who have bought old fowling-pieces for the purpose of shooting hares and rabbits under the Ground Game Bill. You will take from them the power of carrying out the law, which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) ostentatiously announced would be applied to both England and Scotland and Ireland. It will also enable every policeman, every magistrate in Ireland, to seize anybody, man, woman, or child, in the day-time or the night-time, on the high road or anywhere else, except in their own houses, where they can find them, and it will enable them to search their persons. There is a Liberal programme for you! We have heard that the Government quite believe in the Irish magistrates and the police, and they give them the power to search every man, woman, and child in Ireland if they please. But what are the facts with regard to the state of Ireland? So far from homicides or murders having increased, they are actually below the average. In 1880, the number of homicides and murders is actually below the average of the last 10 years. In 1845, there were 139 homicides and murders; in 1880, there were only 69. The average during the last 10 years, from 1870 to 1879, was 82, or 13 more than the number of homicides and murders for the last year. In 1845, there were 540 assaults; in 1880, only half that number. During last year the average was 287. The assaults with injury to life in 1880 were 245. The average during the last 10 years was 255—far above the number of last year. The offences of firing at the person in 1845 were 138; last year they were only 79. In the case of firing into dwellings—in 1845 there were 134, last year there were only 98, and so on. But there is a point which has been very much lost sight of during the debates on these questions. It is a point I had intended to bring before the House on the second reading of the Bill that has since become law; but, with the permission of the House, I shall venture to allude to it now. It is the proportion of evictions to crimes. The Prime Minister told us that crime dogged the steps of the land meetings, and he thought to create a great case against the Land League on that account. I tell the Prime Minister back, that crime dogs the footsteps of the evictors, and if you want to put a stop to crime, you must put a stop to eviction. You will not succeed by this Bill in protecting landlords who violate every feeling of justice and mercy. You will not prevent outraged tenants from shooting their landlords. The Bill will increase the number of murders and outrages in Ireland, and it will also increase, as unhappily we have already seen too evidently, the number of evictions. In the county of Antrim I find there were 13 evictions only, and only 15 crimes. In the County Cork, 222 evictions and 290 crimes, or rather more than one crime for every eviction. In Wicklow I find there were 33 evictions and 23 crimes. In Leitrim, 83 evictions and 102 crimes. I have got a list of all the Irish counties here, and shall be happy to place them at the disposal of any hon. Member who desires to see it. By these Returns I am able to show that in every case in every county in Ireland the crime is in direct proportion to the number of evictions. For instance, we have in Mayo 106 evictions and 343 crimes. We have in Tipperary 77 evictions and 106 crimes. Wherever the evictions are few, the crimes are few; and if it has been necessary to hold Land League meetings, it is because Land League meetings have been held where evictions have been most numerous. Wherever we heard that the landlords were trampling upon the tenants, there we decided to hold our meetings; and the crimes would have taken place, whether we held our meetings or not. Now, a great deal has been said about Land League Courts, with a view to support the contention that the ordinary law of the land has been over-ridden. Sir, I regret exceedingly—as I regret many incidents in this Land League struggle—I regret exceedingly the institution of these Land League Courts. They were instituted in certain counties—Clare, for instance—which were very little under the control of the Central Executive of the Land League in Dublin; but immediately we heard that their proceedings were objectionable to the Government—and it is very right that they should be objectionable to the Government, as they were to us, because many of their proceedings were farcical in the extreme—but directly our attention was called to the holding of these Courts, we issued directions that they should cease. But upon what ground do you say the ordinary law of the land has been over-ridden? It is only the ordinary law of the land so far as it is used for the maintenance of injustice. But the law of the land as regards ordinary purposes is supported better in Ireland, according to the admission of the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself, than it is in England and Scotland. The number of convictions in the aggregate for general offences is greater than in England or Scotland; and it is only where a tenant is unjustly evicted from his holding, it is only where an agrarian offence is committed in consequence of this unjust eviction, that the public opinion which I once called the unwritten law of the land—a phrase that has been made so much use of—it is only where this occurs that the public opinion of the neighbourhood comes to the rescue — and, undoubtedly, it does defeat the administration of the law. I admit that; and I say it is right that public opinion, legitimately expressed, not by violence, or by agrarian crime, should be entitled to defeat the ordinary law of the land under those circumstances, and that the Government should not be allowed, under cover, to come to the rescue of the landlords, and, by force and intimidation, attempt to put down the public opinion of the country. But would any man in his senses, except a Liberal Government driven to that course by the Party they have ousted from Office—would any man in his senses refuse to listen to such teaching? If there is injustice, it follows that the people will resist injustice. You cannot prevent them; and if you want to have your law obeyed, surely the proper way is to make that law just first. You have put the cart before the horse. You have entered upon a policy of repression and intimidation in order to secure obedience to law which the Prime Minister confessed last year compelled him to acknowledge that it inflicted injustice upon a suffering people. Instead of bringing forward your measures of conciliation, you have brought forward your measures of repression; and you may, perhaps, in the course of a few weeks, be up to your elbows in the blood of innocent persons in your attempt to uphold an infamous and unjust territorial system. Reference has been made to trades' unions, and we have been told that if the Land League was like the trades' unions, there would be no objection to the Land League; but, somehow or other, it appears that whenever political movements are started at first, they are always subject to the same kind of criticism which we have to meet now. They are always told that they are aiders and abettors of assassination. The Prime Minister made a bid to the trades' unions of England when he said they never supported assassination. We never said that they did; and we say also that the Land League never supported assassination. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Illegality.] Well, illegality. We do not say that trades' unions ever did support illegality; and we also say that the Land League never did support illegality. The only illegality that the Land League ever supported is in the advice given to tenants to break their yearly contracts. These contracts are not real contracts. Not one tenant in a hundred knows that he has entered into such a contract. They are a legal fiction, and they have been condemned by the Report of your own Royal Commission, which declared that freedom of contract does not exist in Ireland. But what has been said about trades' unions? Mr. William Overend, Mr. Thomas Irwin

Barstow, and Mr. George Chance, the Assistant Commissioners reporting to the Royal Commission some years ago, said in reference to trades' unions—

> "Rattening has always been done with the knowledge of the union, and very commonly by direction of the secretary. In Sheffield no less than 12 out of 60 trades' unions prompted or encouraged outrage. Ham-stringing animals, firing and injuring dwellings, injuries to machinery, &c., have frequently occurred. The complicity of the union, so far from being denied, has been admitted in public court, and £200 has been paid out of their funds to the perpetrators."

That is not my statement—I do not believe it is true. I do not say it is true. I read it to you as the statement of Commissioners appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the matter. In the Report of the Royal Commissioners—and I have given you the names of the gentlemen who were their assistants—I presume they have made this statement after full and accurate inquiry, and on examination of witnesses on the spot, a thing that you have not done before you ventured upon blackening the character of the Irish National Land League. These are not statements hurriedly made in the course of debate without anything to support them but the ingenuity of right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. They are carefully and deliberately made, and notwithstanding that the Prime Minister tells us, as he is undoubtedly right in telling us, that trades' unions had no recourse to illegality. I am also entitled to say on my side, wait for 10 years, and we shall find the Prime Minister doing the Land League justice, and stating in his place in the House that the Land League never had recourse to illegality. Where would be the Land Question was it not for the Irish National Land League? If the members of it were now to be hunted like vermin out of their own country, where would the Land Question be? I had the honour of sitting in his House during the last Parliament, and I watched from time to time the late hon. and learned Member for the City of Limerick (Mr. Butt) bringing forward his Land Bill with all the skill and genius which so eminently distinguished him. I also watched the majority of the right hon. Gentlemen who now sit on that (the Treasury) Bench, and who are now about to bring forward a Bill of the very same character, go into the Lobbies against it. One right hon. Gentleman only of the whole line shakes his head—it is the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), and he certainly does form the exception—with one or two other very honourable exceptions. I wish to give him the full credit of the prescience and foresight which he exhibited on that occasion, which certainly should have entitled him to a higher post than the Office he holds. Now, Sir, what said Earl Granville about trades' unions, an English statesman who is alive and flourishing, and a Member of this present Liberal Government, who traduces the Land League? Lord Granville said, at the beginning of this Session—

> "Take the case of 'Swing.' Swing destroyed an enormous amount of agricultural property. . . . . The question of the rent of farms was also involved, and it took this country four years to put down 'Swing' completely. Then there is another case, that of the Rebecca riots, which began in 1839, in consequence of an alleged grievance, though perfectly legal—that of levying tolls at turnpike gates—and the disturbances were renewed still more remarkably at the beginning of 1843. What happened then? There was destruction of property and a perfect defiance of the law, and it was impossible to obtain necessary evidence. One toll-keeper was murdered; and the jury were so intimidated that, against all the facts of the case, they returned a verdict of acquittal."—[3 *Hansard*, cclvii. 30.]

That was to say, the jury returned a verdict contrary to common sense; the very thing juries are accused of in Ireland at the present moment. The noble Lord went on to say—

> "This state of things, which extended itself to the questions of workhouses, justices' clerks' fees, tithes, and rent complained of as exorbitant, was put an end to after four years by a complete concession with regard to the original alleged grievance."—[*Ibid.*]

What a prospect for the Government! The noble Lord continued—

> "Take another case—the outrages at Sheffield, which might have been described in stronger language than that used by Sir William Smith and Chief Justice Bush in 1832, or than that which has just been used by three Judges in reference to Ireland. You had then every sort of iniquity. You had explosions; you had compounds thrown into houses with the intention of destroying houses, property, and life, of destroying the property of the workmen as well as the employers."—[*Ibid.*]

We have not got so far as this yet in Ireland. In spite of the dark insinuations of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, at that time, according to the noble Earl—

> "You could not get evidence; you could not trust your jury. The most atrocious cases were acquitted; and in other instances, juries—I suppose they were manufacturers—insisted, contrary to the direction of the Judges, in bringing in verdicts of guilty, and free pardons had to be given. The result was that the perpetrators of these outrages escaped, and the law was altered in favour of trades' unions."—[*Ibid.*]

Here is one Minister in the House of Lords attributing crime and outrage to trades' unionism, while another Minister in the House of Commons—the distinguished Minister at the head of Her Majesty's Government—says trades' unionism has never been guilty of any such acts. O'Connell's agitation, Sir, was condemned in the same way. He was called the instigator to assassination, and all the other beautiful epithets that have been showered on us. It happened, unfortunately, that he was an old man. He was an old man, and so the Government, by imprisonment, soon broke him down. But I am happy to say that the men who are engaged in the present movement are young; and after this 18 months' suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is over, we shall be in as good a position as we were before to resume our work, and to press it to an issue—that is, as we see it at present. Of course, I do not know what your intentions are with respect to the Land Bill. So it has always been, Mr. Speaker, that a political action in every country in its inception is denounced, and accused of horrible crimes by the classes against whom that agitation is directed. That is so everywhere. But it is far more easy in the case of Ireland to create a false impression of a respectable movement than it would be with a respectable movement in your own country. When hon. Gentlemen remember how their own legal trades' unions have been traduced at a time when public opinion could see what was going on; when they reflect how much more easy it is to traduce and vilify an agitation in Ireland; how very much more difficult it is for the public opinion of the Irish people to assert itself; how very much more difficult it is for us to bring the truth home to your minds, in the face of gagging Rules, the imposition of the *clôture*, and the other Continental devices which have been introduced in this House, you will think and pause a little before you take for granted everything that is told you with regard to the Irish National Land League and Irish agitators. But, at least, if you refuse to do so, I do not think that we—I do not think that the Irish people—will, in the long run, be the sufferers. If you think the Irish people will be the sufferers, you make a mistake; because it is important that you should maintain the link between the two countries. It is of importance to you to conciliate the feelings of the Irish people; it is of importance that your Government should not be known to history, and remembered in Ireland, as the Coercion Government; it is of importance that the Irish people should not bear your rule in mind as a rule of petty tyranny and police, a rule of magisterial oppression, as a rule of suspicion, and not of law. It is of importance, from your point of view, that this should be so. It is not from ours. The more you tyrannize—the more you trifle with the Irish people—the stronger will burn the spirit of nationality, the more they will free themselves from the yoke which renders such things possible. We may have our day—our short day—of persecution. I believe the public opinion of the people of England will, at some day or other, do justice to our motives, even if they do not approve of our course.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY thought the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Parnell), on his return from Paris, or from where nobody exactly knew, showed that he was, in some degree, sensible of the ruin which he had brought upon his country. The hon. Member seemed to suppose that language was not to bear its ordinary meaning, but that when it had produced in the minds of those to whom it was addressed its legitimate results, if those results were inconvenient, the language itself was to be explained away in a non-natural sense, an idea insulting the common sense of all those who chose to think for themselves. The hon. Member had for many months past deluded the Irish people by leading them to believe that the English House of Commons had determined to enslave them, and to prevent any amelioration of their condition as regarded the Land Laws. He had now repudiated the notion which, on repeated occasions, he inculcated on thousands of peasants, that they were to seek for relief from the laws which kept them in thraldom by physical force. ["Never, never!"] The hon. Gentleman had commenced at Liverpool by speaking of the 100,000 swords which were to flash in the face of the people of this country; while the hon, Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), who was more candid and less careful, had repeatedly informed the Irish peasants that their duty was to march in military array and to purchase rifles and revolvers, to be used for purposes which he boldly pointed out last night. ["No, no!"] Could hon. Members, he would ask, justify the use of the language in which they taught the uneducated peasantry of Ireland, and reconcile themselves to repudiating in that House the natural meaning of their words? The hon. Member for the City of Cork, only the other day at Clara, told the Irish people that they were to commit one of the most hateful and spiteful acts that could enter into the mind of man, to lay the land which labour and the bounty of God had made fit for pasturage useless for the purpose for which nature and art had made it useful. What was the result of that teaching? When the hon. Member found that it would bring himself and others within the purview of the Criminal Law, he hastened to repudiate it. But the advice had been followed. There were two Questions upon the Paper that very day, but which had not been asked, with reference to peasants having taken the advice of the hon. Member, and ploughed up land to the extent of 40 ploughs. It was useless to expect that that advice, given openly to the peasants of Ireland, could be done away with by a letter in the newspapers, which many of them, probably, never saw. This should be a warning to the hon. Member, to think before he gave such hateful advice to men who, unfortunately, believed in his teaching. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had talked of another and more successful Hartmann for Ireland than there had been in Russia; and one of the lieutenants of the Land League, Mr. Matthew Harris, had said that if the landlords were shot down like partridges or rabbits, he would not be one who would say "No." [MR. PARNELL: He withdrew it afterwards.] Could the hon. Member himself withdraw his advice about ploughing up the land? He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would ask those hon. Members who traduced him, and others who felt that they had a conscience to restrain, to remember that they had maintained in that House, in the face of the revulsion of feeling which had been produced in the minds of hon. Members by the language of those opposite, that there were real grievances of the Irish people which ought to be redressed. He rose to inform the House that the operations of the Land League and the advice given by its Leaders met with almost universal condemnation in Ireland, from North to South, East to West.

An hon. MEMBER: In Galway?

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Yes, in Galway.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Certainly not.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Yes, by every man who wished to advance the cause of law and order, and who advised the tenants to trust to Constitutional agitation to obtain the redress of their grievances. The Irish Bishops had condemned the Land League. Only the other day one of the most respected Bishops in Ireland, the Bishop of Sligo, issued a pastoral in which he told all those connected with the Land League, who had given immoral advice to the people, that they had pursued a course which was fraught with danger to both body and soul. As the House was well aware, there were numbers of tenants who wished to pay their rents, and who were able to pay them, but who were not allowed to do so, simply in consequence of the advice of hon. Members opposite, who, having succeeded by their machinations and pestilent agitation in reducing the country to its present condition, had the face—some of them had the face—to come to the House and repudiate, if not the very words which they used, yet the natural meaning of their own expressions. Although Parliament was most unwilling to have recourse to coercive measures, why was it, he would ask, that instead of such measures the reform of the Land Laws was not at that moment under discussion? [MR. CALLAN: Because the Bill is not ready.] He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) believed that when Parliament adjourned it was well understood that not only the Liberal Party, but many Tory Members, were desirous that the Land Question should be settled on the basis of justice and equity. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and other hon. Members, had gone through Ireland with the deliberate purpose of preventing the too-confiding people from believing these promises. When the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), who, if an amiable, was undoubtedly a very dangerous man, told the House that his advice to the Irish people was to make use of revolvers and firearms, and suggested ths purchase of arms for the purpose of defying the law, they found another hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) coming there to-day and telling them that his hon. Friend's words, which were not uttered in the heat of debate, were not what they intended to be. The hon. Member for Tipperary himself, however, shook his head and refused to accept the explanation. [Mr. DILLON: I never did anything of the kind.] The hon. Member, he repeated, refused to accept the excuses made for him. In conclusion, he must be allowed to state that although the unfortunate peasants in Ireland had been deluded, they were a people not prone to do ill, and he appealed to the House not to relax its generous efforts in their behalf. He appealed also to the Prime Minister to make the earliest use of the renewed strength which they all rejoiced to believe had been given to him by stating the intentions of the Government. If those were equal to the intentions expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster at Birmingham, they would prove a panacea for the woes of Ireland, and would do away with the necessity for all Coercion Acts. They would, as he believed, convert the peasants into the firm defenders of Constitutional Government, and would give to them a shield which would always preserve them from the machinations of evil men.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had not, from his first sentence to his last, said one word on the merits or demerits of the Bill before the House. The hon. Member had, no doubt, reached the summit of his ambition in having, for the first time in his Parliamentary career, won the plaudits of the House generally, although not, unfortunately, those of his fellow-Representatives for Ireland. The hon. Member had taken advantage of the Bill, and had made a speech not to the Speaker in the Chair, or to that House, but against the real Representatives of Ireland, because he had in his pocket the declared wish of his constituents that he should resign his seat. Since this question arose, there had been several public meetings held in the hon. Gentleman's constituency, and at each of them a resolution had been passed, calling upon him to retire. [Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: I have never received a single requisition.] The hon. Member, who had such a tender conscience, could not find it in his heart and conscience to respond to those invitations; but he had just delivered a discursive speech which had been received with plaudits by those who were wont to walk out of the House when the hon. Member rose to speak. The hon. Member had treated the House to a horrifying story of expressions made use of by one of the traversers at the Dublin trials, to the effect that he would see landlords shot like rabbits without interfering; but although he was cognizant of the surrounding circumstances, and knew the inferences the House would draw from his references, he deliberately suppressed the material part of it—that, namely, which showed the words to have been used in a perfectly innocent manner. What was the truth of the matter?

MR. SPEAKER requested the hon. Member to confine himself to the Question.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN submitted that a certain statement having been used as an argument in support of the Bill, he was entitled to show that that statement was false. If the traverser alluded to had really expressed the sentiments ascribed to him, it would be a powerful argument in favour of the Bill; but he (Mr. Sullivan) would give the explanation. The man in question was Matthew Harris, one of the traversers in the recent State trials at Dublin, and, as was admitted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Law), who had a finer sense of honour than the hon. Member for Galway possessed, the words were intended by him merely to refer to the fact that at the time of the dreadful misdeeds of the Ribbonmen, he had visited the haunts of those evil-doers to prevail upon them to alter their course.

He had incurred great peril by these visits. The expression he had made use of was that he regretted the wasted nights he had spent, and said he "would have interfered no more if he saw the landlords shot down like rabbits." By that he meant that it was useless for him to risk his life by such actions, and he would leave the criminals to be dealt with by the authorities, instead of constituting himself a special policeman. Yet the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) knowing this, had misrepresented the expressions of the traverser before that House in the endeavour to shed discredit upon the Irish Party. He had intended that the words he had spoken the other night should be the last against this misguided policy of the Government; but he could not allow misrepresentations of the kind they had listened to to go unchallenged. There were those in Ireland who loved law and order, but who were opposed to coercion, in spite of the hon. Gentleman's assertion to the contrary. For instance, he had received a letter from one of the most respected of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland thanking him and his Colleagues for having opposed the Coercion Act. He would remind the Government that there were abundant precedents for Arms Bills in Ireland; but he challenged the records in Dublin Castle to show any instance where agrarian crime had been hindered by the want of a weapon wherewith to commit it. By stripping Ireland of its arms, while training the youth of England to the use of arms, they were showing an inclination to hold Ireland as a conqueror. What better test could there be of the contentment of the people over whom England ruled than that they should be allowed the liberty which was claimed in the Bill of Rights? He knew that the Bill would be eluded, and that it was powerless to prevent harm. He said, on the faith of letters in his own possession, and from many years' experience, that the one section of Irishmen who would be gratified by this legislation were the irreconcilables and conspirators who had mocked at the Irish Members, and derided them for attempting to keep the people within the lines of Constitutional methods. They had warned the Irish Members that the Government would at last show them only the bared sword and the iron hand of power. It had been the dream and the hope of the Irish Members that that Liberal Government would have pursued the right path in dealing with Ireland; but that hope was now dissipated. The Irish Members had now to face consequences far worse than anyone had ever predicted, for no one would have dared to prophecy that the ancient Forms of Parliament would have been broken and trampled under foot for the purpose of gagging the Irish Members who were struggling for the liberties of their country. Never since the days of De Montfort had a minority to struggle with an odds so terrible. He had also to complain that the coercion debate, in any case likely to inflame feeling in his country, had been made additionally hateful by the tone of right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. Knowing that there were a few of his (Mr. Sullivan's) Colleagues who were of peculiar views and temper and feeling, they had angled for the intemperate expressions of his Friends, and had played for the passions of some impulsive young Irishmen on those Benches, in order that the expressions of some individual sitting there might be turned to the Ministerial account, and hurled at men whose pain at hearing such language was far more sincere than the simulated feeling of the Treasury Bench. They had succeeded in their purpose, and some of the Irish Members stood in a cruel position. They were denounced in the House by Ministers and in their own country by infuriated men who had been lashed into despair by English misgovernment. But there were men there who objected, and naturally, to being held up as the aiders and abettors of the hateful doctrines of the assassin and the midnight marauder. After the passage of that Bill, he did not see how he and his Friends could go to their countrymen and ask them to have faith any longer in the Government. There was a Land Bill coming; but they dared not discuss it. They only knew of it that it was promised. They could only allude to it incidentally; but the Prime Minister told them it would be introduced when there was an hour on which it could be done in the midst of the crowd of legislation. The night before there was an hour to spare; but it was not a question of urgency that was brought on, while in 10 sentences the Prime Minister could have told his message which was to bring peace and succour to the Irish people. But no, the people must be first whipped, and Ireland had to take her punishment, and to wait as long as the Prime Minister pleased for his beneficent Land Bill. He was sure that the Bill before the House would put an engine of oppression in the hands of the landlords and the police, from which violence and bloodshed might reasonably be expected. He only trusted that the powers of search for arms would be very rarely used. Intercommunication with America and Ireland had had an influence on the peasants of Ireland which he begged them to remember; and he believed any attempt to use the powers of personal search and stoppage on the highway which the Bill gave would lead to scenes which the Government might use as a justification of the measure, but which every Irishman who loved his country would deplore, seeing that it wrecked all hope for the improvement and regeneration of his country. He admitted that the Government had some provocation. The outrages which did happen were all too many for him. He heartily deplored them; but he denied that they offered warrant of justification for stripping his countrymen of every protection of Constitutional liberty. He was sorry to see the Prime Minister should feel it necessary to be in his place after circumstances which none regretted more than himself and his combatant Colleagues, giving his countenance to a Bill which discredited his noble impulses, his generous professions, and which was out of accord and harmony with a life which was known to all as signalized by its love of liberty all over the world. He could only protest once more, and say with confidence that when the Prime Minister came to survey his life, with all its vicissitudes and crowning honours, amongst the passages he would most keenly regret would be the present chapter of his experience in regard to Ireland.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he would recall to the recollection of hon. Members the remark of the late Mr. Butt, that the Irish Members were doing good service to their country and to the Government in making known the amount of disaffection in Ireland, and now he Sir Joseph M'Kenna) would say that, otwithstanding the existence of a certain amount of disaffection, which, he supposed, could not be denied, the measures taken by the Government might well have been less stringent, and might have been accompanied by, at least, a sketch of the intended Land Bill. In his opinion, it was a monstrous error on the part of the Government to introduce Coercion Bills before having formulated and explained to that House and the country their views upon the Land Question. If the Government had done that, there would have been no need of anything more than some police regulations. He contended that the suspension of the liberties of the people for 18 months and the passing of that Bill for five years were indefensible. At the present time, however, arguments would be of no avail, and he would, therefore, content himself with voting against the Bill at every stage; not on account of any sympathy with the violent speakers of the Land League, but simply because it went too far in the direction of severity, and, in his opinion, was to be continued in force for too long a time. He should attempt to mitigate the operation of some of the clauses when they got into Committee.

THE O'DONOGHUE said, it was easy for the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) to say that the Irish people were deluded; but it was absurd for the hon. Member to take upon himself to say that he was a better judge of what the interests of Ireland were than the Irish people themselves. The best answer that could be made to the arguments of the hon. Member was to be found in the fact that, at the present time, he could not offer himself in any part of Ireland for election with any chance of success. It was also news to learn from the hon. Gentleman that the Irish Hierarchy were opposed to the Land League. To the best of his (the O'Donoghue's) belief, almost without exception the Catholic Hierarchy were in favour of the objects of the Land League, as enumerated by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The Secretary of State for the Home Department had, in his heavy way, and in laboured rhodomontade, given the country to understand that it was in danger of universal slaughter and general combustion; but that he was at his post, making heroic efforts to save it.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

THE O'DONOGHUE, resuming, said, the aim of the right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, was, at any cost, and at any sacrifice of those principles which English statesmen used to hold dear, to poison the mind of the public with charges against the Irish Members. Parliamentary usage would not permit him to stigmatize the statements of the right hon. Gentleman as they deserved, and he could not go beyond saying that they were absolutely without foundation. Some of the Irish Members seemed to regret that the right hon. Gentleman had charge of the Bill; but the fact was one to rejoice over. He (the O'Donoghue) preferred the right hon. Gentleman to any other Minister in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman was the faithful exponent of the majority of the House, especially of the Whigs, in their views as to Ireland. He preferred the gross and palpable exaggeration of the right hon. Gentleman, his coarse clap-trap, his defiant way of waving his pockethandkerchief, to the ambiguous phrases of the Prime Minister, the mixture of spite and maudlin sympathy of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or the incoherent eloquence of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) spoke of the valiant Home Secretary as trampling on the Irish Members. The Irish Members were not aware that they had been subjected to any feat of the kind. The truth was that when the Irish Members were flagging, the venomous attacks of the right hon. Gentleman roused them, and they returned to the charge with renewed vigour. But the right hon. Gentleman flattered the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) at the expense of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He could not see what was to be gained by indulgence in that transparent "gammon." No one could be so silly as to suppose that either of his hon. Friends was in the least influenced by the opinion entertained of him by the Secretary of State for the Home Department or any of his Colleagues. The Irish people looked on the performance of the right hon. Gentleman in this particular with the most complete ridicule. The right hon. Gentleman had trailed his coat before the Conservative Opposition; but, seeing the feeling he aroused, he at once changed his tone to one of the most abject obsequiousness. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock deprecated the conduct of the Secretary of State for the Home Department in triumphing over the Irish Members. He was not aware of the grounds the right hon. Gentleman had for exultation. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had done all that it was possible to do with his present following. They never thought they could thwart and defeat the schemes of the Government, and nothing had happened that they did not anticipate. He believed that the tyrannical course the Government had taken in pushing through the coercion measure would have the effect of bringing public opinion to bear upon the questions; and the Irish people would be willing to do and to dare more than they had ever done or dared before. Like all latter-day coercionists, the right hon. Gentleman based his case upon the Charges of the Judges. It was very well known—he (the O'Donoghue) predicted it long ago—that the Judges were preparing the way for coercion. With regard to those delivered some months ago at Assizes in the South and West of Ireland by Mr. Justice Fitzgerald and Mr. Baron Dowse, they clearly established the fact that some, at least, of the Irish Judges were in collusion with the Government to lay the necessary basis for the introduction of the Coercion and Arms Bills. But the Government, notwithstanding that judicial aid, had not been able to show any real or substantial foundation for their proposal and in part completed legislation. The operation of the Arms Bill, therefore, would prove purely vexatious. To justify the measure it should be shown that there was a large quantity of arms in Ireland; and also that there was a large importation going on; but the Government had not shown those things; and, on the other hand, it appeared that an insignificant number of outrages had been committed by means of firearms. It was impossible to connect threatening letters with the possession of arms, and it had been shown that in only three instances out of 1,500 had threatening letters been followed by a resort to firearms.

Of the Charges of the Judges, that of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald was the only one in which it was stated directly that there were large quantities of arms in the possession of the people. He (the O'Donoghue) thought the learned Judge was led into exaggeration from his excessive zeal to furnish the Government with a groundwork for their coercive policy. He was far from attributing to the learned Judge any wilful mis-statement; but he thought it likely that he was misled by documents set before him, and that his imagination supplied any deficiencies there were in the Returns. The learned Judge stated that every farmer's son, and every farmer's boy, in the Province of Munster, possessed either a rifle or a revolver. Speaking with an intimate knowledge of the county of Kerry, he (the O'Donoghue) ventured to say that those words did not apply to that county, and he believed their inapplicability to the other counties in Munster could be proved also. The House ought to see that this Bill would be perfectly useless. Those who had arms would conceal them where they would not be found by the emissaries of the Government. From the passing of the Arms Act of 1843, it appeared that there were many then, as now, who believed that arms might be held by the people without indicating any intention to rebel. The passing of the Act was opposed by Mr. Hume, who said that it was the privilege of freemen to carry arms, and that it was degrading to freemen to be deprived of them; by Mr. Shiel, who said that Englishmen would not endure an Arms Act; and by Lord Brougham, who said that such an Act was repugnant and hostile to the principles of British liberty, and that he hoped the people would sweep away the Government by whom such a sacrilege on the Constitution was perpetrated. He was a member of the Land League, and he thoroughly approved of its policy; and if the Secretary of State for the Home Department attempted to tell him that, because he did belong to the Land League and agreed in its policy, he favoured assassination, he would be compelled to tell the right hon. Gentleman that he was deliberately stating what was false. The House should not lose sight of what was passing in Ireland. The landlords of Ireland were endeavouring to rob the Irish people by extorting rack-rents. Her Majesty's Government brought out police and military, and they said to the farmer—"If you don't give the landlords what they want, we will shoot you." He did not hesitate to say that the Government had dealt in that way with an unarmed people, and were threatening them with murder. The Irish people had used their Constitutional rights in vain, because the House had trampled upon those rights; and if the Irish people had arms, and used them in defence of their homes, the man who charged them with murder for so doing would be held by the whole civilized world to have lied. The Irish people had been advised to resort to the means sanctioned by God, and those means only; and they had been advised to struggle on and trust in God and the justice of their cause for the overthrow of a tyranny which he had no hesitation in saying it would be impious to consider as destined long to endure.

Mr. BIGGAR said, with reference to the speech of the hon. Member for Galway County (Mr. Mitchell Henry)—he could not call him his hon. Friend after to-night—he did not think the hon. Member was capable of acting in the manner he did. From former experience he thought the hon. Gentleman had some wish to support the cause of the Irish people; but after the exhibition they had that evening, he came to the conclusion that the hon. Member had made up his mind to retire from Irish politics, for undoubtedly he could never think of representing an Irish constituency again. He hoped, in future, the hon. Gentleman would abstain from attempting to speak on behalf of the people of Ireland, for their opinion was diametrically opposed to that of the hon. Member. He denied the hon. Member's first charge that the country had been ruined by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); and with regard to the second it was notorious that the intention of the Government was to enslave the Irish people, for they had been busily engaged in that operation for the last six weeks; in fact, they had been trying to do little else ever since the Session began. He must deny that the Land League had counselled physical violence; and as an illustration of the falsehood of that charge, he would say the meetings of the Land League had been always presided over by Roman

Catholic priests, who would not tolerate any such counsels if they were given. For his own part, notwithstanding the hon. Gentleman and the accusations which had been made, he could state with perfect truth that he had never uttered a single word at any of the many meetings which he had attended in Ireland recommending a resort to acts of violence. With reference to the speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reply to that of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), he (Mr. Biggar) had listened to that speech, and he understood the hon. Gentleman's meaning to be that though he advised the Irish people to procure rifles, he did not advise them to use them, for he would advise nothing which was beyond his own power to do. As to the allegations of the right hon. Gentleman that the Land League was allied with the Fenians, he was aware that the great proportion of the members of the Land League had no more to do with Fenianism than the right hon. Gentleman himself. Whether the Fenians had anything to do with the Land League or not he was not aware, for they gave him no information on the subject. The hon. Member for the County of Galway, in the course of his speech, referred to the opinion of the clergy, and urged that it was in opposition to the views of the Irish Party; but he could assure the House that the very large proportion of the Bishops and also the clergy in Ireland were in favour of the Land League. He had himself received a complimentary letter upon the subject from one of the Bishops, praising the efforts which had recently been made in connection with the Coercion Act which has just been passed. If the Bishops and clergy held such an opinion of those with whom they lived, any statement in contradiction of it was not entitled to any very great weight. An unfair construction had been placed upon the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary, inasmuch as throughout he expressed himself in opposition to civil war. ["Oh, oh!"] His hon. Friend said distinctly he was sorry he was unable to recommend it, and surely that was a very different thing to telling the people to adopt it. The Secretary of State for the Home Department, in his speech, had attempted to produce prejudices against the Irish people, but which would not bear the light of a clear and calm judgment. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the liberty of England; but the fact was that the liberty of England was the worst in the whole civilized world. The people of England talked a great deal about it, but knew very little of it in reality. There was liberty of speech and freedom of action as long as people did not become troublesome; but as soon as their conduct was annoying, a Coercion Bill was brought in to imprison them. The mode of speech adopted by the right hon. Gentleman should not have been used by a Minister of the Crown, who should exercise somewhat of a judicial mind, without being influenced by the prejudices of persons outside. Instead of such a result, however, the House had been compelled to listen to cases of exaggeration and heated contentions. It had been said that the Bill was not levelled at the liberty of the Irish people; but unless that was so, he could not see what it was levelled at. It was wrong to interfere with the right of any farmer to shoot sparrows and rooks. He had never shot himself, and never expected to do so; if he attempted it, he was afraid he would shoot himself. The Irish farmers, therefore, had a right to object to the Bill; and, in fact, the measure would have the effect of annoying persons who were perfectly innocent of offences without touching persons who should be controlled by it. The hon. Member proceeded to quote from the Blue Book, at considerable length, the particulars of various outrages which had occurred in the county of Cavan.

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was treating the subject in a most tedious manner. In fact, he was almost trifling with the House. The hon. Member must address himself to the Question before the House.

MR. BIGGAR said, he would do so. The charge in one case in the county of Cavan was that a shot was fired into a House, but it did not appear that any injury was done. Indeed, all the cases reported from the county of Cavan seemed to be of a very slight and trivial character.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, there was little to add to the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). He (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) supposed there must be some reason for the course now taken, and that the Bill was not introduced because it was necessary for the preservation of the peace in Ireland, but merely because it was needed to conciliate the support of the Conservative Party, or because the promised Land Bill was not ready. He should be glad to see a Bill passed which would restrict the use of firearms all over the Three Kingdoms; but he objected to that penal legislation, applicable only to one portion of the United Kingdom. Although the Government had not formally abandoned their intention of bringing in the Bill, the language of the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the first Coercion Bill pointed to its postponement, at least for the present, to the Land Bill, and that showed that the Ministry had no well-defined belief in its necessity. It was no settled conviction long entertained that led the Secretary of State for the Home Department to adopt the strong language he used. It was plain that Ministers were too ready to inflict penal legislation on Ireland without regard to its actual necessity. What was most to be regretted, apart from the injustice of the Bill, was that it postponed remedial legislation. The country could not afford to wait much longer for Land Reform. Evictions were threatened in large numbers, trade was reduced to a standstill, and discontent was growing more general and deep-seated every day. But the people would be firm and patient. Their cause was so just, the sympathies of the bulk of English people and the Continental nations were so strong in their favour, that they must be near the prospect of some redress. Words had been spoken by the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) which were not meant as a deliberate advice to the people of Ireland; but as the hon. Gentleman, through his honesty, enjoyed, in a very high degree, the confidence of the country, what he had said would be carefully weighed by them. He (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) was certain the hon. Member would never have used such words if he had not been irritated and exasperated by the harsh and injudicious language of the right hon. Gentleman. He was sure that if the hon. Member found himself in such a position as he supposed under the temptation to shed blood he would not yield to it. He trusted sincerely that when Irishmen read those words, they would remember the good advice which the hon. Member had given to them on other occasions, when he was not exasperated by cruel language such as had been used against him. The hon. Member for Tipperary had often during the agitation protested against the shedding of human blood. He had been listened to with respect, and he (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) believed his advice had prevented much crime. He trusted Irishmen would continue to follow the advice the Member for Tipperary had given them at many public meetings, and abstain from all violence and bloodshed. It was perfectly useless to do more than to protest against such coercive legislation, and he only rose for the purpose of entering his protest against the Bill.

Mr. CALLAN said, he did not regret the language used by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in introducing the Bill, because that master of quips and jibes had exposed the policy of the Government in all its naked deformity.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. CALLAN, resuming, said, he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had seen fit to support the Bill in language of such acrimony and exasperation towards Ireland. They were told by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) that the Bill had been brought about by the Irish Members. He (Mr. Callan) did not think the House attached much value to the remarks of the hon. Member, who, from Manchester to Woodstock and thence to Galway, had boxed the political compass, and deserted all in turn. It was not surprising that the hon. Member had now proved true to his character by deserting the Irish Members. As to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, he seemed to have the instinct of domination when Irish interests were at stake. He (Mr. Callan) could not conceive a Bill more in keeping with the saturnine character of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Chief Legal Adviser of the Government (Mr. Law); and he perfectly agreed with those speakers who had endeavoured to show that the Bill was far more stringent than the Peace Preservation Act of 1875. Under that Act a person who might be summarily convicted was entitled to appeal. That power was not given under the Bill. He was not surprised that Conservative Members had supported the Bill, for it would serve as a sort of Game Preservation Act, and would save them keepers. Further than that, there was a clause to the effect that the person appointed to grant licences to have and to carry arms should be bound to grant a licence to any occupier of one or more agricultural holdings who produced a certificate from two justices of the peace. The inference to be drawn from the omission of that clause from the Bill was that the Government would not give power to the local magistrates to make such recommendation, and that everything was to be left to the stipendiary, non-resident Government magistrates. At that time the county in which he (Mr. Callan) resided was proclaimed, and, at the same period, he belonged to a Volunteer corps in England. He believed he was a member of the "Devil's Own."

Mr. SPEAKER: I am at a loss to see the connection of the hon. Member's observations with the Question before the House.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had intended to show that he, at the time of which he was speaking, attended when about 100 of these applications were made. He found that they were heard privately in the magistrate's room, and not in open Court, and every application made by a Roman Catholic was refused. He (Mr. Callan) supposed that he should not be described even by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland as a "dissolute ruffian." He made an application himself, and he was asked "Who recommends you?" He replied that he required no recommendation, because he was allowed to carry arms in England as a Volunteer, and he held that it would have been a humiliation to have asked for one. He was endeavouring to show the injury which would be inflicted upon the well-to-do farmers in Ireland by the carrying of the Bill. It was a much more stringent Act than that of 1875, and he thought some good reason ought to be shown for departing from the precedent of that time. He should also have some assurance that crime prevailed to more than ordinary extent before an Act of such a character was passed. He hoped that the Bill would be discussed in Committee at such length as to greatly improve it; and that course would have the advantage of giving the Prime Minister every opportunity to consider his Land Bill, the details of which were at present somewhat shadowy.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 144; Noes 37: Majority 107.—(Div. List, No. 108.)

Main Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 145; Noes 34: Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 109.)

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Mr. B. T. WILLIAMS informed the Speaker that he had by mistake got into the wrong Lobby on the last division.

PRESUMPTION OF LIFE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 86.]

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Orr-Ewing, Mr. Preston Bruce, Mr. James Campbell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. ANDERSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would explain in a very few words what its object was. The Bill proposed to remove a defect by introducing into the law and practice of Scotland a presumption similar to that in force in England, that when a person had been absent and unheard of for a certain time he had ceased to exist. In Scotland, if an absentee disappeared, and no one knew anything about him, there was no limitation to the presumption of his being alive. In England, he understood, they had a more sensible rule of law. The law was, that if a man was absent from England, and was entirely unheard of for seven years, the presumption became one of death. There was no such law in Scotland; and, in consequence, a man being absent might be presumed to be alive for an indefinite period. Unless 100 years had elapsed from his birth, the Courts would still consider that he was alive. That was a very bad state of the Scotch law, and though the Court of Session had power to consider cases of that sort, it was known the Court required evidence of probable death, and had no rule of law to guide them in cases of mere absence; and therefore people would not go to the Court at all. Consequently, there were hard cases where, after long absence of a person, the successors could not get possession of the property because they could not afford to go to the Court on so doubtful an issue, and provide the caution money that the Court, in cases of success, required. The grievance of the present state of the law was, therefore, one that should not be measured by the cases that came before the Courts, but by the cases that existed, and did not come to Court. His proposition was, that when a man was absent and was entirely unheard of for seven years the law should presume he was dead, in so far as giving to his successors the income and use of any property he might have left, or become entitled to since he left. At the end of another six years, making 13 years' absence in all, and still being entirely unheard of, he proposed that the successors should be enabled to get any movable property left; but if there was any heritable property he gave a further six years, making 19 in all, before that could be obtained, thus following the lines of English law as regards limitation of actions to six years for personal and 12 years for real estate. Those absorbed the chief propositions of the Bill. There was also a proposition relating to absent heirs of entail; but that was only an adjunct to the Bill, though a useful one. However, he did not wish to take up much time at present. As he had said, those were the main provisions of the Bill; and he thought they would commend themselves to Members of the House, especially to English Members, who had already so much more sensible a law. He would, having made that explanation, move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren) confessed he did not altogether agree with his hon. Friend (Mr. Anderson) with regard to his proposed mode of dealing with the subject. At the same time, he would admit that the practice of the Courts of Scotland in dealing with the property of persons who had been absent from the country for some considerable time was not satisfactory, therefore he felt it would be ungracious on the part of a Member like himself, who had not sat long in the House, to oppose the second reading of a Bill introduced, under the circumstances attending the one under notice, by an hon. Member of so much greater experience than himself; and he thought probably, without any departure from the principle, such alterations might be made in Committee as might effect an improvement in the existing state of the law, and assimilate it in some respect to the practice in England. It appeared to him that the period of seven years was much too short a time to fix upon as creating a presumption that a person who had been absent for that time had ceased to exist. The rule of the law in England, which he believed was not an absolute rule, but merely a presumption capable of being overcome by other evidence, related to a very remote period of their history, when travelling was not so general as now, and when there were not so large a number of the population emigrating to Colonial and foreign countries, and there making their homes. Because a person had gone to a Colony and remained unheard of for seven years, that was not sufficient reason to presume he was dead. In assigning the limit, it was not sufficient, without regard to the circumstances attending his previous history, without regard to his age and strength, and the fact that it was not unusual for persons in the Colonies to break off communication for a long period from their friends, to determine that the man was dead, and that his estate should be divided amongst his next of kin; nor did he think that was a sufficient reason why next of kin should have the right to use the property. It would be a serious thing to distribute property, or hand over its usufruct, when the owner had been away for only seven years; but the presumption might arise after a disappearance of 20 years. He quite admitted, however, that the law in Scotland, in treating the case as a question of fact to be decided on its own merits, had often worked unsatisfactorily, and the receivers appointed by the Courts had frequently kept in their hands the estates of persons who had gone abroad for a longer time than was necessary for protecting the interests of such persons. He should not oppose his views to those of the hon. Member in this matter, and would therefore support the second reading, in the hope that, either by a Committee of the Whole House or by a Select Committee, the Bill would be turned into a more perfect shape.

SIR JOHN HAY thought the suggestion of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee was a very sound one, and that such a course would be most advantageous. The hon. Member for Glasgow had introduced the Bill for the purpose of assimilating the law to that of England; and if it was referred to a Select Committee, the differences in the law might be properly considered, and, if possible, the law of the two countries assimilated. As that was the object of the hon. Member, and as the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate agreed with it, he (Sir John Hay) heartily supported the proposition that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he thought the proposed course of referring the Bill to a Select Committee would be the best to take. There was no Statute Law on the subject in England, except the statute relating to bigamy; but it was true that in other cases the Courts, following the analogy of that statute, presumed when a person had not been heard of for seven years he was dead, but that, like every other presumption, it was liable to be rebutted by evidence. The law of England, as far as he knew, had worked exceedingly well, and he never heard any complaint on the subject; and it was, in his opinion, desirable that the law of Scotland should be assimilated, as far as possible, to the law of this country.

DR. WEBSTER remarked that from experience it was found that no tribunal worked better than that of a Select Committee. Therefore, he entirely agreed with the proposal, and he believed the Profession in Scotland would all agree with it. He did not think, however, that the law in Scotland was so bad as the Mover of the Bill had stated.

DR. COMMINS opposed the second reading, believing that instead of assimilating the Scotch law to that of England, it would be an advantage if the English law followed that of Scotland. The Bill introduced a principle which was not followed by the law of England. The presumption after the lapse of seven years only existed in the case of a prosecution for bigamy. Administration of the effects of an absent person could only be obtained on satisfactory proof being given to the Court that such a person was presumably dead. There was no rule of law on the subject with regard to personal property. With regard to real property also there was no rule whatever. He thought that if the Bill were allowed to pass, some more scientific principle than existed already might probably be introduced into English law.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE assumed, from what the hon. and learned Lord Advocate had told the House, that there was a want of principle or a want of rule in the decisions of the Courts, and that therefore it was matter for consideration. If that were the case, the best course would be to refer it to a Select Committee. If it were desirable to assimilate the law of England and Scotland, he should suggest that the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself should bring forward a Motion to that effect. Under the circumstances, he concurred in the proposal to refer it to a Select Committee.

MR. DAWSON inquired whether seven years' absence in England was really a presumption of death in all cases, or whether this presumption was only applicable in cases of bigamy?

MR. HINDE PALMER said, that seven years' absence of husband or wife would exempt a person marrying again from the penalties attaching to second marriage; but, so far as related to the general law of England, the period of seven years had only been adopted by analogy to the law relating to bigamy. It was by no means a hard-and-fast line that seven years was a presumption of death. The Courts were simply in the habit of taking that period as a foundation of proceeding, and were always careful to ascertain whether or not the presumption could be fairly applied in each individual case. If the rule applied in every instance, without the relaxation applied by the Courts, it would probably be found that the law required amendment; and he was very much inclined to think that, by some such Bill as that under consideration, they might make the law of England more specific and safe; and, under those circumstances, he was very glad that the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate did not object to the principles of the Bill, and wanted to make it as perfect as he could. He should therefore very gladly support the second reading of the Bill, concurring in the suggestion that it should go to a Select Committee. It proposed a very material amendment of the law, which might, to some extent, be adopted in England.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee.

CORONERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 73.]

(*Mr. Healy, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HEALY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to increase the payment to Irish Coroners for their services, and to increase their superannuation. It provided for the payment of Coroners in Ireland by salary, instead of, as was the case at the present time, by fees. That method of paying Coroners by salary had been in force in England since 1860. Irish Coroners, at the present time, received 30*s.* for each inquest held by them up to a certain amount, the limit being £100 per annum. He knew of a case not long back in which a Coroner had to travel a long distance to attend an inquest, which lasted a month. The total amount he received for this was £2. That, he (Mr. Healy) considered to be quite inadequate remuneration. The Bill, therefore, proposed that the fees payable to Coroners should be added together in each case for the last five years; but at the rate of £2 10*s.* per inquest, instead of £1 10*s.*, and the resulting sum paid as a salary. On an average, this would only amount to about £83 per annum to each Coroner. It was also proposed that a superannuation allowance should be given to every Coroner after 21 years' service, that he should be allowed to appoint a deputy, and that candidates for the office should be taken only from among magistrates, licentiates of medicine, barristers, and solicitors. He moved the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW), said, he was sorry not to be able to accept the Bill. The Bill was a short one, and altogether inadequate. Any measure to deal with the subject satisfactorily must be much more comprehensive than the present Bill. His main objection was that the Bill was at best of a fragmentary character, and would interfere with the free action of the Ministry in framing their promised measure of re-organization of County Government in Ireland. A Bill for putting the law of Coroners on a new basis was brought in during the time of the late Government, and was fully considered by a Select Committee, who amended it so that it ultimately contained some 60 or 70 clauses. After all, the chief object of the present Bill was to obtain superannuation allowances; but he would remind hon. Members that superannuation did not exist in the English system. He did not think that 30*s.* was an insufficient sum for attending an inquest. With respect to the other provisions, he considered that no sufficient guarantees of ability could be offered by freshly-admitted barristers, solicitors, or medical men; but, above all, the Government had to consider whether the office of Coroner should still be retained. He concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. CALLAN appealed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to withdraw his opposition to the Bill, on the understanding that the Committee stage should not be taken for a month, during which time the Grand Juries of Ireland could express their opinions upon it. He objected to the supercilious and official tone adopted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman in opposing the second reading, and complained of the narrow-minded lawyers who formed the Irish Executive objecting to the Bill, which had not been petitioned against by a single person in Ireland.

DR. COMMINS said, there were many instances in England in which Coroners did their work by deputy, and, the necessity being admitted, the appointment and the pay ought to be a public matter, and not one of private arrangement. He urged that there was plenty of room for improvement in the office of Coroner in Ireland, and that it was better to pass a fragmentary measure than to wait for an indefinite time for a comprehensive reform.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON supported the Bill, and expressed his inability to understand the ground upon which it was opposed, inasmuch as it merely sought to assimilate the law of Ireland to that of England, by paying Coroners by salary instead of by fees, and to facilitate the appointment of Deputy-Coroners. It afforded English Members an opportunity of showing Irish Members their willingness to redress Irish grievances, and to pass a reform for Ireland which had already been effected in England. At a time when they were passing coercive legislation for Ireland, they ought, if they could, to meet the views of Irish Members on a question of this kind. He therefore trusted that English Members would not vote against this Bill, because it was introduced by an Irish Member—the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy)—but would follow into the Lobby the Irish Members, who were the best judges of what was needed in this matter.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he was glad to say it was an English and not an Irish Member—namely, the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), who had endeavoured to introduce into the debate an element of bitterness which ought not to exist, and for which there was no foundation. It was rather too much for any Member, and especially an English Member, to suggest that a Bill could be rejected, not upon its merits, but because it was presented by the hon. Member for Wexford. He hoped it was the last time that such a suggestion would be made. The hon. and learned Member had undertaken to explain a Bill which he had failed to comprehend. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) would consider the measure solely upon its merits, and he would point out that it was not a Bill to reconcile the English and Irish practice. It did not attempt or pretend to do so. It was laid before the House, he apprehended, because it was thought it would be acceptable in Ireland; but he differed from it in principle. Under the law at present provision existed for holding inquests in the absence or illness of the Coroner; and, therefore, in no case, he might say, under the existing system, was an inquest left unheld in Ireland in which it ought to be held, and consequently the object which it was sought to accomplish was already effected without any increased charge upon the public. The Bill was, therefore, in his opinion, as unnecessary as unwise in its proposition as to a Deputy. It was not, in his opinion, wise to make the salary of a Coroner vary in proportion to the number of inquests held. The proper way to proceed was rather to regulate and fix it in accordance with the average duties which he might have to perform. He disapproved of the proposed qualifications, none of which sucured sufficient experience for the discharge of the duty devolving on a Coroner. There was, he might also point out, a strong objection to giving a superannuation allowance to an officer whose time was in no way wholly devoted to the service of the public. A Coroner was free to follow any profession or pursuit; it was only occasionally that he was called upon to act as Coroner; and he was not aware of any case in which such an allowance was made to a person discharging duties such as those to which the Bill related.

MR. R. N. FOWLER hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would see his way to reforming the whole system with regard to the appointment of Coroners in England, for as it existed at present it was a scandal. He had lately had experience of this in an election for the county of Wiltshire. He thought the whole system was bad, and required alteration.

MR. DAWSON supported the Bill, on the ground that it would remove a great anomaly. The liberty of Coroners' Courts in Ireland was invaded by the police, who carried off witnesses and, otherwise interfered with the initiatory inquiry which ought to be held in all suspicious cases. At the same time, he quite agreed that the whole system of Coroners' Courts, both in England and Ireland, required revision. He advocated the payment of liberal fixed salaries to Coroners utterly irrespective of the number of inquests they had to hold, or the distance they had to travel in order to fulfil the requirements of the office.

Colonel **MAKINS** thought that, as the Government had so great a difficulty in introducing Bills of their own, they might with advantage accept that Bill and draft some Amendments of their own upon it, such as the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland considered necessary.

Sir **PATRICK O'BRIEN** supported the Bill. He recommended the Government to assent to the second reading, and then to refer the Bill to a Committee upstairs. He regretted that the Committee which was appointed some time ago to consider Coroners' duties were not authorized to pay some attention to the duties of Coroners in Ireland. He thought in rural districts dispensary doctors were best qualified to act as Coroners.

Mr. **A. M. SULLIVAN** approved of the suggestion of the hon. Baronet the Member for King's County (Sir Patrick O'Brien. No doubt the Bill was capable of improvement; and he would therefore appeal to the Government to allow the Bill to be read a second time and referred to a Select Committee. The question had been before the House for 12 years.

Mr. **INDERWICK** supported the second reading of the Bill, as it, in his opinion, contained very reasonable clauses.

Mr. **MITCHELL HENRY** submitted that it would be well to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, impartially chosen, as, by the provisions in it as it stood, the franchise would be restricted and dispensary doctors might be appointed Coroners. He objected to that proposition, and also to the superannuation clauses out of the rates. The Bill, if passed as it was now, would be most unpopular in Ireland.

The **ATTORNEY GENERAL** for **IRELAND** (Mr. Law) said, that he had objected to the Bill because it dealt with such a small part of the subject; but he would withdraw his objection on the understanding that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, and that when the proper time came he should be permitted to move an Instruction to the Committee to inquire into the whole of the present law affecting coroners in Ireland.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee.

House adjourned at a quarter after Eleven o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 7*th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bill—*Second Reading*—Court of Session (Scotland) * (42).

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—RUMOURED ARMISTICE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Earl **CADOGAN**: My Lords, I regret I must rely upon the plea of urgency for the Question which I rise to put to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and of which there was no time to give him private Notice. I wish to know whether the Government can give us authentic information in reference to the rumour—the improbable, I might almost say the incredible rumour—which is contained in the evening papers—namely, that an Armistice has been concluded with the Boers in the Transvaal. I may remind your Lordships that, so far as we are aware, the military position at the seat of war has remained unchanged since the late disaster, and that we have heard nothing except the information which from time to time reached us that negotiations were still in progress between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boer leaders. I should also wish to ask, if it is true that an Armistice has been agreed to for eight days, whether any provision has been made for the relief of the beleagured garrisons in the Transvaal, and for any further information which the noble Earl can give?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the statement that an Armistice has been concluded is correct. I will read to your Lordships two telegrams which I have received on the subject. The one is a telegram from Sir Evelyn Wood to the Secretary of State for War, dated Mount Prospect, 6th March, 3.30 p.m., which says:—

> "Have signed agreement with Joubert for suspension of hostilities till midnight, 14th March, for purpose of receiving Kruger's reply and any further communications. We have power of sending eight days' supplies to our garrisons, and Joubert has undertaken to pass them through Boer lines, and, on arrival of provisions at such garrisons, the blockading and besieged parties will cease hostilities for eight days. I hope you approve."

I will read a second telegram dated later on the same day—

> "Telegram from Sir Evelyn Wood to Lord Kimberley, dated Fort Amiel, 6 p.m., 6th March, 1881:—
>
> "The following are the conditions of an Armistice agreed to this day between Joubert and myself. Object of Armistice to allow time for Kruger to reply to communications from late Sir George Colley and subsequent communication with view to peaceable settlement of question. We mutually agree to cessation of hostilities from noon on 6th till midnight 14th March. Conditions:—(1) In that period both promise not to make forward movement from present positions, but each retains liberty of movement within own lines; (2) Sir Evelyn Wood is free to send eight days' provisions, but no ammunition, for all Transvaal garrisons, the Boer officers undertaking to pass it to such garrisons; (3) Joubert undertakes to send notice of the Armistice conditions to respective garrisons and to Boer commanders, and will use his influence to induce these commanders to allow withdrawal of British (the wounded) from these garrisons into Natal."

My Lords, I may add that Her Majesty's Government have approved Sir Evelyn Wood's proceedings in connection with this Armistice. With reference to the allusion made to Mr. Kruger in this telegram, I may state, in order to make it intelligible to your Lordships, that some time ago a letter was received from him by Sir George Colley, and to that letter Sir George Colley was directed to give an answer. We do not know precisely all the circumstances connected with the time when the communications with Kruger took place. We have made inquiries on the subject; but I am not in a position to state precisely what took place. In answer to a communication from Kruger to Sir George Colley, a communication was made through him to the Boers. I may observe, so that there may be no misconception, that Sir George Colley was instructed to allow a reasonable time for the answer to be sent by the Boers. We are, however, imperfectly informed as to Sir George Colley's proceedings in connection with this communication. The following telegram was sent to him by the Secretary of State for War with reference to his conduct during the interval:—

> "With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval before reply from Boers is received, we do not bind your discretion; but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid effusion of blood."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

MOTION FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I must crave your indulgence and attention to a somewhat intricate subject of considerable historic interest with reference to the relations between Church and State. It is a subject which certainly has excited a great deal of interest in a large section of Her Majesty's subjects at the present time. I am about to move, my Lords, that your Lordships should humbly address Her Majesty, with a view to asking Her Majesty to issue a Royal Commission to consider the constitution and present working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as created or modified under the great Reformation statutes of King Henry VIII. and subsequent Acts of Parliament. My Lords, I speak, in the present instance, in the name of the united Bishops of both Provinces, who have requested me, on a Motion brought before them by my right rev. Brother (the Bishop of Peterborough), to ask your Lordships thus to address Her Majesty. I believe that the opinion of the Bishops is shared by most members of the Lower House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and a great number of persons who are interested in recent disputes are anxious that, if possible, an end should be put to those disputes; and, as a preliminary step towards this happy object, they desire that full information should be acquired on the somewhat intricate subject that fills the public mind, and on which there exists at present a great deal of anxiety, as well as a good deal of ignorance, prejudice, and misconception. The noble Lord (Lord Oranmore and Browne), who is about to move that there is no necessity for issuing such a Commission, says that 50 years ago a Royal Commission sat on this subject, of which very eminent men were Members, and which laid a very able Report before Parliament. Fifty years, my Lords, is both a short and a long time. It is a long time, certainly, if we look back to what has taken place during the last 50 years; and the noble Lord will hardly wish to stereotype the position of affairs exactly as it was 50 years ago. Since that time—the time when the Reform Bill was passed—every institution in the country, except, perhaps, your Lordships' House, has undergone very great changes; and, in particular, the whole Judicature of the country has been materially altered. At that time there were no County Courts to relieve the great Courts of the Realm, and the Judicature Acts referring to secular cases have entirely changed the ordinary judicial procedure of the country. There are at the present time three sets of Courts which have directly to do with ecclesiastical matters. I might, indeed, say four, because there is the Primary Commission, under the Church Discipline Act, still in existence, dealing with many cases which arise. Now, my Lords, there certainly is a strong feeling abroad as to these Courts. Some object to their constitution, some object to their working; but I believe that if the matter were to be thoroughly examined, many of the objections at present felt would be found to disappear. Still, it is only fair, when such strong feelings are called forth on a matter of so great importance, that every legitimate mode should be adopted of giving as much information respecting the subject of discontent as possible, replying to all unreasonable objections, and, where well-founded objections exist, showing a willingness to reform. With this view, my Lords, I know no better course than that a Royal Commission should, if Her Majesty so pleases, be issued for the purpose of going thoroughly into this subject. If it is 50 years since it was examined, and if it be a matter of fact that changes have occurred since that time, it may surely be well that the matter should be re-examined by those who are thoroughly competent to examine it, and that the real facts respecting these intricate questions should be laid before this House and the country. My Lords, there is one reason for such an examination to which I wish to call your Lordships' attention. At the time when the Royal Commission of 1830-2 sat there was a Corporation of Doctors' Commons. That Corporation embraced all the advocates entitled to practise in what were then called the Ecclesiastical Courts; they were all selected and nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and they had to do with all matters concerning matrimony and probate, as well as with those matters which now come before Ecclesiastical Courts. Now the whole of that machinery, except one small portion, is swept away. The Corporation is gone, and the practitioners who used to practise in Doctors' Commons have ceased to confine their attention to those Courts. All the Courts except that which has to do with the discipline of the clergy, and such matters as arise in connection with churchwardens, are now entirely in the hands of other Judges, and the advocates who practised in these Courts are now of the ordinary character, and practise in the ordinary Courts. And yet there remain attaching to the strictly ecclesiastical part of this subject old traditions which are very difficult to apply, because they have reference to a state of things which is past and gone. I will take, my Lords, an example. The Judge of the Court of Arches was originally required by statute to be—if I rightly understand the matter—one of those doctors practising in Doctors' Commons. Doctors' Commons is swept away; and therefore he cannot have that qualification. He is required to be a Doctor of Civil Law, licensed, as was formerly the case, by the Archbishop; the words remain when the substance is gone, and it is not extraordinary to me that there should be, in many instances, considerable misapprehension, and that attempts should be made to find fault with that which is the inevitable result of the changes which have taken place within the last 50 years, and which have resulted in the continuance of a number of old rules quite inapplicable to the existing state of things. My Lords, it is quite possible that we might have taken in hand to remedy this evil without applying for a Royal Commission. A promise was virtually made in the year 1874 that, as soon as might be, the Bishops would take upon themselves the duty of reconstructing the process by which breaches of morality, or any other offence on the part of clergy against the laws ecclesiastical, were to be punished. The Bishops excused themselves, by the pressure which the circumstances of the time imposed upon them, from dealing with more than one subject in 1874, when they proposed and carried the Public Worship Regulation Act. Many have asked why we have not dealt with these further matters before now. Well, we found, of course, that many difficulties would stand in the way of thoroughly reconstituting the Courts; and we thought that it was, perhaps, desirable to wait and see whether the new system which had been introduced would work well before we applied it further. No doubt, we should have been able to produce some measure before now, had it not been for certain events which happened in the country, and especially amongst the clergy—but by no means amongst the clergy alone—events which occurred, and which showed us that it would not be right to take this particular matter in hand before the whole question had been more thoroughly investigated; before certain wide-spread statements were dissipated—statements which were made with great vehemence by one side or the other, but not proved so clearly as they were asserted. There can be no doubt that the imprisonment of three clergymen had caused a great sensation by the end of last year and the beginning of the present. These three clergymen were, in the popular imagination, regarded as being imprisoned for a violation of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and it was not unnaturally said—"Surely it is a strange thing in the Church of England that an offence which is, at most, but a matter of ritual should be punished with such extreme severity, when other offences of a far more serious character are not visited with a similar punishment." I can quite understand, my Lords, that this state of things excited indignation among a great number of members of the Church. Not that I think it was justified, for, of course, these clergymen were not imprisoned for a violation of the Public Worship Regulation Act, but they were imprisoned because they resisted the authorities constituted by the law. Although it is perfectly true that imprisonment for such offences is a severe punishment, yet I am not perfectly certain that it is an easy thing to keep a man out of prison when he desires to get into it. I rather concur with the feeling of King William III., who, in a somewhat similar case, said—"That gentleman has made up his mind to be a martyr, and I have made up my mind to disappoint him." I think, if it had been possible to have prevented those persons being imprisoned, it would have been infinitely better for the Church of England, better for the clergymen who are the offenders, and better, on the whole, for the administration of the law. Not that I am casting the slightest aspersion on the noble and learned Lord who administered the law. He was there as a Judge, and he could only perform his duty as a Judge; but I am finding fault with the discretion of those who thought it necessary to push matters to that issue; who were not contented with allowing the ordinary processes of the law to take effect, but were determined that they would at least bring the matter to an issue by calling the statute of George III. into operation—a statute which no one at the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act ever remembered had any reference to the cases of those who would be likely to be brought under that Act. But I think these martyrs have, like most other martyrs, to a certain extent gained their end; they have enlisted a great deal of sympathy on their side, and their so-called martyrdom has had this perhaps very good result—that they have convinced all of us that there are some very difficult and delicate questions to be settled in regard to these matters; in short, they and the action they took are a justification for the Motion which I am now asking your Lordships to accept. It does not seem that there was in earlier times the same feeling about clergymen going to prison that there is now-a-days. In George III.'s time, it was, it seems, not thought much of, and earlier in *The Reformatio Legum*, to which attention has lately been drawn, I find it was actually laid down that every Bishop was to have one or two prisons in his diocese, and three or more if necessary, in order that those persons who speak lightly or contemptuously of the authority of the Judge might find their way to them. I am not one of those who have such vehement love or affection for everything that is old and venerable as to desire that we should follow the example set us in these respects; and I should therefore be very glad if, in the course of the deliberations of such a Commission as I am now asking your Lordships to petition Her Majesty to issue, time should be found for considering this question. I am afraid I must now trespass upon your Lordships' attention for a short time respecting the condition of the Courts about which this Commission will have to make investigation. Let us begin with the Supreme Court of Appeal. I am convinced that there is an immense amount of misinformation and prejudice on the subject of this Court at the present time. Like every other Court there are objections which can be made to it, and the sooner those objections are investigated and met the better. Your Lordships are aware that it is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which at present administers the supreme appeal in ecclesiastical matters; and, to our astonishment, we hear of people crying for that old Court of Delegates, with respect to which great lawyers have spoken—and certainly not very respectfully—and which went to its grave, with the consent of all men, very soon after the Report of the Commission to which the noble Lord (Lord Oranmore and Browne) alludes in his Amendment. It is commonly said — "We do not wish to decide whether the Court of Delegates was or was not better than the Court of Appeal in the present day. But it was a Court which was sanctioned by the Act of Convocation." Well, my Lords, it may be so; but I can find no record whatever of it. Convocation certainly had sanctioned the supremacy of the Crown and the Act of Submission; but, so far as I can discover, it distinctly left to the Crown the mode in which this supremacy was to be exercised in regard to the establishment of the Courts. I shall be only too happy if the consideration which your Lordships will give to it will bring the real truth of the matter forward. No mention is made, as far as I can see, of the appointment of this Court of Delegates in the Resolutions of Convocation dealing with the submission of the clergy; the Court of Delegates was left to be fashioned by the authority of the State. I remember the discussion on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, when the noble and learned Lord who now occupies the Woolsack maintained—and it appears that his authority was good—that it had always been customary for the State to arrange the exact mode in which the Royal Supremacy was to be applied, as, for example, by arranging the mode in which these Courts were to act; and therefore there was no necessity to apply to Convocation first in order to settle the details of the formation of the Court. It is upon this point that there is a great misunderstanding throughout the country—especially amongst the clergy—at the present time; and I am very anxious that this matter should be thoroughly gone into, that we should understand whether, in its origin, the original Court of Appeal—the Court of Delegates—had or had not any authority given to it by the Church, except that general authority which the Church willingly conceded to the Crown at the Reformation by acknowledging its supremacy. In the Preamble of the Act for the Restraint of Appeals to Rome there is a passage, often quoted, which sets forth that—

> "The realm of England is a power governed by one supreme head and King . . . . unto whom a body politic . . . . divided . . . . by names of spiritualty and temporalty. . . . . The body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the body called the spiritualty, now usually called the English Church."

This passage suggests one of the questions which might with great propriety be referred for consideration to a number of experts well versed in the matter. With regard to the Court of Delegates, which has had such a happy resurrection in the admiration of many persons of late years, whereas formerly it was condemned by everybody, it has been asserted—and this is a matter which requires looking into—that it was always presided over by spiritual persons. The term is a rather ambiguous one; for at that time there were various sorts of spiritual persons, besides clerics. There were the practitioners in the Ecclesiastical Courts, who were a sort of *personæ mixtæ*, and who may be included under the term spiritualty. But it may very fairly be argued that even if you are to intrust judgment in the highest Court of Appeal to spiritual persons in this sense, you may get into the same disagreeable messes which I believe the Court of Delegates got into. What was the state of the case then? There was one able man always, who was the Judge of the Arches Court, and the persons who were advocates in the Courts below came and argued before him; but when you got beyond that ancient Judge, and got to the Delegates, if you were restricted to the advocates of Doctors' Commons, you were obliged to fall back for Judges either upon the junior and unemployed members of the Profession, or upon advocates who had already been engaged in the case, a process by which men who had argued the case in the Courts below would have been constituted Judges in the higher Courts. It is ridiculous to say that that is a satisfactory method of procedure. There was, indeed, a mode by which it was prevented from doing as much mischief as might have been supposed—namely, by putting a number of Common Law Judges into the Commission to act with the other persons. Now, my Lords, taking it for granted that no one seriously wishes to re-establish the Court of Delegates, let me say a few words as to the objections which are made to the existing Court. It is said that the Court is packed for each occasion: that is an invidious way of putting it; but it is certain that the Court is not a fixed Court, before which cases may be brought; but one set of Judges may sit on one case and another on another. This is a grievance which, whether it can be avoided or not, is common to the present Supreme Court of Appeal and to the old Court of Delegates. It is a fair question whether it would be better to fix very definitely who are to try those cases, or to leave it to be arranged as at present. Then objection is made to this Court, because the Judges do not deliver their opinions separately, as they do in the ordinary Courts. Whether that be a good objection or not is a matter which lawyers are better able to decide than I am. At all events, it is one of those matters that are very much dwelt upon, and which may well come before the consideration of any Commission. My Lords, I may be excused for dwelling any longer on the highest Court of Appeal. We now come to the Provincial Courts; and the question regarding them, which will naturally come before any Commission, will be whether it is desirable to adopt any new method of administering them. One great objection that is made to the present Court is that it unites the two Provinces of Canterbury and York. I confess I never could see the force of that objection. It would be a great inconvenience if the writs of the Court of one Province could not run in the other Province, as was the case when there were two Judges. According to the late system as it existed, you were to have two Provincial Judges, one at Canterbury and the other at York, as you had 31 Diocesan Judges in the different dioceses. It is absurd to talk of keeping up the old, useless, and unnecessary Judges, when, as is far better, by condensing the offices, you are enabled to have able men to preside over the Courts of the two Provinces and the inferior Courts from which they entertain appeals. In old times there was very little difficulty in finding an able Judge to preside over the Arches Court; but when circumstances changed, and the testamentary, matrimonial, and Admiralty cases were removed, it became extremely difficult to find adequate Judges. One word more as to the Diocesan Courts. They are Courts presided over by the Bishops and their Chancellors, and are not so much in use now as they were in old times. During the many years that the Clergy Discipline Act has been in force there have hardly been any instances of the Bishop availing himself of his power to sit in his Court—a power conferred by that statute. He has almost invariably sent the case to the Provincial Judges, as he was entitled to do, and therefore these Courts have pretty nearly ceased to exist. Now, my Lords, I think that as these Diocesan Courts do still exist, though not in a very active condition, it would be well that they should be thoroughly examined. This, as well as the reasons I have given in regard to the High Court of Appeal and the Provincial Courts, seem to me to justify the request which I make to your Lordships to present to Her Majesty this Address. I beg to say that we have no intention whatsoever of going back beyond the Reformation. We have a very distinct and strong opinion that any interference with that form of religion which was accepted in this country at the Reformation would be as dangerous to the country as it would be certainly distasteful to the great majority of its inhabitants. And, my Lords, while we have no sympathy with the new theories about the Reformation which have been propounded of late years—while we desire to maintain things as they have been handed down to us from the Reformation, and shall certainly do our best to resist any attempt to introduce the Roman Mass, or any of those things which are characteristic of Rome, and for which so much blood was shed, and so many trials endured in this country and in other countries at the time of the Reformation; while this is the case we are still anxious that there shall be no undue want of toleration as to things that are in themselves perfectly innocent, but which the folly of certain persons regards as a return to things as they were before the Reformation. We desire that there shall be a full understanding of the position of the Church of England; we desire that there shall be ample toleration within its pale for all good men who are loyal to this Reformed Church; but beyond this we have no desire to go. We know very well, my Lords, that the Church of England has before it at the present moment duties greater, perhaps, than any other society in the world; we know that both from its influence over our Colonial possessions, and from the sympathy which it excites even in countries that are separated from it by another form of religion, it is very powerful beyond the limits of these Islands; but we believe also that this Church must live in the hearts of the people of England. We are sure that if it departed from its principles it would cease to command their willing allegiance. We know that in these days infidelity is rampant on one side and godlessness on the other, and that the enemies of the Church of England are anxious to avail themselves of every flaw that may be found in its constitution, and to foster every possible quarrel that may arise among good men who have all the same object in view. It is more necessary for us, then, to be on our guard, more necessary for us to have sympathy one for another, to tolerate everything that is entitled to toleration, but not to go beyond the just limits of toleration. My Lords, I do believe it is true, as has often been said, that there is no danger for the Church of England if it does not come from our internal dissensions, and I do hope and trust that if you agree to my request and Her Majesty be pleased to grant it, that this may be the means of dispelling misunderstandings which at present exist, and do away with jealousies which separate good men, and that thus, by coming to a fuller and clearer understanding of the greatness of our position, we may enable the Church of England to do well the great work which God has committed to it. I therefore request your Lordships to give your consent to this Motion.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as created or modified under the Reformation Statutes of the 24th and 25th years of King Henry the Eighth and any subsequent Acts.—(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, it was some years since he troubled their Lordships on Church questions, for he always felt that it was more appropriate that some abler and more specially qualified Member of the House should address them on questions touching the Established Church of England; and, therefore, before putting his Notice on the Books, he endeavoured to ascertain whether any other Peer was likely to move in the matter; but not ascertaining that anyone would, he felt called on to put on record his dissent from the proposal of the most rev. Prelate (the Archbishop of Canterbury). He had additional hesitation in doing so, because he was fully impressed with the respect that was due, not only to the high position of the most rev. Prelate, but also for the dignity, moderation, and genial kindness with which he filled it; but, believing that the present Motion would only encourage the unfortunate divisions and disorder that existed in the Church, he felt it his duty to put in his protest against it. The most rev. Prelate had put his case before the House with his usual force and clearness. Before hearing his statement, the more he (Lord Oranmore and Browne) considered the matter the more he saw the great difficulty of putting his views clearly before them. For that purpose it was absolutely necessary that he should make a concise statement, not only of the present state of the Church, but also of some preceding matters. He must first recall to their Lordships' attention an

Address presented to the Archbishops in 1873 from above 400 of the Clergy, and the reply of the Bishops. The Address asked the acceptance of the principle of "development," instead of that of "omission," meaning "prohibition." They evidenced the sanction of the Bishops in many cases to the former practice, and also assert a legal sanction to certain doctrines and practices—the Real Presence of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the Holy Communion, "under the form of Bread and Wine;" the Adoration due to Him there Present; the sacrifice which He there offers by the hands of His Priest to the Divine Majesty; a change in Service of the Holy Communion; Services for the Feast of the Virgin; Communion for the Burial of the Dead; Reservation of the Sacrament; Sacramental Confession, &c.; Licensed Confessors. He had not at hand the reply of the Archbishops to the clergy; but he would read to the House a sentence from their reply to an Address presented by the Church Association on the same subject, signed by 60,000 members of the Church of England—

> "There can be no doubt that the danger you apprehend of a considerable minority both of clergy and laity amongst us desiring to subvert the principles of the Reformation is real; and it is not unnatural that you should appeal to us for counsel and support. Since we had the honour of receiving your deputation, our attention has been directed to a petition presented by upwards of 400 clergymen to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in favour of what they designate as Sacramental Confession. We believe that through the system of the Confessional great evil has been wrought in the Church of Rome, and that our reformers acted wisely in allowing it no place in our Reformed Church; and we take this opportunity of expressing our entire disapproval of any such innovation, and our firm determination to do all in our power to discourage it. We feel justified in appealing to all reasonable men to consider whether the very existence of our National Institutions for the maintenance of religion is not imperilled by the evils of which you complain."

Encouraged by this reply, on July 14, 1873, he moved in that House for a Committee to inquire by what means the impending danger could be averted. The most rev. Prelate and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), in most emphatic terms, condemned the lawlessness of the clergy and the introduction of Confession into our Church; but said it would be accepted by few, and that it was too late in the Session to appoint a Committee. However, in the ensuing Session, the evils he had complained of had so much increased, that the most rev. Primate introduced the Public Worship Regulation Bill. In introducing it, his principal reasons were to the following effect:—That greater facilities were required for enforcing the law; that Confession Boxes were being introduced into churches; that altar cards containing prayers to the Virgin were introduced; that, though the clergy were bound, by their Ordination vows, to obey the monitions of their Bishop, they refused to do so; that the Canons gave special power to the Bishop to regulate Vestments, but the clergy were disobedient. He referred to part of the Report of the Ritualistic Commission, recommending

> "That the Bishops should, with regard to Lights, Vestments, and Incense, enforce the usage of the last 300 years."

He said that the Courts should be differently constituted, so as to obtain a less expensive and more speedy enforcement of the law; that all the time of the Bishops was taken up with Memorials against these practices; that he believed the number of the clergy and laity who carried them on was small; but the fact of even a small body of clergy acting contrary to the law would shake the confidence of the people of England in the Established Church; that in the diocese of Durham these practices had been suppressed with a strong hand—some people thought too summarily; but the great body of the laity came forward to show they approved of what had been done; therefore he asked for a new law, &c., of which he went on to state the provisions. He concluded—

> "If your Lordships are of opinion that the Church of England, while recognizing, as she always has the independence of the Incumbent as Pastor of the Parish, lays down that he should be subject to these laws and regulations of which the Bishop is the exponent, then I ask you to vote for this Bill, . . . for this is the principle affirmed in its various clauses."

The real question was, were the Archbishops and Bishops or the Incumbent to decide in controverted cases? Lord Selborne said there appeared to him to be no doubt that this was still the real issue, and he wondered—

> "How advocates of Church authority, who are supposed to be actuated by High Church principles, can imagine that the cause they profess to have at heart is advanced by the setting aside of all authority—whether the au-

> thority of the Crown or the episcopal authority —it is a problem which I cannot undertake to solve; it is one I have always contemplated with astonishment. But of one thing I am satisfied—that no institution can stand which, in matters of form and ceremony, has not within itself sufficient power to procure obedience to laws necessary to retain the confidence of the people, and to prevent innovations dangerous in their tendencies, if not dangerous in themselves."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxviii. 799.]

Lord Hatherley said—

> "There were some of the clergy who openly stated that they would obey their Bishops just as far as the solicitor, or as the Privy Council said they must, and no further. Indeed, many would not go so far, but insisted, each, on being his own Pope."—[*Ibid.*, ccxix. 1141-2.]

Lord Bath and the Bishop of Winchester said "that as soon as the clergy knew the law they would obey it." Their Lordships were aware that the necessity for this Bill was acknowledged by the large majorities by which it was carried through both Houses—a few of the law-breakers dissenting. It was, he thought, above seven years since it had been in force. The former expense and delay had not decreased in consequence of this Bill, for it was only now, after seven years, that different cases had been fought and defended (and too often defeated), on every legal technicality that could be raised, that, at last, precedents had been established which would enable the law to be enforced with less delay and at somewhat less expense. Exception had been taken to the fact that these cases had been fought, not by the Bishops alone, but by two societies—The Church Association and the Church Union. As an original member of the Council of the former, he was quite satisfied to bear the responsibility of its action. Its end and object was—

> "To uphold the doctrines, principles, and order of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert her teaching on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome, and further to encourage concerted action for the advancement and progress of Spiritual Religion."

Many of their Lordships, and more of the public, would agree with him that in the abstract it was desirable these ends should be arrived at; but they might agree with the somewhat acrid eloquence of the right rev. Prelate who presided over the diocese of Peterborough, who stated it to be an act of odious and fatuous folly to prosecute to imprisonment a clergyman for breaking a Rubric. In venturing to comment on any remarks of that right rev. Prelate, he felt like those whom the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) described the other day as being very shaky about their knees. His hope was that the right rev. Prelate will not condescend to notice the remarks of so humble a Member of that House as himself; but, should he do so, he would appeal to him in the words of the old play—"Oh! Biddly, please to moderate the rancour of your tongue." So what the Church Association did was to prosecute clergymen for the breach of the law. The Church Union defended the law-breakers —so it had again and again been decided that any clergyman had broken the law by the Judges appointed under the law. The Judge pronounced such sentence as he deemed right never of imprisonment; it might be suspension, it might be deprivation; and imprisonment only resulted from the clergyman treating the law of the land with contempt. If any subject of the Queen, from the Lord Chancellor downwards, if he treated a decree of any Court in the same way, would he not also be put in prison till he purged himself? Was a clergyman above the law, and not bound by the legal contract he had made? No; he was acting on the unwritten law of his conscience. It seemed to him that if his conscience did not allow him to abide by the legal interpretation of the contract he had entered into, he had only to resign the position and the property he enjoyed under that contract, and then he would be free to be guided by his conscience only. Other men besides clergymen had consciences; but, so far as their dealings with property were concerned, if law and order were to prevail, clergy and laity alike must be subject to the law of the land, such as it was, till changed by Act of Parliament. Then, what was the *raison d'être* of the Church Association? It had been properly called by its friends "The Bishops' Aid Society;" and so it certainly was, for the costs of the suits were very large. It would be impossible for the Episcopal Bench to bear them; and it could never commence an action without the sanction of the Bishop. This sanction would not be given if there was any reasonable doubt that the clergy were acting illegally. If Church Association did not exist, the Public Worship Act would have been a dead letter; and there could be no doubt this was never the intention of Parliament. They asked the Judge to enforce it according to his discretion. If the law was wrong let Parliament change it. He had before called their Lordships' attention to the fact that the friends of the High Church Party, in debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, stated that as soon as the law was declared they would obey it. So said the President of the Church Union; but now the decision was adverse, they pleaded that the Courts were not constituted as they deemed desirable. If such a plea was entertained, was it not a direct encouragement of the lawlessness to repress which the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed? And the Motion now before the House gave direct sanction to it. And let him now refer to some of the recent transactions in the Church. A Petition had been addressed by between 3,000 and 4,000 out of the clergy, sympathizing with those who suffered from their lawlessness — the same body as in the previous year were condemned by the Archbishops—praying that the Bishops would not allow them to be prosecuted for it, but would tolerate their lawlessness. Now, 4,000 was but one-fifth of the clergy. These claims were sent by the Upper House of Convocation to the Lower House. That House recommends that the prayer of the Petitioners be agreed to—namely, that the law of the Church should be ignored. This Motion was but a weak yielding to an obstructive and lawless minority. Not having the Report of Convocation, he was not sure that he followed it quite correctly; but it seemed to him the debate in the Upper House took place on certain Resolutions to the following effect, which had lain dormant on the Table of that House since 1879. The Report of a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, and the Resolutions framed by that Committee, and accepted by that House, on the relations of Church and State, were too long to quote *in extenso;* but he might say that they claimed that, according to the Constitution, all proposed legislation in any way affecting the Church should be laid before Convocation, and no action taken by Parliament till Convocation had considered and reported on it, for that action taken otherwise would be unconstitutional. Another Resolution condemned all Courts that at present existed for deciding ecclesiastical cases, and recommended that others should be constituted according to Canon Law. Another Resolution advised a new way of appointing Bishops; and the Lower House concluded by asking the Upper House to consider and take action in these matters. Those Resolutions were very fully discussed; and it appeared to him that though some of the Bishops sympathized with, none supported them. He regretted occupying so much time, but felt bound to the large body in the Church who agreed with him, and whose voice was little heard in their Lordships' House, to do his best to support their views. They all agreed that it was desirable that each Bishop in his own diocese should regulate Ritual according, not to any system agreed on by the Episcopal Bench, but according to his own discretion or indiscretion, to his own capacity or incapacity. He believed such was the law at present, and he conceived that prosecutions arose simply because the clergy refused obedience. The Archbishops and Bishops supported the Public Worship Regulation Bill principally for this reason. When one considered that there might be 39 manners of putting the law in force, it was hardly surprising that it was not obeyed. It seemed to him that this could never have been contemplated by the law, which must have supposed something of the kind. Another incident that seemed curious in this debate was that the Bishop of Rochester stated that when first he went into his diocese there were six churches within five miles of London Bridge in which an extreme Ritual had been practised for some years, with a very complete system of confession. So contrary to the teaching and doctrine of the Church did the right rev. Prelate deem this, that he said he never went inside these churches, nor could he work with the clergy. This seemed to him fair toleration of lawlessness, a full acception of congregationalism, but not, even in a town, a just or fair treatment of the law-abiding members of the National Church, supported by national funds; and if these Churches were in country parishes, how shameful would be the wrong done to the parishioners? He had heard of many such. These churches resulted from the different societies of the Ritualistic Party, some dozen in number, many of them having secret rules. Of one, the Society of the Holy Cross, the literature was brought before their Lordships' House, first by himself, and afterwards by the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees. As President of Convocation, the Archbishop of Canterbury thus designated this Society—"A conspiracy against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of our Reformed Church." Again, asking their Lordships' attention to the debate in the House of Convocation, the Bishop of Winchester proposed the following Resolution:—

> "Having regard to the Report from the Lower House on the relations between Church and State, and also to the Report on Clergy Discipline, this House is of opinion that it is desirable that a general Clergy Discipline Bill be brought into Parliament, dealing with morals, doctrine, ritual, and neglect of duty, and also with Courts of First Instance and Appeal in matters ecclesiastical."

An Amendment to this was proposed by the Bishop of Peterborough, and, after considerable discussion, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:—

> "Whereas this House has received a Report from the Lower House on the relations between Church and State, and also a Report on Clergy Discipline; and whereas many members of the Church have from time to time expressed their strong dissatisfaction with the present constitution of the Courts Ecclesiastical; and whereas the laws relating to Clergy Discipline are in many respects in need of amendment, this House requests his Grace the President to pray Her Majesty to issue a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the said laws and the constitution of the said Courts, with a view to the full statement and consideration of all objections, and to the reform of whatever may be shown to be amiss."

It would be very evident to the House that this Resolution, which would be carried out if the House adopted the Motion of the most rev. Prelate, was very different from the recommendations of the Lower House, and to the Resolution proposed by the Bishop of Winchester. It seemed to him, at the same time, easy to see why it was accepted—not, perhaps, by the most rev. Prelate, but by the Upper House of Convocation—simply because it was improbable that their Lordships' House would adopt a Petition to the effect of the Bishop of Winchester's Resolution, owing to the High Church sympathies of some of their Lordships, and the Broad Church and sentimental sympathies of others. Now, as to the necessity of the inquiry asked for by the most rev. Primate, he submitted that up to 1830 all the statutes had been fully inquired into and reported on by a Royal Commission. If desirable, the evidence and Report could be reprinted. Since that time there had been, so far as he could learn, only four Acts passed of any importance—the Acts of 2 & 3 *Will.* IV., c. 92, and of 3 & 4 *Will.* IV., c. 41, abolishing Court of Delegates and transferring its power to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the Church Discipline Act, 1840; the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876; the Public Worship Regulation Act. From the litigation of the last 20 years these Acts were perfectly familiar. What inquiry there was required as to these he could in no wise understand. The constitution of the Arches Court had been brought before the High Court of Judicature, and the three Judges sitting in the case declared that it was the same Court as had existed for many years, and not a new Court. Whatever the constitution of a Court, legal pleas might be put in as to its merits; but there was no other means of arriving at a legal conclusion, save by the same course of procedure. In fact, no law or no Court could be made or changed to please everybody. In this country the majority in the two Houses of Parliament made the law, and the minority must obey it. Now, he must trouble the House with the opinion, as to the present Courts, of one whose opinion, though it could not carry more weight, would be accepted as quite of equal value on this matter as even that of the most rev. Prelate. It ran thus—

> "Lambeth Palace, July, 1877.
>
> "Fully concurring with you as to the great importance of the legal decisions which, during the last 10 years, have been pronounced by the Court ot Arches and the Supreme Court of Appeal, and considering it the duty of all sound Churchmen and good citizens to maintain and promote a loyal obedience to decisions thus pronounced, I feel assured that in every legitimate way the Bishops of the Church of England will show their determination to discountenance lawlessness, and that each step which they are called upon to take, according to the constitution of the Church, will be guided by a solemn sense of the responsibility which rests upon them to maintain the pure and simple truths, which the leaders of our Church, protesting against mediæval error, vindicated at the Reformation. The details of our mode of action must, of course, depend upon the individual circumstances of each case which comes before us; but the general principle which I

have indicated above, fairly applied, will, I trust, be found adequate to meet all the difficulties which you anticipate, and I am strengthened by an assured conviction that the determination here expressed meets with the entire approval of an overwhelming majority, both of the Clergy and Laity of our Church.

"I remain, my dear Sir,
"Yours faithfully,
"(Signed) A. C. CANTUAR.
"Thomas R. Andrews, Esq."

He was not aware that any change had taken place in these Courts since that time. He was not aware that Ritualistic practices had decreased with impunity. That this proposed inquiry would strengthen and encourage them was the opinion of the Ritualistic Party. It was thus conveyed in an organ of that Party. *The Church Review*, writing of the proposed Commission, said—

> "One of its great advantages is time for consideration, and the certain postponement of any fresh prosecutions for at least two or three years. Time is on our side, and there is no rough and ready scheme which will bring immediate peace. We need to persuade men to listen to counsels of toleration, and to build up our outposts, consolidate our defences, and supply the weak places in our parochial organization. Again, there is breathing time after threats of annihilation, and, just as the Royal Commission on Ritual stopped the Earl of Shaftesbury's Bill for the abolition of vestments, so a new Commission will practically supersede Lord Penzance and the apology for a Court over which he presides."

He could not believe that the Archbishop contemplated results so contrary to all his previous actions in life; but he would ask the right rev. Bench a plain question. If this Commission were granted, did not they intend to refuse to take action pending the inquiry? If so, it would be the severest blow the Church of England ever received. He had troubled their Lordships with all these details to show that no new facts could be elicited by the proposed Commission, and that, if confined to the mere question of constitution of the Courts, it would in no wise satisfy the views of the 3,000 and odd lawless clergy, to relieve whose consciences it was proposed. That was clearly shown by the Resolutions of the Lower House of Convocation, and the Resolution proposed by the Bishop of Winchester. If their Lordships granted a Royal Commission at all, let it be to inquire into all the questions involved in these Resolutions; and in his mind this inquiry should be headed, "On what conditions is the Church of England to be disestablished?"

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after ("That") for the purpose of adding ("whereas a Royal Commission in the year 1831, consisting of the then Archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Chief Justice of Common Pleas, besides several other learned judges, was appointed to inquire into the practice and jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England and Wales, which Commission, after mature deliberation, presented a report in 1832: And whereas in the late matter of the Rev. P. T. Dale and the Rev. R. W. Enraght before the High Court of Judicature, the judges, after giving careful consideration, unanimously declared that the 'Court under the Public Worship Act was the same which had existed from the time of Lord Coke downwards, and was neither a new court nor had any new jurisdiction,' it is the opinion of this House that it is not desirable that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as proposed.")—(*The Lord Oranmore and Browne.*)

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH: My Lords, I have listened with great interest and keen curiosity to the speech of the noble Lord who has just sat down. I was extremely curious to know in what way and by what arguments he would support his Amendment. It appeared to me that that Amendment divided itself into two parts, and that those two parts were mutually contradictory, and that one distinctly refuted the other. The two reasons which the noble Lord submits for your rejection of the Motion of the most rev. Prelate are these—first of all, that a Royal Commission sat upon the Ecclesiastical Courts some 50 years ago; and, secondly, that a particular Court now existing has existed since the days of Lord Coke. That, I presume, is the Court of Arches as it has since been modified; and, therefore, it would appear that not even the venerable age of that Court at the time the noble Lord spoke of prevented Parliament from asking for, and the Crown from granting, a Commission to inquire into that, as well as other Courts Ecclesiastical. So that the noble Lord's argument is that there is a Court so ancient and venerable that it becomes a sort of sacrilege to interfere with it, and that the idea of a Commission meddling with it is not to be tolerated, and yet that your Lordships are to remember that 50 years ago a Commission was appointed to examine into this very Court. The noble Lord having placed this argument before us, the very next thing that I heard was that he had himself been prepared to take the very course, or almost the very course, he condemns on the part of the most rev. Primate. He says that, moved by the presence of serious evils in the Church, he did propose to your Lordships the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the best way to prevent these evils. The difference between this and a Royal Commission could hardly be so great that it could be the height of wisdom on his part some years ago to move for a Committee, and that it should now be the opposite for the whole Episcopal Bench to move for a Commission to inquire into the same matters. But I am still more surprised to find that the noble Lord has referred to the action of the Church Defence Association in the manner that he did. I am a diligent reader of the publications of the Church Defence Association. I read them carefully—though the noble Lord may think with less profit than I ought to derive from them—and I find that upon more than one occasion proposals have been made by that body for amending the Public Worship Regulation Act, because it does not go far enough in repressing the lawlessness which is complained of as existing within the Church. It seems, then, that this venerable and sacred Court, as modified by that Act, is not so sacred in the eyes of the Church Defence Association, of which the noble Lord is a member, that they should not endeavour to amend it. The difference therefore, between the noble Lord and the Prelates of the Church is only this—that we are desirous of well-considered, mature, and thoughtful legislation; but the noble Lord and the Church Defence Association are all in favour of legislation of a hasty and immature character. We think it better that we should be informed by Royal Commission before we proceed to amend the Act which the Association thinks needs to be amended. I think that, upon the whole, the course proposed by the most rev. Primate is the wiser one. But the noble Lord has been good enough to honour me by special notice in connection with the Church Defence Association; and amongst the wide range of subjects he has touched upon, he has alluded to my "acrid eloquence," and to the necessity of my moderating the rancour of my tongue. I ventured, I confess, to speak of the folly of the Church Defence Association in imprisoning certain of the clergy; and I now repeat what I then said—that when the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed it provided a very different way of dealing with Ritual offences. It gave to the offending clergy no less than three years' probation before they were required absolutely to submit themselves to the decisions of the Court, or resign; and the Act seems, in this respect, at least, specially framed with care and tenderness for the clergy in the matter of Ritualistic offences. But the Church Defence Association, who have administered this Act, instead of isolating these few clergy and putting them in that position in which they should appear before the public as law-breakers deserving reprobation, have put them into gaol, have made them martyrs, and have put at their backs 3,000 or 4,000 of some of the most loyal, eminent, and attached clergymen of the Church of England. All I can say is that this appears to me the most odious, the most spiteful and fatuous folly. If the Church Association had been paid a handsome subsidy by the English Church Union, it could not have helped the Church Union and the extreme party of the Church more effectually and successfully than it has done by the imprisonment of these fortunate clergymen. So much for the Public Worship Regulation Act, and for its administration. If I were President of the Church Defence Association it would seem to me the wisest thing I could do to urge on this Commission for the examination, and, if necessary, the re-construction, of existing Courts, for the simple reason that all these prosecutions, all these conflicts about jurisdiction, and all these violent proceedings have simply ended in greatly increasing the number and the success of the party they were designed to defeat; and I would venture to recommend to the noble Lord that the next time he visits the Committee of the Church Defence Association he should propose a resolution in favour of this Royal Commission. I hope sincerely it may be adopted. I hope the noble Lord himself may be a witness before the Commission, and enlighten it as he has enlightened your Lordships this evening; and I hope, when it has fully investigated all these matters, we shall have wise and well-considered Courts. It appears to me, my Lords, as I ventured to say in another place, that if you want peace in the Church of England, or, indeed, in any other institution, you can only have it in one of two ways. You may obtain it by having such rules and laws as shall be perfectly clear and well-defined—and in that case it would matter very little what Courts you had; or you may obtain it by having Courts so generally acceptable, and of such absolute authority, that no one will dispute their ruling. In one or other of these two ways—clear laws or generally accepted Courts—you may have peace in the Church. The misfortune is that at this moment the Church of England has neither perfectly defined rules nor Courts of undisputed authority. The present Courts are Courts the authority of which is, with some degree of plausibility, at all events, questioned and disputed. It appears to me, therefore, speaking from a common-sense point of view, that if you have an institution governed by laws and rules which have been for 20 years a subject of embittered strife and litigation, which is hindering the entire working and usefulness of the institution, that the only wise and natural course would be to come together, and say—This law is very ambiguous, it is disputed very much; let us agree upon a new law, let the law be broad and tolerant, let it embrace, if necessary, everything which can be fairly embraced within the limits of the institution, but let it be clear and indisputable. If in the Army there had been a dispute about uniforms which had lasted for 20 years, the public generally would think there was something exceedingly wrong at the Horse Guards, when they failed to ascertain the reason of that dispute or to bring it to a determination. But we have to remember that the garments the clergy have to wear now are garments that were ordered by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. Imagine the condition of the Army if the soldiers of Her Majesty had no clearer description of their uniforms than this—that they were to be such as were ordered by authority of Parliament in the reign of Edward VI.; and if, further, a colonel could not send a mutinous soldier to the guardroom, or cashier an offending officer, without its costing him from £4,000 to £10,000. That is exactly the condition of the Church of England at this moment. It seems to me, therefore, that it would have been wise and prudent for the Church of England to have agreed upon some definite rule, widely tolerant as to these matters. Parliament, it is true, however, when it passed the Public Worship Regulation Act some years ago, gave the power of revision in this respect to Convocation, but unhappily that revision did not take place. Your Lordships may ask me why? Because there were two parties in the Church who, however widely different in other respects, agreed in opposing revision of the Ornaments Rubric. One dreaded that the new Rubric would give its opponents too much, and the other dreaded it would give them too little. Between these two extremes it was found impossible to devise a Rubric which I venture to say any dozen men of common sense and charity could have settled on that occasion in an hour. Such an opportunity has passed, and it will never return. I deeply deplore that this ambiguous Rubric still remains. You may devise Courts of a most unexceptionable character; but, nevertheless, it has to be remembered that the judgment of a Court, however authoritative, does not remove ambiguity from the Rubric. You may get a judgment which people will submit to; but, still, there will always remain hanging about such a judgment the doubt and ambiguity which hangs about the Rubric itself. I deeply regret, therefore, that some settlement of our contentions, upon the basis I have suggested, has not been arrived at. But as it has not, one course only now remains—namely, the institution of Courts which shall be so universally acceptable as that their judgments shall be rarely called in question, and, if possible, not resisted at all. If you have the choice of two Courts equally legal, both having an equal right to the submission of those for whom they adjudicate, it is obviously wise to choose that Court which shall carry with it the moral assent of those whom it rules, and not merely to force a hard, dry law, of whatever authority, down their throats. The action of a Court in the matter of Rubrics is not, be it remembered, like the action of a Court in the matter of criminal or pecuniary transactions. If a Court decides that

A loses property and that it goes to B, A sees that he has lost it, and the matter is at an end; but it is a very different matter when a Court decides against a clergyman in a matter that Sunday after Sunday touches his conscience, however ill-informed and unwise that conscience may be. It is surely wise in such a case to relieve men from occasions and temptations to disobedience which must otherwise daily beset them, and to procure for them such alterations, if not in the constitution, at least in the working of the Courts as shall make it easier for them to abide by their judgments. I am altogether in favour of such a course, if it be a possible one; and I would approve of this Royal Commission if it gives those aggrieved and distressed clergymen of the Church of England, whose loyalty and attachment are, at least, as unimpeachable as the noble Lord's, an opportunity of pointing out and explaining what they object to in the existing state of things. It is most desirable that you should allow these clergymen to go before the Royal Commission and state what their grievance is. We, the Bishops who have worked with, and who know the worth and the loyalty of many of those clergy—we who have to go forth at the head of these clergy and wage war against the evils and sins of our day and generation—we feel that it is no use attempting merely to rule men whom you have also to lead; we would be glad to speak to them in the name of the law uttered by Courts to which they themselves would be more ready than they now are to yield implicit obedience. We want, not merely the submission, but the willing and loyal obedience, of the clergy. I entirely agree with the wise utterance of the most rev. Primate in which he said he did not desire to upset or abolish the Royal Supremacy. There are very few indeed of the most recalcitrant clergy who wish to upset the Royal Supremacy. Such a desire is certainly not shared in by the Episcopacy; but, granting to the full, as I do, that the Crown is supreme in all cases ecclesiastical, I think it is to be borne in mind, and it lies at the bottom of much of the dissatisfaction that exists with the present state of things, that the Crown in the 19th century means something very different from the Crown in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts. We hear persons now talking of the Crown as a secular authority. Why, the clergy of the time of Henry VIII. would have stared in wonder at the person who said the Crown was a secular authority. The Crown was then regarded as a *quasi*-sacred authority. It may, thereore, be a matter for the consideration and wisdom of Parliament to advise the Crown in what manner now to exercise the Royal Supremacy now in reference to those Courts over which the Crown, of course, is supreme; and that is a matter which may fairly come within the purview of the Commission. As regards the objection that the existing Court of Appeal is a secular one, I have never been able to understand that objection. It seems to me that those who make it are confused in their own minds as to the real difference between secular and spiritual, and as to what constitutes a secular Court. A Court is, or is not, a secular Court, not according to the persons who constitute it, but according to the authority from which the Court is derived. The Court of Arches was a spiritual Court, and was admitted to be so, and yet it was presided over by a layman; and if a Court of Bishops were appointed to-morrow by the Crown on its sole authority it would not be a spiritual, but a secular Court; so that when men object to secular Courts of Final Appeal they really forget the importance of this distinction. Under the 25th Statute of Henry VIII. it is impossible for the Crown to create any Court, even though that Court consist entirely of clergymen, which would not be a secular and State-made Court. As to this distinction between secular and spiritual, whatever value it has—and this is not the time or place to discuss it—it is, at least, an interesting fact to know that this distinction did not exist in the earlier days of the English Church. During the whole existence of the Anglo-Saxon Church there was no such distinction. The Bishop and the Earl sat in the same Court dispensing the same laws alike to Church and State. Doubtless this and other highly interesting facts will come out before the Commission that will, I trust, be appointed; and I cannot but earnestly hope that the discussion of these and like facts will bring about a clear and complete opening up of all the questions at issue, which lie not behind the Acts of

Reformation Settlement, but between these and the present day. All these difficulties as to modes of procedure, as to the Clergy Discipline Act, which is a most defective Act, and in some respects entirely unworkable, it is to be hoped may receive a solution by virtue of the patient and careful investigation of this Committee. If the result of the Commission were nothing else but the publishing of a Blue Book, with a statement of the various theories held on these questions, and examination of those theories, with the evidence in support of them that will be brought out by various persons, I will venture to say that the Commission will have conferred great benefit; and there is, moreover, the hope that it will tend to larger knowledge and fuller information; and larger knowledge and fuller information will certainly help us towards a peaceful solution of our difficulties. We Bishops have no *arrière pensée* in moving for this Commission. We are honestly and sincerely desirous of the good of the Church; and we are honestly and sincerely desirous of maintaining in their fulness, and, so far as we may or can, of insuring obedience to the laws of the Church. But we desire, first, that these laws should be clear and definite, and next that the authority which enforces them shall be generally, if not universally, accepted. I do not believe in the government of the Church by Episcopal connivance. I do not believe in the government of the Church by the caprice of congregations. I do not believe in ingenious devices for the clergy giving legal services in the morning and illegal services in the afternoon, or legal services in the afternoon and illegal in the morning. I do not believe in providing chapels of retreat for dissatisfied members of congregations. I do not believe in any one of these contrivances for securing peace in the Church. They are feeble devices, and, like all feeble devices, only recoil on those who invent them. What we desire is, first of all, clear Rubrics; secondly, accepted and acceptable Courts. We may not be able to get clear and definite Rubrics; but I hope that one result of the Commission will be to give us Courts the working of which will be so improved if necessary, and the constitution so understood and recognized, as that men will be content to accept their decisions even upon ambiguous Rubrics—peace-making and healing decisions as, I trust, they will yet prove to be.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) reminded their Lordships that the Church, in the 37th Article, declared that—

> "The prerogative given to Godly Princes by God Himself was that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers;"

and he maintained that the parties who complained of being restrained at the present time by the Civil Sword were the stubborn persons referred to in the Article.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: My Lords, I am sorry to detain your Lordships at this hour. I happened to be away from the scene during the time of the trials which have been referred to, and, not knowing the state of opinion in England, I gave my view on the question; but I afterwards found that a very great change had taken place in public opinion. The action of the Church Association had, no doubt, created a complete revulsion of feeling to that which existed so strongly in 1874, and which had been created by the extremely unwise policy of throwing these clergymen into prison. The Act of 1874 contemplated nothing of that kind; because it is a necessary consequence that if people are so misguided as to refuse to obey the law, there is in existence power for their coercion. I, however, deeply regret that it has been applied in the present instance. The result has been exactly opposite to what was intended by the Act of 1874; and I therefore give my support to this Motion for investigating the whole question by Royal Commission. I do not think it necessary, after the exhaustive speech of my most rev. Brother the Mover, that I should go into much detail; but I will just mention one thing. The Court of highest Appeal was at one time constituted of certain Lords summoned by the President of the Council, and one or more Prelates who were Members of the Privy Council. In consequence of general altering of the Judicature system the Bishops were struck out. I do not say that that was right or wrong; but it took place; the Judicature of the country was then under consideration.

Some of your Lordships thought the proposal too strong, and the alteration was proposed to a system of Episcopal Assessors, so advised. These Assessors were to assist the Law Lords by sending in their opinions for consideration before the decision was arrived at. I am glad to say that it has not been my duty to sit as an Assessor, and I hope I may escape that duty for the rest of my life, for I should be surprised to learn that a single sentence that had ever been advised by the Assessors was to be found in the judgments of the Court as finally delivered. I am not at all complaining; but we have now arrived at a stage when we ask whether that state of things may not fairly be re-considered. Another point is, that the Final Court of Appeal sometimes consists of four, sometimes of 10, 12, and so on. Now, I remember that a clergyman of some standing and position, some years ago, said in a pamphlet that the Court of Final Appeal was packed for every occasion. These, and other points, will be brought out in the Royal Commission, and a remedy will, perhaps, be found. People will learn how the list of Lords who actually sit is finally determined on, and what is the precise position of Episcopal Assessors. Are we aright in having all this complicated machinery of criminal legislation to deal with cases of this class? Is it not possible to revert to what I maintain is the ancient law of the Church? The Bishop was bound to appear and meet his clergy in synod. There he propounded to them the things that he intended to make orders. He heard and discussed, and when everybody had had a fair opportunity of making objections, he gave his orders, and it was binding upon them, unless and until it was appealed from to the Archbishop. That mode of dealing with the matter was sought to be revived in 1874 by the noble and learned Lord who now sits on the Woolsack in what, I venture to think, was a wiser proposal than that contained in the Act we are now considering. It was that the Bishop should have the power to make an order as to things relating to public worship and matters in his diocese; that there should be one appeal, but that that should be upon legal questions only, and not upon expediency; and if any such appeal took place, then a certain time was to be allowed, and the said order should then be binding on the clergy in that diocese. I do not pronounce upon that now; but it is highly important. Having seen this complicated machinery, in the manufacture of which I had myself a hand—having seen it come to grief from too great friction or too great cumbersomeness, may we not, by this Royal Commission, light upon something more simple and easy to work? For these reasons I have come round to the conclusion which I did not at first hold, and I think there is no other course before us than to take counsel about the whole subject, and I know of no better way of doing that than by means of a Royal Commission. We should by that means get every shade of opinion, and every grade in the Church can be represented in the Commission; and though we cannot pretend that the conclusions at which that Commission will arrive will be universal, we may be sure, at all events, that they are the conclusions of those representing the universal Church, and that they are more likely to commend themselves to the whole of the clergy. For these reasons I give my support to the Motion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, it is my duty to state to your Lordships the view of the Government with regard to this proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission. When such a proposal comes before this House, recommended not only by the high authority of the most rev. Prelate, but, as I collect from what has passed, by the general authority of the Episcopal Bench, it would require, I think, very considerable reasons to justify its rejection. But I do not think that this proposal depends upon their authority only. The real question, apart from the authority of the right rev. Bench, is whether the inquiry which is asked for is reasonable in itself, and whether it is expedient under the actual circumstances of this time. With regard to its reasonableness in itself, it appears to me that, so far as the Courts of First Instance are concerned, and the law which applies to their procedure, it is impossible that they can be considered by any person to be satisfactory. The principal measure by which their procedure is now regulated is the Clergy Discipline Act, which, I venture to say, increases very largely the cost of proceedings against clerks accused of ecclesiastical offences, by requiring a double procedure where a single procedure would be sufficient. If that were all, it would be a sufficient reason, after the lapse of so many years as have passed since the Act came into operation, for an inquiry into its provisions and its operation. Then, with regard to the other Act, passed in 1874, unfortunately miscalled the Public Worship Regulation Act, it is not, and never was meant to be, a Public Worship Regulation Act at all. It is an instance which ought to make us more careful than we sometimes are as to the titles which we give our Bills, as well as the clauses we put into them; for a false title has, in this case, misled many people, and caused much needless irritation. The object of the Act was not in any way to "regulate" public worship, but to supply, what some supposed would be a more summary, easy, and expeditious manner of applying the existing law to the correction of a certain class of ecclesiastical offences. I never could see in that Act the partiality which some saw, because its provisions were equally and impartially applicable all round. The results, however, were not successful, even if the Act itself was not a mistake. I ventured, at that time, to propose a totally different and a less litigious system, more depending upon the corrective authority of the Bishop; and I was glad to hear to-night some remarks made by the most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of York in reference to that proposal, because I do think that the principle on which my suggestions were founded was one which may deserve the consideration of the Commission which is to be appointed. However, that proposal met, at the time, with very little countenance. The right rev. Bench seemed afraid of the responsibility it would cast upon them; it did not receive the support of the Government; and it fell to the ground. The actual form in which the Act passed was neither that proposed by the most rev. Prelate, nor that which I had ventured to recommend; it was adopted, perhaps rather too hastily, upon the advice of a noble Earl (the Earl of Shaftesbury) whom we all greatly respect. Everyone lost sight of one defect in the Act which turned out to be alsolutely fatal, and which did not occur to anyone, because we did not realize the possibility of clergymen, when once the law was decided against them, setting it at defiance. The Act, instead of giving a short and reasonable time for obedience, gave three years. The result of that was that if any clergyman succeeded in persuading himself that his duty was to resist the law, the Act assisted him in setting it at defiance for three years, and, instead of checking the evil, really increased it. This has actually been done; the law has been set at defiance; and under the Act a clergyman who so acted was not only not effectually checked, but he was allowed to go on doing all the mischief he could in the Church. It is quite clear, on principle, that obedience ought to be a condition on which clergymen can alone hold their preferments. In my opinion, three weeks would have been a better period than three years; but certainly three months would be ample. Then there is a third Act of Parliament, passed in the 53rd year of George III., by which imprisonment, instead of excommunication, was made the ordinary means of enforcing the orders of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Before that time, contumacy after excommunication, but not without it, might be followed by imprisonment. The proceedings which have taken place under that Act have given great offence, not only to large numbers of the clergy, but to many laymen also, who have no sympathy with contumacious clergymen, but who do not like to see them sent to prison for doing what they have persuaded themselves is right. I am afraid we shall never be able entirely to get rid of the necessity for imprisonment, if a deprived clergyman should insist on keeping possession, even if the Church were disestablished; but in cases of this kind deprivation would certainly be a more suitable punishment. With regard to the Judicial Committee, while I have heard many things said against it—though only as a Court of Ecclesiastical Appeal, I have never heard anyone yet state an any definite, reasonable, or practical way in which a better Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical cases could be substituted for it. When I really see such a scheme, I shall not be unwilling to consider it; but I am not sanguine as to it being one of the results of the proposed Commission. The objections which have been made to the Judicial Committee would be better worth considering, if it were not too often manifest that they are advanced in a spirit which can hardly be described as that of good faith. It has been represented as a packed tribunal, on no other ground than that in that Court, as in this House and in the other Courts of Appeal, it is sometimes necessary to arrange among the members of the Court who shall undertake the duty of attendance on particular occasions. Ever since this unreasonable suspicion has been entertained of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it has been the practice to summon, in ecclesiastical cases, all the members of that tribunal, so that if any of them have not attended to hear those cases, it is entirely of their own accord that they have not done so; and it so happens that, on the last occasion when a large number of the clergy were discontented with the decision arrived at, there was an unusually large attendance of Judges. Another objection made is that only one judgment is given there, and no dissents are stated. This practice adds greatly to the authority of the judgments of the Queen in Council in Indian and Colonial appeals; and, before the Committee of this House which inquired into the Supreme Appellate Jurisdiction in 1856, it was approved, not by myself only, but by Sir Richard Bethell, Lord Romilly, and Lord Moncreiff, as the best for a Court of Final Appeal. Other opinions, of considerable weight, were, no doubt, expressed to the contrary. The Court of Delegates, to which the most rev. Prelate said some clergymen were beginning to turn regretful eyes, never gave reasons for its judgments. It is said that people do not know whether it is the Queen in Council or the Judicial Committee which is the Court. Constitutionally it is the Queen in Council, giving as high dignity and importance to the tribunal as any form can give—a dignity and importance which, although in this country it may signify but little, in the Colonies and in India signifies a good deal. The Queen in Council is advised by the Judicial Committee; the law is laid down by the Judicial Committee; and for all practical purposes they have an authority similar to that of your Lordships' House when acting as an Appellate Court. I was glad to hear the most rev. Prelate say that he was not disposed either to countenance any encroachment on the judicial supremacy of the Crown, or to give any encouragement to the idea that the judicial supremacy is exercised at the present time on different principles from those on which it has been exercised in former times. The most rev. Prelate has told your Lordships that he has been unable, with all his researches, to find that Convocation was either directly or indirectly called into council when the Statute under which the Court of Delegates was established was passed. I can confirm that observation as far as my own researches go. I am not aware that on any single occasion on which any Statute of the Realm has been passed concerning the Ecclesiastical Courts, or their procedure, there has been any concurrent action whatever on the part of Convocation. The pretension that such action ought to exist is a novel one. With reference to what fell from the right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of Peterborough), I do not understand that it is proposed to extend the inquiry to the Rubrics. The right rev. Prelate said that it was necessary to the peace of the Church that the clergy should be able to read the law clearly in the Rubrics; that there should be a clear Ecclesiastical Law, and Courts universally accepted and acceptable. I should despair indeed of the peace of the Church if the realization of so Utopian a dream were really necessary. I do not assent to the Commission with any such sanguine expectation. What I have said shows that there is sufficient reason for the appointment of the Commission in the unsatisfactory—not to say the unworkable—and defective state of the law which determines the action of the present Ecclesiastical Judicatures. The present time for the Church of England is very critical. None of your Lordships, I should think, can help feeling that there do exist discontents which, unless they can be in some way allayed, have a dangerous tendency; that there exist pretensions and opinions from which, being impracticable, serious mischief may arise, unless they either give way to views more consistent with the principle of the relations of Church and State established since the Reformation, or are discouraged by so great a majority amongst the clergy and the laity of the Church as to make them comparatively harmless. I think your Lordships must agree with the right rev. Prelate, that if it were possible to build a bridge of gold in order to reconcile the parties in the Church which are now in such violent conflict, it might be very wise policy to do so. I do not pretend to see my way clearly on that point. I do not pretend to prophesy, or to say that the result of the appointment of the Commission will be so advantageous as some may possibly suppose; but, at all events, I think the Government would be wrong if they did not show their willingness and their desire to contribute to the peace of the Church by any reasonable result which the appointment of this Commission may obtain.

On question, that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the motion, *resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Then the original motion *agreed to.*

The said Address to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

House adjourned at a quarter past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, *7th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Coventry, *v.* Sir Henry Mather Jackson, baronet, one of the Justices of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Herring Brand (Scotland), *appointed.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment * [102].

First Reading—Conveyancing and Law of Property * [101].

Second Reading — Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment [16].

Committee—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98] —*First Night*—R.P.

Select Committee—Married Women's Property * [50], Mr. Shaw Lefevre *added.*

NOTICES.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR (WITHDRAWAL).

MR. E. STANHOPE: Some time ago I gave Notice that I would take an early opportunity of calling the attention of the House to the Afghan policy of Her Majesty's Government. I will now state the terms of my proposed Resolution—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of the British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the true and permanent interests of India."

MR. ONSLOW gave Notice that he would, on Thursday, ask the Secretary of State for India, When he expects to receive the Report called for in the following words from his Despatch to His Excellency the Viceroy of India, dated May 8th 1880, three weeks after the assumption of office of Her Majesty's present Ministers:—

> "The desire of Her Majesty's Government is that Afghan territory should be evacuated whenever it appears possible to entertain the hope that a stable Government has been secured. Your Excellency will report as to the manner in which this object may be best attained;"

if he can state to the House, without detriment to the public service, what has been done during the past ten months for the attainment of this object; and, how it is that no Minutes from His Excellency the Viceroy or any Member of the Supreme Council has been included in the Blue Book recently issued regarding the abandonment or retention of Candahar?

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to give Notice that I will, to-morrow, ask the Government whether they can name any day on which it will be convenient to discuss the Motion of which my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire has just given Notice?

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD gave Notice that when the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire brought forward his Motion he would move—

> "That this House, having heard with satisfaction the announcement conveyed in Her Majesty's gracious Speech, that it is not Her Majesty's intention that the occupation of Candahar shall be permanently maintained, and that Her Majesty's Forces will be withdrawn from that position, relies with confidence upon Her Majesty's Ministers for the adoption of suitable measures in regard to the carrying out of this policy."

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON also gave Notice that he would move, as an Amendment to Mr. Stanhope's Motion—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the obligation of the British Government to the

people of Afghanistan, incurred under the Proclamation of the 21st November, 1878, when war was declared against the late Ameer Shere Ali, should be given effect to, by the return of the British troops within the limits of British India."

QUESTIONS.

THE NEW COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER asked the First Commissioner of Works, with respect to the New Courts of Justice, If he could state what number of courts will be provided for the Court of Appeal, and what number of courts will be provided for the Judges of the Common Law Division?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that the New Courts of Justice would provide accommodation for 21 separate and distinct Courts. It was, as yet, too early to state what the appropriation of these Courts would be; but he presumed there would be two Courts of Appeal, five Courts for the Chancery Division, two for the Probate and Divorce Division, and 12 for the Common Law Division. No distinct appropriation had yet been made, and what he had stated was what might be apparent to any hon. Member.

INLAND REVENUE ACT, 1880—LICENSING—CHARTER OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that, prior to the Inland Revenue Act of 1880, the licensed victuallers of Oxford took out their licences from the University, and paid that body a tax on each licence, and were not charged for their wine licences by the Inland Revenue; and since the Act of 1880 they have been compelled to pay for their licences taxes to the Inland Revenue and to the University; whether the licensed victuallers of Oxford have addressed a memorial to him on the subject; whether a letter received by them, dated December 16, 1880, signed by J. A. Godley, was a reply to that memorial, written under the authority of the First Lord of the Treasury; and, if so, if he would explain how the opinion then expressed in that letter—

"That the charter rights of the Universities were reserved by the Inland Revenue Act 1880, upon full and careful consideration by Parliament,"

can be sustained, seeing that the Clause in question (No. 48) passed through Committee without any expression of opinion by the Government or by any other Member; and, whether, taking into consideration the serious grievances under which the licensed victuallers of Oxford suffer in having to pay heavy licences to the Inland Revenue and the University, he would endeavour, in the financial arrangement for the coming year, to relieve the licensed victuallers of Oxford from the double impost to which they are subject since the Act of 1880, but to which they were not subject prior to that Act?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not surprised at the length of the Question the noble Lord asks, because, although it refers to a very small matter, it is a very complex one, and one which is not easy to explain. The recital in the first part of the Question is not absolutely accurate. It never was the practice of the licensed victuallers of Oxford to take out their licences from the University and to pay that body a tax on each licence. [Lord Randolph Churchill: Wine licence.] Not on licences generally. The University of Oxford has by charter the right to regulate the wine trade in the city of Oxford, which appears to be a very proper and judicious provision, all circumstances considered. At Cambridge there is a similar provision, I think, and that University uses it simply for police and disciplinary purposes, which were evidently the purposes that were originally had in view. But the University of Oxford levies a tax on the sellers of wine to the amount of £2. 10*s*. This, although it is a source of income, must be a very trifling source of income to the University. It is not true that the wine-sellers of Oxford are placed under any necessity of paying the Inland Revenue a tax in order to enable them to exercise the trade of selling wine. What is true is this—If they choose also to sell spirits and malt liquors they must then make a payment to the Inland Revenue, which authorizes those who have made it to sell wine as well as spirits and malt liquors. I do not see that there is any reason for the State to interfere in this matter. I own that if I were a licensed victualler in Oxford I should be inclined to endeavour to induce the University to relinquish this very insignificant source of Revenue. It appears to me to be a question rather between them and the University than between the winesellers and the State. With regard to the letter signed by J. A. Godley, I have never seen that letter; but, referring to the Minutes, I find the matter was carefully considered in Committee, and I have no power to deal with it. On the whole, I think the best course for the winesellers at Oxford to adopt is to deal with the University authorities.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government propose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee, with a view to consider the best means of promoting the proper despatch of business in this House; and, if not, whether the Government will give a day as soon as they conveniently can for the discussion of a Motion with that object, of which notice has been given?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I cannot give my hon. and learned Friend any answer to this Question at all proportionate to the importance of the Question itself—at least in its ulterior aspects. He asks me—

> "Whether the Government propose to move for the appointment of a Select Committee, with a view to consider the best means of promoting the proper despatch of business in this House; and, if not, whether the Government will give a day as soon as they conveniently can for the discussion of a Motion with that object?"

The Government have not arrived at any decision adverse to the appointment of a Select Committee; neither, I am bound to say, have they any intention of making that proposal on their own responsibility. Upon the whole, I think it is our view that the results of the numerous Select Committees which have already sat on the subject have not been such as to make us very sanguine of the utility of such a proposition on our part. It has been intimated in various forms and at various times that the present state of the House in reference to the effective despatch of Business is an extremely serious subject; and, therefore, whether by discussion in a Select Committee or by Resolution of the House itself, we should think it an object of public value and importance that there should be a means of its fuller elucidation in order to impress on the minds of the House and of the country the extreme difficulty in which we are placed. I do not believe that any repressive measure, however judicious, will ever attain the whole of the object that is in view. I am afraid I cannot hope to go beyond that general encouragement to my hon. and learned Friend. He is too well acquainted with the actual state of Business to suppose that I should give him any further particulars.

STATE OF IRELAND—OUTRAGES AT CLIFDEN, CO. GALWAY.

Viscount CASTLEREAGH asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, on Thursday night, February 24th, a party of men armed and disguised visited four dwellings of inoffensive and defenceless people, in the parish of Clifden, county Galway; whether two of the houses were broken into and the inmates maltreated, one old man having received a gunshot wound and many violent kicks, from the effects of which he still lies in a precarious state; whether shots were fired either into or within three of the houses so visited; and, whether great terror prevails in the neighbourhood in consequence of these outrages; and, whether any persons have been made amenable therefor?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): It is a fact that a party of men, some of whom were armed and disguised, visited the dwellings of four persons on the night of the 24th ultimo, in the Clifden district. Two of the houses were broken into and the inmates maltreated. One old man was wounded by one grain of shot from a pistol, which lodged in his arm; he received three kicks, which did him greater injury, but from the effects of which he is now recovering. Shots were fired both inside and outside the houses visited. The Sub-Inspector of Constabulary at Clifden reports that no terror prevails in the neighbourhood where these outrages were committed, and that no person has been made amenable, as the injured persons cannot identify any of the offenders. I understand that a police-station is now established in the neighbourhood, and it is hoped that a careful system of patrolling will prevent the recurrence of further outrages of this kind.

Afterwards,

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether any of the persons who recently committed outrages on defenceless Protestant inhabitants of Clifden, county Galway, have been brought to justice; and if he can inform the House whether any other cause than that of religion has been suggested for the outrages there committed?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): I regret to say that none of the persons who committed these outrages have been brought to justice, as the injured persons cannot identify any of the offenders. The motive assigned for these outrages is sectarian feeling, the injured persons being all converts to Protestantism.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU WAR.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government will reconsider the cases of Beje and other Zulus who, although residing in Zululand at the time of the outbreak of the late war, and therefore subject to the authority of the Zulu king, were tried and convicted in Natal on a charge of high treason, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Yes, Sir, the case will be re-considered, and carefully re-considered. Much correspondence has taken place about it, and it would have been settled before this if the state of things in South Africa had not made it undesirable to take final action at present. I may venture to correct a slight error in my hon. Friend's Question. These men were not residents in Zululand, but natives of Natal, who deliberately went over to the enemy after the war began.

ARMY—LONGFORD BARRACKS.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any prospect of the long promised improvements in Longford Barracks being carried out?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to state that I cannot hold out to him any prospect of additional quarters for married soldiers being at present erected at Longford. There is already, and there will be in future, a large diminution in the number of married soldiers; and until the full effect of short service in this respect is known, it would be imprudent to add to the present accommodation for families beyond what is now in hand. I can find no record of any promise as to married quarters at Longford.

BRITISH GUIANA.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received information of the recent suspension from office of the Administrator General of British Guiana, in regard to whose accounts it was publicly stated in the Colony that a deficit exceeding £20,000 had been discovered by the Auditor General; whether, as stated in the Colonial press, the Administrator General justified himself for the irregularies which had led to the deficiencies in question, by declaring that his course of action in his office had been pursued with the sanction of the executive Government of the Colony for several years past; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will institute an independent inquiry to ascertain on whom the blame and liability for this serious loss to the Colony should rest?

MR. GRANT DUFF: This official has been interdicted from the discharge of his duties pending an inquiry into his alleged misappropriations, and he has made some such statement as that to which my hon. Friend alludes; but as most of the members of the present Executive Council which is inquiring into the matter are in no way inculpated by his statement, and as the Auditor General, who called attention to the alleged irregularities, is supported by the Governor in making the inquiry thorough and complete, there is not in the present stage of the affair any cause for further interference on the part of the authorities at home.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL— ROMAN CATHOLIC ARMY CHAPLAINS.

MR. A. MOORE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any Roman

Catholic Chaplains have been attached to the forces now operating in the Transvaal?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; one Roman Catholic chaplain was sent out in January, and another has been placed under orders to proceed at once. In addition to this there are local Roman Catholic clergymen whose services are made available for the troops.

NAVY—DOCKYARD RIGGERS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If Her Majesty's Government will consider the case of the riggers in Her Majesty's Dockyards, which has more than once been brought before the knowledge of the Admiralty by petition?

MR. TREVELYAN: The case of the riggers in Her Majesty's Dockyards was laid before the late Board in November, 1879, and before the present Board in November, 1880, and in both cases the same Minute is on the Papers that there is no alteration in the circumstances which would call for a change in the pay of the riggers.

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SUPPLY OF MEDICINES.

MR. GABBETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether medicines are provided for the Army in England by inviting tenders from the drug trade; and, if not thus, in what manner; whether the practice that exists in England is applied in Ireland; and, whether the Irish drug trade receive invitations to tender for supplies?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Limerick, I have to state that the present system under which drugs are obtained for the Army in England is that quarterly requisitions are received and settled for the stations, exceeding in number 100, and the drugs are supplied direct to those stations by either the Apothecaries' Company or Messrs. Savory and Moore, according to the price tendered. In Ireland they are supplied by the Apothecaries' Company of Dublin. The prices are checked by those paid by the Admiralty Contract Department, who purchase from the drug trade.

EDUCATION (WALES)—REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMISSION.

SIR ROBERT CUNLIFFE asked the Vice President of the Council, If he is able to state when the Report of the Departmental Commission upon Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales, presided over by Lord Aberdare, will be laid upon the Table; and if he can hold out any hope that the Government will be able to deal with the subject in the course of this Session?

MR. MUNDELLA: I understand that this Commission has completed its inquiry, having examined nearly 300 witnesses, and is now considering its Report. As, however, the Report cannot be presented to the Education Department for several weeks to come, I can hold out no prospect that it can be considered by us in time to found legislation upon it during the present Session.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—NOTTINGHAM HIGH SCHOOL.

MR. ARNOLD MORLEY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is the fact that it is now more than nine years since the governing body of the Nottingham High School applied to the Charity Commissioners to appoint new trustees to fill places which had become vacant in their body; whether the Charity Commissioners declined to appoint such trustees on the ground that they intended to propose a scheme for the High School; whether it is the fact that, although frequent application has been made to the Commissioners, no trustees have as yet been appointed, and no scheme has been published; and, whether there is any hope that the scheme may, within a reasonable time, be brought into operation?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am informed that the Nottingham Charity Trustees, who are the governing body of the High School, asked the Commissioners to advise them what course they should adopt in view of the reduced number of their body; but they have never made application for an appointment of new Trustees, and without such an application the Commissioners have no power to make an appointment. The Town Council of Nottingham has several times urged that an appointment should be made; but a request from the

Town Council does not give the Commissioners power to act. This was explained to the Town Council in February, 1875. In April, 1880, the Commissioners stated their opinion that an appointment of new Trustees would be inconvenient, inasmuch as a scheme under the Endowed Schools Act for the High School had been published in the previous month. The scheme so published has since been frequently under the consideration of the Commissioners, and on Tuesday last was finally settled. In a few days it will be submitted to the Education Department.

LAND COURT (IRELAND)—REDEMPTION OF QUIT-RENTS.

Mr. LITTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Commissioners of Quit-Rents in Ireland, contrary to their practice heretofore, have recently refused to allow quit-rent, for years payable out of estates about to be sold in the Court of the Land Judges, to be redeemed, where such rents are in fact only portions of larger rents payable out of the lands to be sold, in conjunction with other lands, unless the entire rent issuing out of the lands to be sold, and other lands not the subject of sale, be redeemed; or the rent be in the first instance legally apportioned; or a declaration be inserted in the conveyance from the Land Court that the lands sold shall remain liable to the unredeemed portions of quit-rent; whether such refusal is made, irrespective of the value of the security afforded by the lands remaining unsold for the unredeemed portion of quit-rent; whether such refusal has materially retarded the efficiency of the Land Court in effecting sales to tenants; and, whether the Quit-Rent Commissioners will be directed to recur to their former practice?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Perhaps my hon. Friend will excuse me from going into the details of his Question, as I think it is clear that the Commissioners of Woods have acted in accordance with the law which regulates the apportionment of quit-rent among different parcels of land liable to it. As, however, the application of the law appears to raise some difficulties, I propose to see whether any amendment can be effected which would enable a portion of an estate to be sold discharged from quit-rent, leaving the rest, which may not be before the Landed Estates Court, liable to pay an apportioned share of the quit-rent judicially ascertained.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE BOERS.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he would lay upon the Table of the House, the Reports made by Major Butler and Colonel Colley on the state of feeling prevalent in the Boer populations of Transvaal and the Orange Free State?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: I regret that I cannot do what my hon. Friend wishes. These Reports were altogether confidential, and contain matter which it would not be for the advantage of the Public Service to publish at present.

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will furnish Returns to show the Establishments of the several regimental branches, Artillery, Cavalry, Foot Guards, Infantry, according to the new organization, distinguishing men for Home, Colonies, and India; also the rates of pay and allowances, and totals of the cost of the several ranks and of the several regiments; also of the total of the whole of the respective arms?

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will lay upon the Table of the House an amended Estimate, showing the expense of the proposed new organisation of the Infantry of the Army, in lieu of pages 146 to 149 of the Army Estimates, laid upon the Table on the 16th of February last?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. and gallant Friends the Members for Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire, I have to state that it is my intention to lay on the Table of the House without delay Papers explaining in detail the alterations contemplated in the organization and establishments of the Army.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay the revised Estimates on the Table?

Mr. CHILDERS: Practically that will be the case. There is no increase of charges.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ALLOWANCES TO VOLUNTEER CORPS.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to make any reduction in the allowances to Volunteer Corps for attendance at regimental camps for Military instruction; and, if so, on what grounds?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have to state that there is no real reduction in the allowances he alludes to, as, although there is a reduction in the camp allowance, there is a proportional increase in the travelling allowances, the total remaining the same.

INDIA—THE MILITARY FRONTIER.

Sir WILLIAM PALLISER asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether Colonel Browne was correct in stating in his lecture that the revenues of Peshawur district are entirely inadequate in times of peace to pay for its garrison; whether Peshawur is a very unhealthy station both for Indian and European troops; whether, although a force of somewhat greater strength than that of the frontier stations in the Derajat may be required at Peshawur for the purpose of watching the hill tribes, the garrison could be reduced if Candahar were held by a British force which could operate on the flank of any army attempting to advance on India by way of Cabul and the Khybur Pass; if so, whether the cost of the occupation of Candahar should not be credited with the saving in men and money effected at Peshawur and the stations in its neighbourhood in any Estimate of Military Expenditure; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, a Return showing the number of troops, both British and Native, stationed at Peshawur during each of the ten years preceding the late war, the annual deaths, and the number of admissions to hospital of both officers and men?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am unable to accept responsibility for statements made by officers or others in lectures, speeches, or essays, nor can I accept the duty of confirming or refuting such irresponsible statements. In the present instance, it may be accepted as a matter of fact that the district of Peshawur does not produce a sufficient revenue to pay for the garrison maintained in it, as well as for its civil and political administration and its public works. Peshawur is a comparatively unhealthy station, both for Indian and European troops; and accordingly from time to time the permanent garrison has been reduced during the unhealthy season by a removal of a portion of the troops to healthier stations—Cherat, Nowshera, the Gullies—in the neighbourhood. The peace garrison of Peshawur and the district is mainly maintained for the protection of the Hazara and Peshawur district Frontier, and the support of the fort garrisons posted along this Frontier. The Frontier posts of the Derajat are supported by the garrisons of Rawul Pindi, Lahore, and Mooltan. There is no reason to suppose that the existence of a force at Candahar could affect the strength of the reserve required even in peace time for the Hazara and Peshawur Frontier, or that it would at all affect the movements of the tribes on that border. There would, therefore, be no saving in either men or money to be credited to the cost of the occupation of Candahar in any Estimate of military expenditure. A statement giving the strength of the troops maintained at Peshawur during the 10 years preceding the late war, with the average death-rates and admission to hospital at per 1,000 strength, could be prepared if necessary; but I scarcely think that it would throw much light on the subject. The question of the Army advancing on India by Cabul and the Khyber appears to be entirely outside the question of the ordinary garrison maintained at Peshawur for the support of the troops on the Frontier.

ARMY ENLISTMENT ACTS.

Mr. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to Article 663, Royal Warrant, 1st May 1878, by which it is provided that—

> "Boys of 14 years and upwards, specially enlisted under the Army Enlistment Acts of 1867 and 1870, shall reckon only on such portion of their services towards pension as they may render after they shall have attained the age of 17 years;"

and to Article 81, "Army Discipline and Regulation Act, 1879," by which it is provided that a soldier of the Regular Forces may—

"Be re-engaged for such further period of Army service as will make up a total continuous period of 21 years of Army service, reckoned from the date of his attestation, and inclusive of any period previously served in the Reserve"—

whether it is possible, under these Articles, for boys between 14 and 17 years of age, specially enlisted under the Army Enlistment Acts of 1867 and 1870, to obtain a pension; and, if "The Army Discipline and Regulation Act, 1879," requires alteration, so that boys enlisting under 17 years of age may re-engage, in order to enable them to complete 21 years' service from date of their attaining 17 years of age; and, if so, whether he will take into consideration the necessity of having such alteration made?

Mr. CHILDERS: The question raised by the hon. Member is already under my consideration; but I could not easily point out the difficulties surrounding the case in reply to a Question. I shall probably have an opportunity of explaining my decision during the discussion of the Estimates.

PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION—LOCAL INQUIRIES.

Mr. MONK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can hold out any hope that the Government will introduce a measure for facilitating and diminishing the cost of Private Bill Legislation, by means of local inquiries to be held in the country, and, as far as possible, in the locality where the subject of inquiry arises?

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government have it in contemplation to extend further the system of Provisional Orders, whereby so much local legislation has been carried out under the supervision of the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board, with great saving of expense as compared with the ordinary procedure by Private Bills?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I agree with the statement contained in the Question of the hon. Member for Oxford University, both as to the extent of the local legislation to which he refers and as to the great saving of expense that has resulted from its general adoption. It certainly relieves Parliament of a great deal of unnecessary legislation, and helps to reduce the amount of the cost of litigation. By holding local inquiries, by seeing the parties together, by suggesting amendments, it is very often within the power of the Department to make arrangements satisfactory to all the persons concerned. I have no means of exactly comparing the cost of Private Bills and Provisional Orders; but my own experience leads me to believe that the cost of Provisional Orders is not more than one-tenth, and certainly not more than one-fifth, of the average cost of Private Bills. In the 10 years ending 1880 the Board of Trade issued 460 such Orders; and so satisfactory were they, that, although in every case the parties might appeal to a Select Committee, 433 were confirmed—only 27 being rejected or withdrawn. The Local Government Board issue a still larger number of Provisional Orders. Last year they issued 100, of which five only were contested before Select Committees, two of these being withdrawn. Under these circumstances, the Government will take every possible opportunity of extending a system which has proved so satisfactory; and of that intention you have an illustration in the case of the Rivers Conservancy Bill, in which provision is made for dealing with these matters by means of Boards elected under Provisional Orders. At present there are 210 rivers which will be affected by that Bill, and these are governed by no less than 2,000 local Acts. In that way, I hope we may carry out the wishes of the two hon. Members who have put Questions on the subject.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—REPORTED ARMISTICE WITH THE BOERS.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the negotiations for peace with the Boers, Whether the Government forbade any fresh attack to be made on the Boers until the answer which it has been stated "was then expected from them" had been received?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Though we are not in a perfect condition to give full and complete information to the House—and, indeed, we have not perfectly clear information on all points ourselves—yet it is known that, in answer to a communication from Mr. Kruger, as the civil head of the Boers in their present position, there was a communication made to the Boers through the late Sir George Colley, and it is in reference to that, I think, that my hon. Friend asks the Question. His Question is, whether, during the interval while that communication was on its way—while an answer was being prepared with respect to the communication—we had given military instructions to the General forbidding any fresh attack being made. I think the best answer I can give is to state strictly the substance of the telegram sent on the 16th of February to the General Officer Commanding in Natal. It is as follows:—

(Telegram from Sir E. Wood to Lord Kimberley, received March 6, 10 20 p.m.)

"With reference to Lord Kimberley's telegram as respects the interval that must elapse before the reply can in due course be received from the Boers, we do not bind your discretion, but we are anxious for your making arrangements to avoid the effusion of blood."

I may, perhaps, mention, as a matter of interest to the House, that this day a telegram has been received from Sir Evelyn Wood, dated yesterday, the 6th of March—

"Have signed agreement with Joubert for suspension of hostilities until midnight of the 14th of March, for the purpose of receiving Kruger's reply"—

perhaps I ought to say, parenthetically, that we are given to understand that Mr. Kruger has gone further up country than had been expected, and hence there will be some difficulty in transmitting his reply—

"and any further communications. We have power to send eight days' supply to our garrisons, and Joubert has undertaken to pass them through the Boer lines, and on arrival of provisions at such garrisons the blockading and besieged parties will cease hostilities for eight days. I hope you will approve."

My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War has received a telegram to-day, stating the conditions of the armistice, which he will be prepared to read to the House.

Mr. RITCHIE: Was the armistice agreed to at the request of Sir Evelyn Wood, or at the request of the Boers by Joubert?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not think it would be possible to give a perfectly clear answer to the Question until we lay the whole of the telegrams upon the Table of the House, and I doubt whether it would be desirable to do so until we have received further communication from the Boers, which we are expecting, and with regard to which we have no means of saying, at the present moment, that it has been actually sent off. At what precise moment we can produce these communications I am unable to say until we receive the further communication referred to.

Colonel STANLEY: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War a Question, of which I have given him private Notice—If he is able, without detriment to the Public Service, to state generally what are the conditions under which the armistice has been agreed to, and what terms have been made?

Mr. CHILDERS: I shall read the telegram from Sir Evelyn Wood as to the terms of the armistice. It is in these words—

"The following are the conditions of the armistice agreed to this day between Joubert and myself. Object of the armistice to allow time for Kruger to reply to communication from late Sir George Colley and subsequent communications with a view to a peaceable settlement. We mutually agreed to a cessation of hostilities from noon on the 6th till midnight on the 14th March. Conditions:—

"I. In that period both provide" [we read, however, this word as 'promise'] "not to make forward movement from present positions, but each to retain the liberty of movement within our lines.

"II. Sir E. Wood is allowed to send eight days' provisions, but no munitions of war, to all the Transvaal garrisons, the Boer officers undertaking to pass on these provisions to the garrisons.

"III. Joubert undertakes to send notice of the armistice conditions to the respective garrisons and to the Boer commanders, and will use his influence to induce the Boer commanders to allow the withdrawal of British wounded from these garrisons into Natal."

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked, Whether the Secretary of State for War had received any information as to a report of the death of Sir Evelyn Wood which appeared in the evening papers?

Mr. CHILDERS: All I can say, in reply, is that no such intelligence has reached us; and I think, if there had been any foundation for the rumour, it is certain that before this hour we should have received it.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL gave Notice that he would, to-morrow, ask, Whether, in the event of Kruger's reply proving acceptable to the Government, they intended to conclude terms of peace with the Boers before communicating those terms to the House of Commons in such a way that the House might express an opinion?

DOMINION OF CANADA—AIDED IRISH EMIGRATION.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will lay upon the Table the Despatch from the Governor General of Canada of the 9th November 1880, forwarding Minutes of Council of the 5th November, offering terms of contribution by the Dominion Government in aid of extensive immigration of families from Ireland to Manitobagh and other fertile districts, upon condition of adequate aid being afforded by the Imperial Treasury?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Yes, Sir; I shall be happy to do so.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—COUNTY COURTS IN LEITRIM AND CAVAN.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: I wish to put a Question to the Attorney General for Ireland of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether it is true that *The Dublin Gazette* of Friday contains a Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, purporting to alter the days for holding Quarter Sessions, Civil Bill, and Land Courts in the counties of Cavan and Leitrim for the remainder of the year 1881; whether under this Proclamation some of these Courts will not now be held within 10 days, thereby excluding adjucation in all cases requiring a longer previous service of process or notice; whether the counties of Cavan and Leitrim were not united into one County Court Judgeship over three years ago, and what is the reason for the recent change, and under what section of what Act of Parliament were the Privy Council advised to act?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): In answer to the Question of the hon. Gentleman, I may say I believe it is true that *The Gazette* of Friday contains the Proclamation to which he refers. The hon. Gentleman asks me as to the circumstances under which the Proclamation to which he refers has been made; and I beg to inform him that the necessity for it has arisen in consequence of the Judge of Waterford County Court being also County Court Judge of Cavan and Leitrim. The object of the alteration is to enable the same County Court Judge to dispose of the business in these counties. I have not heard of any such difficulty as the hon. Member refers to; but I shall at once have inquiry made into the matter. The hon. Member asks me for the Act and section under which the Order in Council was made. It is the 90th section of the County Courts Act of 1877.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: In consequence of the importance of the subject, I beg to give Notice that I shall repeat the Question to-morrow in greater detail.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SMALL-POX HOSPITALS.

Mr. FIRTH called the attention of the President of the Local Government Board to the decision in the case of "Hills *v.* The Metropolitan Asylum Boards," given that day in the House of Lords, and asked whether it would have any effect on his decision with reference to the extension of the Fulham Small-Pox Hospital?

Mr. DODSON: In face of the epidemic prevailing in the Metropolis, the Question is clearly one not to be hastily answered. I know nothing of the nature of the judgment referred to, except from general report; and I must have an opportunity of seeing and considering that judgment before coming to any conclusion as to what steps, if any, I ought to take.

SUPPLY—THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty if he could say when the Navy Estimates were to be brought on?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am afraid I cannot say yet.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: On Thursday?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I really cannot say, Sir.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

COMMITTEE. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Prohibition on having or carrying arms in proclaimed district and search).

MAJOR NOLAN said, he had an Amendment to move, in page 1, line 5, to leave out " a person," and insert—

> "Any person, except he be a justice of the peace, a person in Her Majesty's Naval or Military Services, or in the Coast Guard Service, or in the service of the Revenue, or in the Police, or Royal Irish Constabulary, or a special constable, or juror, or clergyman."

He had slightly altered the Amendment from the form in which it appeared on the Paper, but the change was merely a verbal one. The object of the Amendment was to restore the exceptions which were contained in former Coercion Acts. In the last Coercion Act, magistrates, Military and Naval officers, constables, and officers of the Revenue Department were expressly exempted from the operation of the Act; and the Amendment was taken out of former Coercion Acts, with the addition of words also exempting jurors and clergymen. He thought the most important exemption contained in the Amendment was that which applied to jurors; and, personally, he did not think, if the Amendment were conceded, with the omission of the word "juror," that he should feel inclined to accept it, because it would certainly do quite as much harm as good. It was unnecessary to point out to the Government that it was impossible to make a provision of this nature, prohibiting the carrying of arms, applicable to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. It was necessary to exempt certain classes, and his proposal only amounted to an extension of the area of exemption. It was not necessary to argue in favour of magistrates and Military and Naval officers being allowed to carry arms. That privilege, under every Coercion Act, had always been conceded; but he thought that a Liberal Government might go a step further and include in the list of exemptions a large portion of the farmers of the country together with the respectable shopkeepers and commercial men of the towns. He believed that by inserting the word "juror," they would be able to exempt more of the most respectable people of any particular county or borough than by adopting any other designation. He had raised this question on a former stage of the Bill, but he fully admitted that his suggestion had not met with a very hearty approval. He now proposed, in the form of a distinct Amendment in the 1st clause, to allow every juror to carry arms. Jurors were most respectable men, and certainly it was most unlikely that either a murder or an attempt to murder had been committed by any man belonging to that class for a long series of years. The safety of the country, therefore, was not likely to be imperilled by allowing jurors to carry arms, and he had no objection to the Government adding some additional words to the clause restricting the persons included in his Amendment to the carrying of a gun. For instance, Her Majesty's Government might permit them to carry a gun, but prohibit them from carrying rifles. He knew that there was an overwhelming majority in the House in favour of the Bill, and his object was that the measure should be made to press as lightly as possible upon his constituents, and particularly upon the more respectable portion of them. He hoped the Government would accept the Amendment, and consent to relieve the larger and richer farmers of Ireland from the operation of the most stringent and galling provisions of the Bill. The farmers were at the present moment allowed by their landlords to shoot birds upon their holdings, and an Act passed last year gave them the right to kill hares and rabbits. All he asked now was that in Ireland they should have liberty to carry a gun. He had no objection to add to the Amendment a Proviso that the Lord Lieutenant should have power to prevent any particular magistrate or any particular juror or clergyman from carrying a gun.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 5, to leave out the words "a person," and insert the words "any person, except he be a justice of the peace, a person in

Her Majesty's Naval or Military Services, or in the Coast Guard Service, or in the service of the Revenue, or in the Police, or Royal Irish Constabulary, or a special constable, or a juror, or clergyman."—(*Major Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'a person' stand part of the Clause."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Perhaps the Committee will allow me to state upon this Amendment what the object of the Government is in inserting the particular form which appears in the Bill. The plan of the Bill is really to leave to the Lord Lieutenant, in proclaiming a district, the responsibility of fixing the conditions on which licences to carry arms are to be added. It is quite true, as the hon. and gallant Member has stated, that in former Acts all these details were given—as, for instance, in the Act of 1847, which was continued down to 1870, then continued and modified in 1870, and again continued and modified in 1875. But, instead of attempting to make the present Bill a very long, voluminous, and complicated measure, it has been thought better to leave to the Lord Lieutenant, in proclaiming a district, a discretion in the matter of licences. What the hon. and gallant Member said was quite true—namely, that in all previous Acts, Justices of the Peace, persons in Her Majesty's Naval or Military Services, or in the Coast Guard Service, or in the service of the Revenue, or in the Police, or Royal Irish Constabulary, were exempted; and, of course, in this case, persons occupying similar positions will be so treated in the Lord Lieutenant's proclamations. Nobody can doubt that an exemption in such cases will be set forth in the proclamation, and that the exemptions contained in former Acts will be practically continued. The hon. and gallant Member, however, introduces into his Amendment two new classes—jurors and clergymen, who are now for the first time proposed to be exempted. I do not know what his object is in including jurors. Whether it is for the purpose of enabling them to challenge one another, I am unable to say. I certainly cannot understand upon what foundation jurors, simply as jurors, should be exempted. I could understand a proposal to exempt all people having the qualification of jurors, or persons having a certain specified qualification; but the hon. and gallant Member will see that, in some cases, a person having the qualification of a juror, and actually being a juror, may be precisely the person you may not wish to be armed. I have no doubt that there may be many individuals in this class of persons who might be fairly permitted to carry arms; but there may also be individuals among them whom it is most desirable to disarm. The object the Government have in framing the Bill as it now stands is to render the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant perfectly flexible and plastic, and to enable the Lord Lieutenant himself to adopt it to the condition of things existing in the locality proclaimed. For instance, there may be a state of things existing in one locality which may render it desirable that the restrictions imposed in one locality should be much more stringent than those imposed in another. Then, again, in certain localities, the Lord Lieutenant, in the course of three months, six months, or eight months, may be able to relax the restrictions materially; and it would be most undesirable to have in every district the same stereotyped provisions, which would prevent the Lord Lieutenant from modifying the stringency of the Act in the event of a return being brought about to a better state of matters. If the Lord Lieutenant thinks that persons having the qualification of a juror may safely have licences to carry arms, no doubt he will include them in the proclamation, so that they might be exempted from the general regulations prohibiting the carrying of arms; but there ought to be a reservation which would enable the Lord Lieutenant to refuse licences to particular individuals. There is another class which the hon. and gallant Member proposes to arm, but about which he said nothing—the clergy. I do not know why he desires that the clergy should be armed. I should have thought that their experience in the use of these weapons would have made it a very dangerous provision, and I really do not know that it should be granted. But the main reason why I cannot agree to this Amendment is that it is really incompatible with the principles of the Bill, which is to leave the whole of the arrangements in regard to the proclamation and licences to the Lord Lieutenant. The Lord Lieutenant will have ample power to alter the conditions of the proclamation from time to time, as the exigencies of the public safety in any particular part of Ireland may from time to time demand. Under these circumstances, I think it is not necessary that I should enter into further details in regard to the Amendment moved by the hon. and gallant Member.

Mr. DAWSON was of opinion that the provisions of the Bill should strike every man within the proclaimed district with the same severity. He, therefore, felt the difficulty of supporting the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend. If the use of arms was to be prevented, let it be prevented to all alike; and, if the Lord Lieutenant was to have the power of making exceptions, the exceptions should be in favour of one person as well as of another. The only thing that would reconcile him to the Amendment was the point which had been urged by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary as a reason why it should not be accepted. He was of opinion that if jurors, as a class, were excluded from the operation of the provisions of the Bill, the edge would be taken off the severity and unfairness of the measure; but if that class were not included in the exemptions, he should certainly feel inclined to accept any exemptions whatever. His own impression was, that in carrying out the law there should be no distinction of persons, and that every man in Ireland should be made to suffer under the unwise provisions of the Act in the same proportion and in the same manner. He was, therefore, entirely opposed to the principle of exceptions unless the class of jurors was included.

Mr. CALLAN remarked, that if he had not been prevented by the Urgency Regulations, he had intended to move on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, that it be an Instruction to the Committee that they should have power to extend the operation of the Act to England; and he was not without hopes that on the third reading the House might see the propriety, in fairness and in common justice, of extending it to England. With this view, not that he was specially in favour of exceptions, but in view of the possibility of extending the Act to the whole of the Three Kingdoms, he thought that the classes who were authorized to carry arms *ex officio* should be specified, because he knew the natural objection that would be entertained by English Members to leave these classes to the discretion of Ministers in the same position as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He certainly failed to see that any satisfactory reason had been assigned for departing from the precedent established by former Acts. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary seemed to be of opinion that until he became Home Secretary all Parliaments were unwise; that they knew not how to deal gently as well as firmly with the people, and particularly with the people of Ireland. In fact, the right hon. Gentleman looked upon himself as more Irish than the Irish Members, and much better qualified to judge of Irish matters than any Irishman. He yielded at once to the superior intelligence of the right hon. Gentleman; but, at the same time, he objected to have such an Act as this passed in a different form from that of every Act passed before, and he protested against the attempt which was made to introduce and pass a measure limiting and fettering the discretion of that House. He thought the House was fully as capable as the Lord Lieutenant of declaring what classes of persons should be exempted from the operation of the Act. The House knew quite as much about Ireland as the Home Secretary or the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he failed to see what superior wisdom constituted the Home Secretary sole arbiter in these matters, or why the right hon. Gentleman and Her Majesty's Government were better judges of what was necessary than any of the previous Governments which had sat on the Treasury Bench, whether Liberal, Whig, or Conservative. Now, if the classes included in the Amendment were to be exempted from the operation of the Bill, it would be easy to extend its application to England; and, in view of a proposition of that nature, he intended to support the Amendment. At the same time, he felt bound to enter a protest against the dictatorial tone assumed by the Home Secretary in dealing with the House. A dictatorial tone was assumed by the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the whole of the House. "Oh, its not for you to consider at all," said the Home Secretary; "it is a matter that will be much better vested in the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant than in the Members of this House." Now, who was the Lord Lieutenant? Far be it from him (Mr. Callan) to say a word against the Lord Lieutenant. He believed him to be honest and well-intentioned. He wished to God that the occupants of the Treasury Bench were as well-intentioned. No doubt, they were equally honest; but he wished they were as well-intentioned. It was not, however, the Lord Lieutenant who would be the authority in the matter. But the persons who would exercise the discretion would be neither the Lord Lieutenant, nor the Chief Secretary, nor the Under Secretary—not even the resident magistrates; but every Tom, Jack, and Harry, in the Royal Irish Constabulary. Those were the men by whom the discretionary powers would be exercised; and if the Bill was allowed to stand as it now did, the dissatisfaction of the Irish people would be much increased. The Home Secretary objected to the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) that it would fetter the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, and that was the justification of the right hon. Gentleman for declining any longer to follow the precedents set by former Acts. This was a most dangerous doctrine, and he hoped it would not be accepted by the Committee. If he followed the precedents set by former Acts they could not go far wrong, and, in addition, he thought they would be really facilitating the progress of Public Business. A long Bill, following the precedents furnished by the Act of 1875, would be likely to pass much more rapidly through the House than a short measure framed in this spirit of domineering tyranny, and so insufferably unjust towards the Irish people. He would certainly support the Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Member, and he was sorry that the First Lord of the Treasury was not at that moment upon the Treasury Bench, because he believed the Amendment would stand a better chance of being accepted if some leading Minister, not so easily pushed aside as the Legal Advisers of the Government, were in his place. As he saw the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) in his place, he would ask him if he was prepared to be set aside by the domineering spirit of the Home Secretary?—["Question!"] It was the Question, and a very important Question too. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster if he had read the Act of 1875, and also the Bill now before the House, and, if so, whether, with his own natural sense of justice and with his kindly disposition, he would not at once say that the Irish Members, who were not wanting in spirit, were much more likely to resist a Bill drawn on the lines of the present measure than they would be if the Government would withdraw it and substitute the wiser provisions of the Act passed some years ago under the auspices of the more liberal Administration of a Conservative Government?

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he was sorry that Her Majesty's Government, in drawing up the present Bill, had disregarded all former precedents. The excesses they professed themselves anxious to remedy were committed by classes of disorderly persons. Yet, what did they do? They brought in a penal measure, and made it apply to all classes —orderly and disorderly alike. Those who had hitherto been perfectly qualified to carry arms, and against whose conduct no objection was raised, were to be disarmed and left at the mercy of the Lord Lieutenant, equally with the turbulent and disorderly classes. The Home Secretary said the Bill only differed from previous measures in point of form. He (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) thought the difference was a very important one, and he did not see how the Government could expect an Irish Member to vote for the punishment of one class of person for offences committed by another. He certainly did not see that any reason had been shown for taking a different course in regard to the present Bill from that which had been taken in former instances. It had been the custom to exempt particular classes. If precedent supported the proposal contained in the Bill he would have submitted to it, as doubtless other hon. Members would, on the ground that the persons who were subjected to the operation of the Act would only be passing through the ordinary ordeal assumed to be requisite in such cases. But precedents were not in favour of the proposal, and the complaint now made was that they were not only legislating for the present occasion, but that they were forming a precedent for the future, which he believed to be dangerous, and which would tend to centralize the power in Dublin Castle. He gave every credit to the right hon. and learned Gentleman who brought in the Bill that he was animated by the best intentions. ["Oh!"] His hon. Friends must allow him to give the right hon. and learned Gentleman credit for his good intentions. Remembering what was said to befall those who were animated by good intentions only, he thought his hon. Friends would not take exception to this expression. At the same time, while giving the right hon. and learned Gentleman full credit for his good intentions, he thought it was contrary to the spirit and to true policy for even the present Administration to subject the entire people of a country to harsh and stringent restrictions, and to impose penalties upon them which it had never been deemed necessary to include under similar circumstances in any previous legislation. He had no doubt that when the proclamations were issued they would supply the deficiencies of the Bill, and would exempt all the classes for whom exemption was now claimed, with the exception, probably, of the last two specified in the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend. But, at the same time, he thought it unwise to pass a law which should confer upon the Lord Lieutenant more power and authority in these matters than he had exercised under former Acts of Parliament. He could not see why the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary should refuse to make the measure similar in the stringency of its provisions to former measures. What was asked for by the Amendment was only a fair and proper concession to those classes who had always been orderly and well-conducted. It was only asked to exempt now those who had always been exempted before, with the addition of jurors and clergymen. He quite agreed that jurors constituted a large and wide class; but there was nothing in their condition or conduct in the past which could possibly disqualify them for carrying arms. By accepting the Amendment, they would establish the principle that the rateable value of a man's property should be some test of his respectability; and, in the second place, they would lay down the rule that it was injudicious to propose what must be at best a harsh and restrictive law with more stringent and oppressive conditions than had been in previous instances found sufficient.

MR. LEAMY cordially supported the principle laid down in the Amendment, that jurors should be exempted from the operation of the Act, and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would arrive at the conclusion that there was good ground for exempting them. The House had been told over and over again in the course of the discussions upon these Bills that jurors in Ireland, owing to the intimidation which existed in the country, were afraid to bring in verdicts according to the evidence before them. They had been constantly told by the Government that if juries did convict it was at their own personal risk; and, that being so, although he, for one, would not say that it was—if that were the fact, and the Government said it was—it was a most unreasonable thing to deprive the jurors of the means of protecting themselves. The House had further been told by the Government that the object of these Bills was to enable them to deal with midnight marauders and assassins. If that were the real object of the measure, they ought not to take away the means of protection from the very class who were likely to be attacked by these midnight marauders. He believed it would be found that men who possessed the qualification of jurors were those who were generally the victims of the outrages which had been so much complained of. It was necessary for a juror in Ireland to have a property qualification, and it was generally admitted that a property qualification, however small, made a man anxious to maintain law and order. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Committee would accept the Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway.

SIR JOHN HAY was certainly not inclined to support the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member opposite. Later on he intended to propose a clause, which he hoped the Government would accept, entitling any person who, within a month after the passing of the Act, lodged any arms or ammunition now in his possession at the nearest police station, to payment for the same. The reason why he alluded to that proposal now was this—the object of the Bill seemed to be to obtain a registration of arms. He would venture to point out to the Committee that at the present moment the sale of revolvers, both in this country and in Scotland, was most alarming. It was not confined to London and the large English towns; but he would give an instance of what had occurred in his own county in Scotland. He was sorry that none of the Law Officers of the Crown were present. If the Lord Advocate had been in his place, he would be able to confirm what he (Sir John Hay) was about to say; but he dare say that the facts were known to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary—namely, that in one Scotch landward parish there had been two murders, and one person left for dead, in 1880. In neither case had the offender been discovered. He happened to be a member of the sub-police committee, and, acting in conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant of the county and an hon. Gentleman, lately a Member of that House, he had made an inquiry into the matter. They were astonished at the large number of persons who were in the possession of revolvers, mostly peaceable citizens, who had no intention of breaking the law, but who had provided themselves with these implements owing to the alarm that prevailed, and with the idea of preserving their own lives. Some people had iron bars placed before their windows.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the right hon. and gallant Member to the fact that he is not speaking to the words of the Amendment.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he was merely mentioning the fact that a large number of revolvers had been purchased by persons who were usually regarded as quiet and peaceable inhabitants, and he thought that some record should be kept of the possession of such implements. He did not object to the possession of revolvers under such circumstances, but he certainly thought that some record of the fact should be kept. Perhaps he might also be allowed to mention another fact. A friend of his in London had an establishment, which was not a very large one, in the neighbourhood of the recent burglaries in the Cromwell Road. His friend had only one man-servant, but he had provided himself with four revolvers. Indeed, the possession of a revolver was becoming to be regarded as a necessary and ordinary weapon for a man's protection. He had already intimated that he intended to oppose the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member. He should do so for this reason, that, in his opinion, what was really required was a record of the number of offensive weapons in the possession of the people. There ought to be a list of firearms as well as a tax upon firearms. The tax should be levied on every person who possessed a weapon of this kind, and every weapon itself should be duly recorded. It would not then be so necessary to grant licences to persons to carry offensive weapons under the exceptional circumstances of the present Bill.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he had no objection to add at the end of the Amendment a Proviso requiring the person carrying arms to register them. He quite concurred in the propriety of the suggestion in that respect made by the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay).

THE CHAIRMAN: The words proposed to be added by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) cannot be added now, as the Question has already been put from the Chair.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that, under those circumstances, he would simply explain that if the Amendment were agreed to, he would be willing to add the words he had suggested. He had no objection whatever to a registration of arms.

MR. BIGGAR, in supporting the Amendment, remarked that the reasons adduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary against it were really reasons why it should be accepted. The principle suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, that the House of Commons should delegate its powers and authority to the Irish Executive, was a most pernicious one. He had always opposed it whenever it had been proposed. The House was fully competent to form its own opinions upon these matters, and it would be exceedingly improper to delegate their authority to any individuals, who, by possibility, might neglect their duty or misconduct themselves—whether it was the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, or any subordinate official. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary said he wished to place discretionary powers in the hands of the Irish Executive as to whether particular districts should be more or less exempted. He hardly understood what the right hon. Gentleman meant; but he could easily see how the Act might be made use of as a Party and political engine, in restraining some persons who were looked upon as objectionable, and in giving full liberty to others. By this means, the scandal might be exhibited of exempting the supporters of a particular political Party from the operation of the Act; while persons belonging to another Party, who were equally respectable and well-conducted, but who professed different political and religious views, would be brought under it. These, he thought, were considerations which ought to weigh with Her Majesty's Government and the House. The Act ought to be administered with thorough impartiality, and no favouritism should be shown towards anyone. He hardly imagined that there was any occasion for the Bill at all; but if it became law, it was desirable that it should be carried out with some appearance of impartiality. He should like to say a word as to the exemption of clergymen. As far as he knew, the Roman Catholic clergy did not use firearms, and did not care to use them. What, however, was very odd, the only persons in Ireland who had recommended assassination were Protestant clergymen. One clergyman in the North of Ireland openly, on many platforms, recommended the assassination of Members of Parliament and Roman Catholic priests; and another strongly advocated the arming of persons of his own religious belief and political views. Now, he did not think it was at all desirable, if such an Act as this was to be enforced, that these gentlemen should be exempted from the operation of it. Whatever might be the fate of the Amendment, he thought any magistrate living in the neighbourhood of the reverend gentlemen he had referred to, would be justified in refusing them a licence to carry arms, if it was once decided that no improper person should be allowed to carry them. The arguments employed by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary in opposing the Amendment really went the other way; and as the right hon. Gentleman proposed to reserve to the Executive the power of acting partially and unfairly in the matter, he (Mr. Biggar) thought the House should take upon itself the right of deciding what persons should be exempted from the operation of the Act.

MR. FINIGAN wished to make a few remarks before the Amendment was disposed of. In the first place, he entirely objected to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, that the Irish Members should entrust themselves and their liberties to the absolute and arbitrary power of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Although they had latterly been subjected to measures of severe tyranny in that House, the Irish Members were not prepared to accept, unless it was forced upon them, the arbitrary power of the Lord Lieutenant and the arbitrary ruling of the Home Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman told them that the use of arms would be permitted to persons employed in the different Naval, Military, and other Services mentioned in the Amendment; but he (Mr. Finigan) took it that officers of the Army and Navy, of the Revenue, Police, and Royal Irish Constabulary, were only entitled to be armed when performing their proper duties. In moving from one part of Ireland to another, or, when off duty, roaming about the coasts or country, or in any of the prescribed districts, they were not entitled either to have or to carry arms about them. If they allowed the ruling of the Home Secretary to be law—and he (Mr. Finigan), for one, certainly did not hold that it was—they would be simply licensing a lot of men to carry arms who were directly interested in the affairs of the landlords. These men would go about the country fully armed, while the unfortunate tenants and the unfortunate citizens would be left without any means of defence whatever. The whole tendency of this Bill was to confer arbitrary powers upon the Executive; but nothing was so arbitrary, nothing so tyrannous as the doctrine laid down by the Home Secretary. If the House consented to allow it, they might as well give up at once any idea of liberty in Ireland. As the hon. and gallant Gentleman who moved the Amendment agreed that every man should be compelled to register the possession of arms, and as he also included jurors among the exempted classes, the Committee might fairly accept the proposal on that understanding. Her Majesty's Government expressed their desire to obtain the observance of law in Ireland; and as their chief complainant was that as matters now stood juries were prevented from giving a just or legitimate verdict, he could not see what objection the Government could have to the exclusion of jurors from the operation of the Bill. Most strange modes of procedure had been adopted by the Government. In one Bill the House were told that they must follow precedent; and now, in another, they were told they must abolish precedent. There was neither logic, reason, nor justice, in a single argument adduced by the Government. The object of the Bill was to place in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant complete power over the liberties of the Irish people. All he could say was that he hoped the Irish people would be preserved from another Liberal Administration. The only thing they could do now was to attempt to make the procedure under the Bill as reasonable as possible, and, as a step in that direction, he hoped the Committee would accept the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend, which included jurors and clergymen. As many clergymen, both Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian, had mixed themselves up in the Land agitation in Ireland, he hoped they would be allowed to take measures of self-defence against the ruffians who might be only too likely to go about Ireland creating disturbance and disorder.

Mr. SEXTON had expected that the Government would give something like a reply to the clear and forcible arguments which had been laid before the Committee. Special reference had been made to the class of jurors. The Committee were quite familiar with the arguments which had already been used in reference to jurors—namely, the difficulty of obtaining a verdict in consequence of the intimidation exercised against juries. If it were true that Irish jurors, in the performance of their duties, incurred serious danger, why did the Government refuse to allow them the opportunity of protecting themselves? It might be said that jurors would be less required now than they had been in the past; and, no doubt, many persons would be arrested under the Lord Lieutenant's warrant who would otherwise be brought before a jury. But it would still be necessary to carry out the ordinary law to a certain extent, and it must be carried out by jurors; and if they were exposed to danger while engaged in the discharge of their public duties, the Government were bound to provide them with the means of self-protection. He thought that the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend proceeded upon a just and salutary principle; but it scarcely went far enough in the assertion and vindication of that principle. He (Mr. Sexton) supported it solely in consequence of the presence in it of the word "jurors;" but he complained that out of the ten classes enumerated by his hon. and gallant Friend, certainly the first eight would, under any circumstances, be well taken care of by the Government—namely, Justices of the Peace, persons in Her Majesty's Naval or Military Services, or in the Coastguard Service, or in the Service of the Revenue, or in the Police, or Royal Irish Constabulary, or special constables. It was abundantly apparent that all these eight classes would be allowed in Ireland to carry as many arms as they pleased. He objected to the Bill, because it contemplated the repulsive and detestable principle that the Lord Lieutenant, or even a clerk of the Lord Lieutenant, should supersede the function of the House of Commons. This, he contended, was a detestable principle, and the Irish Members were entitled to resist it with the utmost of their force. The principle propounded, on the other hand, by his hon. and gallant Friend was that certain classes of persons, who could not be held in any degree accountable for the state of affairs which rendered this legislation necessary, should be exempted from the operation of the Act. He thought there ought also to be included in the classes enumerated Parliamentary electors, Poor Law Guardians, members of Town Boards, and all persons holding public positions. These were all of them respectable persons, whose course of life would protect them from any suspicion of complicity with outrage or connivance with disorder, and they ought to be exempted. If the principle of the Home Secretary were to be adopted, the condition of Ireland would be no better than that of a Turkish Pashalate. He hoped that his hon. and gallant Friend would enlarge his Amendment; but whether or not, he (Mr. Sexton) should certainly support it for the sake of the jurors.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*— Ayes 293; Noes 28: Majority 265.—(Div. List, No. 110.)

MR. LALOR moved, in page 1, line 5, after "carry," leave out "or have any." The hon. Gentleman said, although it might be desirable that men should not carry arms outside their own lands, they ought, at least, to be allowed to keep them in their houses, if it were only for defence against bad characters in the night-time. It had been complained by the Government, he knew not with what truth, that Ireland was infested by men going about at night for the purpose of marauding; and if that were the case, it could not be right that honest men should be exposed to their midnight visits without the means of defending themselves. The Amendment he was about to propose was, therefore, very necessary. Under the provisions of the Bill, every policeman in the country would have power to enter the houses of the people in proclaimed districts during the day-time and ransack them in search of arms; and if, perhaps, they found even the lock or stock of a gun, the person in whose house they were found would be exposed to imprisonment for three months, or a fine of £20. He could only describe such a condition of affairs as monstrous, and, therefore, begged leave to move his Amendment.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This Amendment is really opposed to the principle of the Bill. The words proposed to be left out of the clause have been in every Arms Act from 1847 to the present time, and it will be, I think, obvious to everyone that if a man not allowed to carry arms is permitted to have them in his house, he might select his own time to carry them out of his house. We had an explanation on a former occasion of the possible effect of this, when it was suggested that every man should have a rifle over his mantelpiece. The very object of the Bill is to prevent that state of things. It has been necessary, in former times, to forbid the possession of arms; and the words which it is proposed to leave out are just as necessary now as they were before. For these reasons, we cannot accede to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Queen's County, which would practically defeat the object of the Bill.

MR. MARUM suggested, in view of the refusal of the Home Secretary to accede to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Queen's County, that the addition of the word "wilfully" would meet the case. The Bill seemed to him to delegate the functions of Parliament to another body, for although the 1st section declared that no one should have arms, the 2nd section provided that the right of carrying arms should be conferred by a certain body. That, he thought, was a singular mode of proceeding; and in voting on the division which had just taken place, he had done so with the object of protesting against the invasion of the legislative functions of Parliament. It was quite likely that a person might have arms in his possession without the slightest intention of using them improperly, and yet, as the Bill stood, he would be convicted. For that reason, he thought the addition of the word "wilfully" should be made.

MR. DAWSON thought that persons having arms in their houses would be the least likely to use them in the way suggested by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, who, in referring to the remarks of an hon. Member, had certainly not represented what he had intended to convey as his meaning. Supposing the circumstances referred to by his hon. Friend should occur, the arms that would be used in such a case would not be those hanging over the mantelpiece, but arms obtained elsewhere. The arms over the mantel-piece would, in his opinion, be used only in legitimate self-defence. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to marauding parties going about the country and terrorizing the inhabitants. But the prohibition of carrying arms was sufficient to put an end to the terrorism alleged to exist, without preventing persons having in their possession arms for their legitimate use and enjoyment. Although the Amendment would not assist in checking imaginary dangers, it would not interfere with the prevention of the real dangers which the Bill was intended to deal with.

COLONEL COLTHURST could not support the Amendment in the form proposed; but thought that there would be a great advantage in adding the word "wilfully," as suggested by the hon. Member for Kilkenny County, because the intention of the Bill was not to prevent the keeping of arms in houses, but to prevent persons carrying and concealing arms. His own view was that there should be a general registration of arms under a heavy penalty. But, taking the Bill as it stood, he certainly thought that the words "or wilfully," or some words analogous thereto, should be agreed to. He would not vote for any Amendment to except any class of the community from the operation of the Bill; but the words suggested by the hon. Member for Kilkenny County seemed to him to be very useful.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the words "or wilfully" were unnecessary in point of law, for nobody could be convicted under the Statute without the *mens rea*. If arms were put into a man's house without his knowledge, he would not, under this Act, be held to possess them.

MR. GREGORY pointed out that it was assumed that the clause was to prevent the carrying and possession of arms under all circumstances, whereas its object was that they should only be possessed upon certain conditions. For his own part, he should not be sorry to see some of the provisions of the Bill extended to England, so far as the carrying of arms was concerned.

DR. COMMINS said, that unless the Statute prescribed "knowingly having arms contrary to the Statute," it would be the duty of the magistrate to find a person having them in his possession guilty. The Solicitor General for Ireland must be aware that there were many dozens of Acts of Parliament in which words similar to those in the clause were every day held to imply guilt on the part of the person coming within the purview of those Acts, without there being any guilty intention at all. For instance, there was a provision in the Licensing Act, under which a person might be convicted for permitting drunkenness upon his premises, although at the time the drunkenness took place he might have been 50 miles away. Again, there were the Acts relating to the adulteration of food, and the exposure of bad meat for sale, under which a person, although acting without any guilty intention, had no power of rebutting the charge that he was acting contrary to the law. Therefore, in view of the experience they had already gained in Ireland with regard to the application of such measures as this—where men made a trade of earning information money, and got a living by procuring the commission of criminal acts, or the semblance of their commission, he thought it would be wise to introduce some words which would have the effect of putting a check upon the manufacture of crime. The Amendment proposed would have but very little effect; but, small as it would be, he trusted the Government would agree to it.

MR. LEAMY reminded the Home Secretary that an Act had already been passed which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to put the midnight marauders in gaol, and that this would probably be effected in the course of a fortnight from that time. Under the circumstances, he thought the people ought to be allowed to keep arms in their own houses. He considered, however, that his hon. Friend would act reasonably in consenting to add the words "and that the same should be registered" to his Amendment. He reminded the Committee that it was proposed to deprive the Irish people of the right to have arms for a period of five years, and urged that, if it was intended to establish the same laws for England and Scotland, the time to make a commencement had arrived. For his own part, he considered one Coercion Bill sufficient for one Session.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY pointed out that even if some marauder did succeed in keeping one weapon in his house, he could not do it without its being known to the police. It was, he thought, rather hard upon the well-intentioned man, that he should not be allowed to have a gun, because marauders might make a bad use of them; and considering the extreme stringency of the law, and the fact that the magistrates might arrest almost anyone, even upon suspicion, of using weapons for wrong purposes, he thought that persons might safely be allowed to keep arms in their own possession. He supported the Amendment, and trusted the Government would allow it to pass.

Amendment *negatived.*

MR. LALOR said, the Amendment he was now about to propose had for its object to give to any farmer for agricultural purposes the power of carrying a gun, at least on his own land, and having it on his own premises. It was scarcely necessary to state the obvious reasons in support of that demand. In England, Scotland, or any other country, it was impossible for a farmer to get on without a gun for the purpose of frightening birds, which in the summer season did an immense amount of injury to the crops. He, therefore, begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, after the words "arms or ammunition," to insert the words "outside of his own land."—(*Mr. Lalor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member for Queen's County must have misunderstood the object of the Bill, if he supposes that it is intended to prevent farmers having guns for agricultural purposes. It is only the proclaimed districts, such as are considered unsafe, that will come under the operation of the Act at all. Everywhere else things will remain as before. Those persons whom the authorities may allow to have arms will be in no difficulty whatever. But if this Amendment were passed, a man known to the magistrates as a notoriously dangerous character would be allowed to carry a rifle on his own land. That is really incompatible with the object of the Bill. Several hon. Members have spoken of the discretion allowed to the Lord Lieutenant in this matter as an extreme delegation of the authority of Parliament. But it is one which has been over and over again granted to the Executive, and the best illustration of this is, perhaps, the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, which in the case of countries like China and Japan delegated powers to the Executive by Order in Council. On the assumption that men who might be dangerous would be allowed to possess and carry arms upon their land, I am unable to agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member.

MR. DAWSON said, if the Act were carried out in the spirit indicated by the right hon. Gentleman, no hardship would probably follow the rejection of the Amendment. But the magistrates in Ireland were entirely out of harmony with the bulk of the people, and would certainly not be inclined to grant any concession to them. On the contrary, he thought they would be glad to take advantage of any circumstance that would make the Act press upon the people more harshly. Without wishing to detain the Committee at length, he would merely point out to the right hon. Gentleman the desirability of not leaving solely to the magistrates, who were so antagonistic to the people, the power of recommending persons for licences to have arms. If the right hon. Gentleman would not agree to that suggestion, he hoped his hon. Friend would press his Amendment to a division.

DR. COMMINS pointed out that the present Amendment, and several others to the same point, would have been quite unnecessary had the Home Secretary condescended to give the Committee a copy of the proclamation which it was proposed to use. The clause, as it stood, gave arbitrary power—limited only by his discretion, and by his desire so to limit it—to the Lord Lieutenant for the purposes of the Act. He could not recall any Act of Parliament which gave such unlimited discretion as that given by the present Bill. The Foreign Jurisdiction Act, cited by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, had not a single feature in common with it. That Act gave neither unlimited jurisdiction nor arbitrary power; it simply prescribed the manner in which certain provisions of the existing law should be carried out. It created no new offence. He took upon himself to deny that it did so. If, however, the Home Secretary would produce such an Order in Council as created a new offence, he should be convinced, but not before. The present Act proposed to give not only administrative powers to the Lord Lieutenant, but to furnish him with the power of creating a new offence. It was, of course, well known that the offence only existed where the proclamation existed, and that it was, in fact, the proclamation which made the offence. Therefore, it was clear that the power of creating a new offence was vested in the Lord Lieutenant by this Bill. To that power he (Dr. Commins) entirely objected. If a new offence were to be created, let it be created by that House, and let the House also settle the limit of the discretionary power of the Lord Lieutenant. As the Bill stood, it gave power to create a new offence by proclamation, rendered persons liable to imprisonment for three months for its commission, without the House having the slightest idea of its nature. If the Solicitor General for Ireland, who would, no doubt, have to draw up the proclamation, would give some idea of what it would be, the necesity for other questions on the subject would cease. The Amendment appeared to him to be a very reasonable one, and he trusted the Government would make some concession in the direction indicated.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, there appeared to be some misapprehension as to the duty which would devolve on the Lord Lieutenant. The Bill provided that in a proclaimed district arms or ammunition should not be carried save as authorized by the conditions set forth in the proclamation thereinafter mentioned. The carrying of arms or ammunition was, therefore, the offence, and was created by the Statute. The relief to this would be created by the proclamation, which would set forth the conditions and regulations under which the carrying of arms or ammunition was to be authorized. With regard to the licences, the persons who would be appointed to grant them—usually in all probability the resident magistrates — would be utterly unconnected with the district, and would have but one duty to perform—namely, to act impartially in granting them to persons who were entitled to possess them, and to refuse them to those to whom they thought they should not be given. If unfettered power were given to the Lord Lieutenant, he would be responsible for its proper exercise in relaxing the stringency of the Bill; but if the Committee undertook to point out the way in which this should be done, it was clear that the Lord Lieutenant would be largely relieved from that responsibility, as well as from the trouble of carefully considering the cases in which the powers of the Bill might and ought to be relaxed. That being the duty of the Lord Lieutenant, he regarded it as an additional guarantee for the proper application of the Act, over and above those laid on the Table of the House, and could not but think the insertion of these and similar matters would be imprudent.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, that his objection to the Act would be very much diminished if the power of granting licences were reserved exclusively to the resident magistrates.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): The hon. and gallant Member for Cork County seems to be under a misapprehension——

MR. CALLAN: I rise to Order. I think the Solicitor General for Ireland has already spoken on this subject; and I simply ask you, Mr. Chairman, to put the ordinary Rules in force as against the hon. and learned Gentleman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Until the Solicitor General for Ireland is ruled out of Order, he is in possession of the House. I understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to rise for the purpose of making an explanation, in which case he would have been in Order.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA had listened with some surprise to the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland. The arguments used by him in defending the power given to the Lord Lieutenant on the present occasion could be used in supporting any despotism in the world. The Solicitor General for Ireland argued that the full power ought to be retained in the Bill, because it placed on the Lord Lieutenant the responsibility of relaxing those extraordinary powers. Could more than this have been said by those who defended the mode of government applied by Russia or any other of the despotic Powers in Europe? He could understand that a great deal might be said in favour of limiting the power of any person to carry arms; but he objected that the innocent possession of arms should be constituted a crime by the Lord Lieutenant's omission to relax certain conditions.

MR. CALLAN argued that if the Bill was passed, the Lord Lieutenant, when once a district had been proclaimed, would have no power to make exceptions in certain cases in favour of anyone carrying arms on his own land. The Solicitor General for Ireland said the Lord Lieutenant would have such power; but that was not so. If a district was once proclaimed, no person whatever could carry arms without having a licence. He was surprised that the junior Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) had objected to the Bill because it did not vest the power of granting licenses exclusively with the resident magistrates, for he supposed the hon. and gallant Member had some knowledge of the magistrates of Ireland. He (Mr. Callan) knew a great deal of them, and, although he had no high opinion of the resident magistrates, he had a better opinion of them than of the stipendiary magistrates. He believed that the proper people to grant licences were the local magistrates, who knew the people, and not strangers from other places, knowing nothing of the people or their habits, and dependent upon the information of policemen or of spies and informers. It would be much better that the ordinary magistrates should have some voice in the matter, and he should have much more confidence in the Act if the local magistrates were associated on the Bench with the licensing authorities, for they would act as a check upon each other. He knew of a case in his own county in which the resident magistrate, Captain Keogh, had refused to grant a licence on the written request of two Roman Catholics magistrates—the only two Roman Catholic magistrates in the Petty Sessions district —although he would give a licence on the mere recommendation of any one of the Protestant magistrates. The resident magistrate was not a resident, for he resided 20 miles away. If he were confronted on the Bench with the local magistrates, more satisfaction would be obtained. He contended that a man should be enabled to carry arms—in the words of the Amendment—"on his own land." If a man preserving game was not allowed to carry arms on his own land, what became of the Game Bill of last year? It was merely giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the Committee, that a good deal of discussion has arisen upon a question incidentally raised as to the authority to give the licence. The Amendment is strictly confined to the words "outside his own land."

MR. BIGGAR thought the Amendment of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Lalor) made the Bill beneficial from the point of view of the Government, for it proposed to give protection to a person on his own land, but did not prevent a man from using his gun for violence or intimidation against people outside his land. The position of the Government was illogical, and if they really wished people to be able to defend themselves they should accept the Amendment. The contention of the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Solicitor General for Ireland) was that it was undesirable to fetter the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant; but he did not see why that discretion should not be restrained as much as possible, for if every tenant farmer in Ireland who had a gun, and against whom no reasonable complaint could be made, had to apply to a resident magistrate, there would be an inducement to appoint a large number of resident magistrates. As to whether magistrates would act impartially in granting licences—he once applied to a magistrate for leave to carry a revolver, but leave was refused. The magistrate did not give any reason for the refusal; but after he became a Member of Parliament, the magistrate sent him a licence. He had not, however, bought a revolver, and he had never had one in his hand. That instance showed the uncertainty of the system. He thought it would be well to allow a large number of exemptions, for it would be impossible to settle all the cases separately, and the working of the Act would be greatly facilitated.

MAJOR NOLAN dissented from the contention of the Home Secretary, for the administration of the Lord Lieutenant ought to be, and was fettered, and the Crown was also to a certain extent fettered. Therefore, the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman ought not to be allowed to weigh; but even if this unfettered power was to be given, at least the Committee ought to endeavour to impress their views upon the Lord Lieutenant, and he did not see how they could do that so well as by expressing their opinions in the House. That was reducing the functions of the House to a low level; but that seemed to be the only method of enlightening the Lord Lieutenant, and the discussion ought, therefore, to be continued. If they were to follow the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, they would have to abandon all their Amendments. He would remind the Government and hon. Members that this Bill would tell greatly at the future elections during the next five years. In his own county, at least 2,000 electors would feel the weight of the Bill.

Mr. HERMON expressed himself in favour of all the Amendments being gone on with, without the discussion being arbitrarily terminated; but he could not support this Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 29; Noes 217: Majority 188.—(Div. List, No. 111.)

Mr. M'COAN moved, in page 1, line 6, after "authorized," to insert "by the magisterial certificates or." To explain the relevance of these words, he must allude to the sub-section which he would move later on. That sub-section would show the sense of these words, if it were accepted. The latter Amendment read thus—

> "Certificates authorizing the having and carrying of arms and ammunition in proclaimed districts may be issued by a resident magistrate, or by two or more justices of the peace within such districts."

His intention in moving this clause was that there might be an alternate means by which the right to carry arms could be obtained. Either permission could be had by magisterial certificates, or by the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant. As the object of the Bill was not to impose obnoxious conditions upon respectable persons, but simply to ensure peace, order, and good conduct on the part of the population in proclaimed districts, he ventured to hope that there would be no difficulty in allowing such an alternative as he begged to propose. It could hardly be contended that justices of the peace or resident magistrates would not be trustworthy persons to have the granting of licences; therefore, he ventured to hope that the Home Secretary would see his way to increasing the facilities to that extent. The effect would not be to increase the carrying of arms at all. It might be that the Lord Lieutenant, in his proclamation, might give all the necessary facilities, but the reverse might also be the case; and he thought that law and order would be equally kept up by empowering the magistrates to make individual selections of persons who should be allowed to carry arms. Unless there were some such verbal interpollation, the clause, as it stood, might appear to negative the sub-section which he would propose further on. He, therefore, expressed a strong hope that the right hon. Gentleman would make a concession on a simple point like that, since it could not affect the working of the Bill in the least. He must in candour say that there was no justification for the argument used by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins), in replying to the right hon. Gentleman, to the effect that Orders in Council did not create offences. He had seen the working of Orders in Council in the Levant, in China, and in Japan, and they had not only created but formulated whole codes of Criminal Law. There was no occasion to strain the facts beyond what they would fairly bear. He strongly hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would see no difficulty in admitting the Amendment which he then begged to propose.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I do not at all desire to exclude from the authorities who may grant licences the magistrates of Ireland; but I would remind hon. Members that the framework of these Acts from the year 1847 is so arranged as primarily to give to the Lord Lieutenant the power to appoint licensing officers. Of course, this Act will be worked in that manner. The Lord Lieutenant will appoint certain persons whose business it will be to grant these licences. He may appoint magistrates, or other officers, if he thinks those other officers would be more fitting. In considering the question of licences, there is always some little difficulty in making the local magistrates the licensing authorities, on account of the jealousy which sometimes exists. I do not think that it would be best for the authorities to choose for licensing purposes any particular set of persons. What the Bill proposes is to leave this Act as the Acts were before the one of 1875. Before that time the Lord Lieutenant had absolute discretion in selecting the licensing officers in the particular districts. This Bill proposes to give the Lord Lieutenant the same power; and, under the circumstances, I do not think it would be wise to alter it in any way. Therefore, I cannot see my way to aceept the Amendment.

Mr. LEAMY said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had just stated that prior to that Act—namely, the one of 1875, the power given to the Lord Lieutenant was the same as that now proposed; but there were no words that he saw in the present Bill which would confer any such power. The words would probably be included in the terms of the proclamation.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The words of the Bill are sufficient to allow of a power to the Lord Lieutenant for that purpose.

MR. LEAMY said, that the first point to which he would allude was that there seemed to be no obligation upon the Lord Lieutenant to issue any particular regulations. He might issue a proclamation which contained no conditions at all. As to a proscribed district, it was not obligatory on him to set forth any conditions; and, consequently, he need not appoint any person to carry out conditions which would not be inserted. That being so, he submitted that they had a right to expect that in this Act there would be the same wording as in the former Act. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had told them the other night that the Act was based on that of 1875. He firmly believed that everything that was good in the Act was obtained in the one of 1875; but there were many other things in it that certainly were not so, and one of the good things which it did not contain, and the former Act did contain, was that power of conferring on justices the right to grant licences. The Home Secretary had said that those magistrates were, perhaps, not the best men to grant licences.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I said that there might be some jealousy if the power were given to the local magistrates.

MR. LEAMY said, that, after all, if they wished to have inserted in the Act a similar power to that of 1875, he did not see any reason why the Home Secretary should refuse to grant their request. If the magistrates were slow in granting licences, that was all the more reason why they should have the power to grant them. He objected also to the Lord Lieutenant having the power of framing regulations. He might make one set of regulations for one district, and another for another. Under those circumstances, he hoped that the Amendment which had been suggested by his hon. Friend would be accepted by the Committee.

MR. SEXTON said, there was not a material difference between the argument of the hon. Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) and the Members sitting upon those Benches. With regard to the fitness of the resident magistrates to have the power under that Act of granting licences, the magistrates of Ireland were utterly unfit persons to exercise a jurisdiction of that character. At the same time, he felt disposed to point out to the Committee that, as they proceeded in Radicalism, they appeared to retrograde in regard to the Bills that were brought in that had reference to Ireland. In 1875, persons were appointed to grant licences to carry arms. That Act said—

> "That such persons shall be bound to grant such licences provided that the person who seeks the licence shall produce a certificate that he is a fit and proper person to have such licence."

It was evident that that Act gave power to grant licences under certain restriction, and that was, that any two magistrates might have the power to grant licences generally. He did not think that the magistrates would be likely to exercise any power under that Act in favour of the people or in a popular spirit. In regard to the resident magistrates particularly he might say that. The Solicitor General had said that those resident magistrates were socially disconnected from the districts in which they had jurisdiction. It was well known that the magistrates, on the contrary, were intimately connected with the landlord classes of those districts in which they discharged their functions. He had strongly objected to the Lord Lieutenant having absolute power in regard to that matter. It was most revolting that a General Officer commanding the forces, and a couple of Judges sitting in the name of a Privy Council in Dublin, should have any such power, and he protested against it. Little confidence as he had in the magistrates of Ireland, he thought that the powers argued for by his hon. Friend (Mr. M'Coan) should be granted, because it was better that there should be no delusion with regard to absolutism, and that anything was better than sheer, absolute, and despotic power.

MR. BIGGAR said, with regard to that particular Amendment he had not much to say; but as to the magistrates, there was a great difference between the resident and the unpaid magistracy. That difference between those two classes, in his opinion, was this. The resident magistrates were men who were amenable to public opinion—and when he said public opinion, he meant the opinion of that House—because when the Vote for Salary came on, it was within the power of Members from Ireland to criticize the conduct of those men. But with regard to the unpaid magistracy, they were entirely irresponsible. He thought that, under any circumstances, they should not be allowed to have the power that was proposed. He was entirely opposed to the present system of magistracy in Ireland, and if he could he would destroy that system at once. He was strongly of opinion that his Colleagues were wrong on that particular occasion; but, at the same time, he was disposed to vote with them, because he had sufficient veneration for Party government, and he thought that on such an occasion as the present they should suppress division of opinion.

Mr. GIBSON: As well as I can understand the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, he desires, as far as he can, to introduce one of the provisions contained in the Act of 1875 into the present Bill. In my opinion, he will not, by his present Amendment, accomplish that. I have been looking closely at it, and am pretty conversant with the Act of 1875, and I would suggest that this Amendment should not be introduced here at all. It is desirable, I think, to leave the whole matter to the draftsman who will draw up the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant. I was much struck with a remark which fell from an hon. Member, that the power of the Lord Lieutenant to exempt might not be exercised. However, when I consider the provisions of other Acts of Parliament, I come to this extraordinary conclusion, that unless the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant does, on its face, contain exemptions, and very wide ones, the police, soldiers, and others would not be able to bear arms at all. Therefore, when a district is proclaimed there must be exemptions in the proclamation of very numerous classes; and one thing is evident, that it will be impossible for the Executive to allege that they have not had the opportunity of considering the licensing authority. I have no doubt that when the Lord Lieutenant proceeds to consider the exemptions, he will also call into existence those licensing authorities that existed under the Act of 1875. Under the Act of 1875 there was no power given to any magistrate to grant licences. All that could be done was for two magistrates of a district to certify that an agricultural tenant appeared to be a fit and proper person to have arms, and then that the tenant, armed with the certificate, might compel the licensing authority to act. We cannot expect the Home Secretary to state at the present moment what the exact scope of the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant will be. I think that, under the present circumstances, it would not be wise to press the Amendment.

Mr. M'COAN said, that, in deference to the general feeling of the Committee, he would withdraw his Amendment in order to substitute another which would carry into effect the provision of the Act of 1875.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DAWSON said, that if the provisions of the Act of 1875 were not to be inserted, the Amendment that he proposed would certainly commend itself to the Committee. It was this. That the licensing authority should be obliged to hold an open investigation. The refusals should not be done by hole-and-corner work. It frequently was the case that licences were refused under those Acts. He thought that the Government ought to provide that any licensing authority, to which the proclamation gave force, to hear applications for licences should hold their sittings in public, so that if they refused the refusal might be in public, and everyone might know the reason why the refusal was made. If that were so, no arbitrary power of the magistrate could well take place, and no man who knew that a charge could be brought against him would be likely to make application in a public assembly for the licence. He would remind the Committee that the refusal often implied a serious charge on character, and for that reason he hoped that a public investigation would be allowed.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 6, after the word "by," to insert the words "licence granted in open court, held for that purpose according to."—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member who has moved this Amendment seems hardly to contemplate the full operation of such Acts as these in Ireland. Hon. Members must remember that we are dealing with a system which has obtained in Ireland for 35 years, and I would appeal to them whether this system, which has been in existence during times of oppression, could be well carried out by an official investigation of particular instances? If the Amendment were agreed to it would introduce a state of things never before known, and would lead to a condition of affairs totally unmanageable. Unless there were some strong reason to the contrary, the licence would be granted in quiet districts and in tranquil times. An investigation would be utterly unnecessary. Under the circumstances, I certainly cannot see my way to accept the Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON said, that the mere fact of the system having been in force since 1847, was saying very little indeed in its favour. Many things had been in force besides that, which were not defensible in reason or justice. He did not think that his hon. Friend intended to include every case in his Amendment. The Amendment was inserted rather for the sake of a protection. In 99 cases out of 100 they would be satisfied to go to the magistrate in private, and leave the granting of the licence to his discretion; but in the 100th case it would be necessary, in the public interest, that the refusal to give the licence should be announced in open Court, in order that the reason of the refusal might be known, and the man's character cleared, if possible. The Amendment was only an exceptional measure of protection, and on that account he thought it might well be acceded to. He must add, that it was a well-known fact that the manner in which applicants for licences were treated by the magistrates was most brusque. They simply dismissed the case in a summary manner, and refused to give any reason why the licence had not been granted. In public, however, there would be the chance of putting the man's character on trial, and the magistrate could be called upon to give a reason for his refusal. Bills like those not only attacked public liberty, but private character. The bashaw whom the Government placed over a district might refuse a licence without giving any reason for it, and thus deprive a man of his character. He thought that the request of his hon. Friend was a most reasonable one, and he trusted that if the Government did not give way he would proceed to a division upon it.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 27; Noes 122: Majority 95.—(Div. List, No. 112.)

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) has an Amendment to leave out "Proclamation hereinafter mentioned," and to insert "Schedule appended to this Act;" but I would point out that there is no Schedule to the Bill, and no hon. Member has given Notice of his intention to move that one be added to the measure. The Amendment cannot be put unless such Notice is given.

Mr. SEXTON: Can I give Notice now?

The CHAIRMAN: If you place the Schedule before the Committee.

Mr. SEXTON: Instantly?

The CHAIRMAN: It is necessary to do so before the Committee can consider the Amendment.

Mr. CALLAN said, the hon. Member would, for the present, be perfectly in Order in moving to leave out "Proclamation hereinafter mentioned," and he could then state his intention to make the substitution referred to in his Notice. He would put it to the Chairman that the hon. Member would be in Order in following this course.

The CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member moves the omission of these words for the purpose of inserting others relating to a Schedule, that Schedule must be before the Committee. It is impossible to consider an Amendment referring to a Schedule of which the Committee know nothing.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would confine himself to moving the exclusion of the words "Proclamation hereinafter mentioned."

The CHAIRMAN: That, as the hon. Member sees, would leave the clause incomplete. The clause would have no meaning if that were carried; therefore, the Amendment cannot be put.

Mr. CALLAN said, that before any other hon. Member rose, he himself would move to leave out the words "Proclamation hereinafter mentioned," and would bring up to the Chairman a Schedule to be appended to the Bill. He would leave it to the Committee to decide what modifications should be made in the Schedule when the Amendments came to be considered at a future stage. He would not be in Order in bringing up a form of a Schedule, leaving it to the Committee subsequently to specify the different classes to be put in it; but he would remind the Chairman that if he had given Notice of a Schedule, he would not be at liberty to discuss its details until the Committee had arrived at the consideration of his proposal. To his mind, it would be far better to state the "conditions" in a Schedule than to leave them to be announced in a proclamation, because in the former case they would be brought under the observation of the House. This would, in some degree, limit the extreme authority of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Irish Members were anxious to have that authority fettered as much as possible.

The CHAIRMAN: It is impossible, as I have already stated, for the Committee to pass an Amendment making reference to a Schedule the precise conditions of which they are unacquainted with. The Schedule must be in the hands of the Committee before an Amendment can be moved making reference to it.

Mr. W. J. CORBET said, the clause stated that—

> "Any person carrying or having any arms or ammunition, in contravention of this Act, may be arrested without warrant by any constable or peace officer, in order to his being dealt with according to law."

In an Act they had already passed, they had given the Lord Lieutenant power to issue his warrant for the arrest of any person who might be suspected of treasonable intentions; but here, in this Bill, they absolutely proposed to give any constable of police authority to arrest any person with or without a warrant. He did not expect the Government would make any concession at all; but it certainly appeared to him a monstrous thing to empower a mere constable to arrest anyone he liked without a warrant. He would propose that the words "without warrant" be left out.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: If the hon. Member carried his Amendment, he would not the least in the world advance the object he has in view, because the clause would be exactly the same without these words as with them; and I hope he will allow me, as a lawyer, to make that assertion—an assertion which, I venture to say, every lawyer in the House will confirm. Why the draftsman put in the words I do not know, because they do not make the slightest difference. If the hon. Member will look at the paragraph, he will see that there are two sections in it—the first giving power of arrest to any constable or peace officer, and the second giving any justice of the peace, constable, or peace officer power of search. Under the 2nd section a police constable could arrest without warrant, and no such alteration as that proposed, and no such words as those in the clause, are really necessary. Under the 10th section of the Act of 1847, it was enacted that it should be lawful for

> "Any person or persons whomsoever to seize and apprehend any person who should be found carrying any gun;"

and so on. That was a much more extensive power than is contained in the present Bill, because it authorized "any person or persons whomsoever" to arrest, and did not confine the power to a constable or peace officer, as does this measure. The present Bill is much more restrictive than the Act of 1847, which, if I am not mistaken, was in operation down to 1875.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): Yes, that is so.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: At any rate, the power now given is less extensive than that formerly granted. An arrest without any specification that a warrant is necessary, means practically an arrest without warrant; and you find when you come to a case where you do require a warrant, that it is provided that the arrest shall be made under warrant. I therefore hope the hon. Member will not insist on his Amendment, which, after all, would only make a verbal alteration, and would not affect the substance of the measure at all.

Mr. LEAMY said, if the right hon. Gentleman was correct in his law—and, no doubt, he was—why did he object to strike out the words? If the constable had power, by a subsequent part of the Bill, to arrest without warrant, why should the Home Secretary hesitate to accept the Amendment proposed?

MR. T. C. THOMPSON said, he understood from the right hon. Gentleman that the words were to be struck out, as it was of no advantage to retain them. In all Acts of Parliament it was desirable to strike out all words which were superfluous.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: At some future stage I dare say I shall strike them out.

MR. BIGGAR suggested that his hon. Friend should withdraw the Amendment, and substitute the word "with" for the word "without." If he understood the matter rightly, the object of the hon. Member was to prevent an arrest being made without some sort of written authority—to prevent a police constable from arresting a person simply on his own responsibility. As the Home Secretary had very properly pointed out, the Amendment would leave things very much where they were at present; but it would suit his hon. Friend's purpose to amend the Bill so as to provide that—

"Any person carrying or having any arms or ammunition in contravention of this Act may be arrested with warrant by any constable or police officer."

MR. W. J. CORBET said, he would adopt the suggestion of his hon. Friend, and would ask leave to move to strike out the word "without," in order——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order! There is an Amendment before the Committee, and that must be decided upon unless it is by leave withdrawn.

MR. W. J. CORBET: I ask leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. W. J. CORBET said, he would now move an Amendment to make the clause run as his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) had described.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 9, to leave out the word "without," in order to insert the words "with a,"—(*Mr. W. J. Corbet,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'without' stand part of the Clause."

MR. BIGGAR said, the Amendment had now been formally moved by his hon. Friend, and he would really press upon the Government the desirability of acceding to it. It would be an improper thing to give a police constable power to arrest a person without a warrant. If the Bill passed in its present form, and a person was unfortunate enough to do some little thing that was an infringement of the Act, he might be subjected to all the annoyances and indignities of being made a prisoner by a police officer in a most summary manner, and it might be found afterwards that he had subjected himself only to the very smallest amount of punishment. He would point out that the provisions of the Bill were of the very widest nature. A person would be guilty of an infringement of the Act if he had the smallest amount of powder or explosive substance about him, and if he had not only a firearm, but even the smallest part of a firearm, in his possession without a licence. It would be very hard and unreasonable for a man who had a few grains of powder in his pocket, or a piece of a weapon, to be arrested without warrant by a police constable, kept in confinement all night, and brought up before a magistrate in the morning to have his slight irregularity adjudicated upon. It seemed to him that in a matter of this kind, where the total amount of punishment that could be inflicted was not very heavy—for, after all, three months was not very much imprisonment—it was unreasonable to give a police constable power of summary arrest.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This is a matter in which it would be impossible to do away with arrest without warrant. Take such a case as the horrible murder which occurred near Mullingar two or three days ago. Several men were walking along the road with revolvers. Suppose the police had seen them with these weapons in their hands, would it not have been necessary, in order to prevent mischief, for them to have arrested the men at once? How could they have waited to make the arrests until they had obtained warrants? If the police observe anything wrong, or have reason to suspect that the Act is being infringed, the proper course is for them to stop that infringement at once. The object of the Bill will be defeated if we require the police to delay making the arrest until they have procured a warrant. I conceive that the object of a power of this kind is that the police may interfere in a case where they see two or three or half-a-dozen men walking along the road with arms in their hands. I have often heard hon. Members below the Gangway opposite say that such a thing could be prevented by the present law; but if hon. Members know that that is the case, they know more than I do. I do not think it can be prevented unless you can prove that they mean to perpetrate some overt act with these arms. Under this Act the police will be able to go up to these men and say to them —"We should like to know whether you have got licences to carry these arms," and if they find that they have not, they can arrest them. As I have said, the whole object of the Bill would be defeated if they had to wait for warrants before making the arrests. Men may be found at night with arms in their possession, and surely it will be admitted that it must be impossible to obtain warrants in such cases.

Mr. DAWSON pointed out that under the Coercion Act if the police suspected that people had arms and were abroad on doubtful business, they had power to arrest them. The police were the judges as to whether people were suspiciously going about with arms or not—they were the masters of the situation. He thought that in the present case it would be a wholesome check upon the police to insert the word "with" in place of "without," so that a warrant might be required.

Mr. LEAMY said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken only of persons carrying arms; but the Act would give the police power to arrest without warrant persons having arms in their houses. He submitted there could not be the same reason for going into a man's house and taking him away to gaol as there might be for arresting a body of men found in a road with arms in their hands.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The police could not go into a man's house without a warrant.

Mr. LEAMY said, that, no doubt, a warrant was necessary for the purpose of making a search in a person's house, but he did not know that such warrant gave the constable power of arrest. If the Bill were to pass in its present shape, however, the police constable would obtain a warrant to search, and the moment he found arms in the house he would be able to arrest their owner. If the constable found arms in the house he would know who to suspect of their possession, and it would therefore not be necessary to arrest him at once; he could summon him in the ordinary way for an offence against the Act. It was too hard that a peace officer should have power to go into a man's house and, if he found a little powder or the lock of a gun, to take the man into custody without more ado. If there was a provision in the Act requiring that such a person should be summoned before a justice of the peace to have his case tried, the objection would not be so great; but it certainly would be hard to lock a man up for perhaps a week—["No, no!"] Well, the Bill said, in Clause 5, that for the purposes of the Act, the Court of Jurisdiction elsewhere than in Dublin should be constituted of two or more Justices of the Peace sitting in Petty Sessions.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): The offenders will be "dealt with according to law."

Mr. LEAMY apprehended that "according to law" was according to this Bill. The offenders would be brought up at the petty sessions, and, to his knowledge, there were districts in Ireland where the petty sessions were only held every fortnight. That being so, he thought it only fair and reasonable that there should be some check on the power of making arrests—that men who might happen to contravene the Act by having arms in their houses should not be arrested without warrant.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, there must be some mistake in the hon. Member's mind. The Bill provided that the person found contravening the Act should be arrested by a constable or police officer "in order to his being dealt with according to law." The Petty Sessions Act would require that these persons should be brought before a magistrate, and the magistrate would direct that they should be summoned to the petty sessions or be required to give bail for their appearance at the petty sessions to answer the charge preferred against them.

MR. BRADLAUGH could not understand the point raised by the hon. Member opposite, as to the searching of a house and the finding of arms there giving a police constable authority to arrest a person elsewhere without warrant, because that person happened to be the occupier of such house. The Bill only said that persons should be arrested without warrant who were found with arms or ammunition upon them.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 116; Noes 32: Majority 84.—(Div. List, No. 113.)

MAJOR NOLAN moved, in page 1, line 11, after "Law," to insert—

> "Unless such person can be identified, and unless there is no reasonable apprehension of such person making immediate and violent use of the arms carried."

The Bill provided that any person carrying or having any arms or ammunition in his possession might be arrested without warrant by any constable or peace officer in order to his being dealt with according to law. The Amendment he had now to propose was really a very mild one. It simply gave a qualification to guard against the arrest of a man who was obviously doing no harm and who was well known to the Constabulary.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MAJOR NOLAN resumed. The words of the clause as they stood were very strong, and gave power to any constable to arrest anyone carrying arms or ammunition without a warrant. His object in proposing the Amendment was to prevent the constable from making bad use of the powers placed in his hands through excess of zeal. He might think that in arresting some respectable inhabitant he was showing himself very zealous and ensuring promotion, and when he came to deal with the small farmer or the small tradesman he would be anxious, in order to get promotion, to distinguish himself by indulging in bullying. The Amendment would not interfere in any way with the carrying out of a warrant. It simply declared that where the constable had no reasonable apprehension that a man was likely to make immediate and violent use of the arms he carried, that he should not arrest him without a warrant. Of course, if he thought that the man was going to make immediate use of them he would arrest him. That point was put by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary when he said that if the constable saw a man with a revolver he ought to arrest him. That he (Major Nolan) fully allowed. But suppose a man well-known to the constable, and not a dangerous character, was seen carrying a blunderbuss, was he to be arrested by a constable without a warrant? He remembered the late Member for the county of Cork mentioning several instances in which respectable persons had been put to a great amount of trouble in consequence of the officiousness of over-zealous constables. He did not think that the constable, under the circumstances, should have power to arrest without a warrant. The Amendment only went to this extent—that if the constable did not know the man, and thought there was any danger, he could arrest him without a warrant, or if he could not identify him; but if he both knew the man and knew there was no reasonable probability that he would make a bad use of arms—if, for instance, he saw a servant he knew personally carrying a gun through the street—it would not be his duty to arrest him. He thought that the insertion of some such Proviso would prevent the constable from unduly exercising his authority.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not think that the first part of this Amendment can be defended, even upon the hon. and gallant Member's own showing, as he might know and be able to identify a man who is known to be a very dangerous character. The Amendment would not, therefore, meet the case at all. Then the hon. and gallant Member says—

> "Unless there is no reasonable apprehension of such person making immediate and violent use of the arms carried."

The hon. and gallant Member puts the case of an over-zealous constable. Now, an over-zealous constable would always entertain that apprehension, or otherwise he would not act. These would, therefore, be extremely dangerous words to introduce. By this Bill it is intended to give the police, if in the night-time they see persons going about armed with guns and revolvers, the power of stopping them and taking them before a justice of the peace, whether they are able to identify them or not, and whether they think the fire arms are going at once to be used for an illegal purpose, or at a more remote time. The object of the clause is to provide that if persons indulge in the habit of carrying fire-arms, they shall come within the operation of the Act. I cannot consent to except the case of a person who may be known and readily identified, and in regard to whom the police constable may speculate whether or not he is going to make a bad use of the arms he carries.

The O'DONOGHUE said, it appeared to him that the clause, as it stood, circumscribed the operation of the Act. It was not necessary that the police constable should have power only to arrest a man whom he perceived to be carrying arms. People might be going to a meeting without carrying arms in their hands; but as he understood the clause, it gave the constable power to make an arrest whether he saw arms in a man's hands, or whether his pockets happened to bulge out, and he was suspected of carrying them. In that case he might go to the man and insist on seeing what he was carrying. And thus every man attending a fair, a race, or a market, would be liable to be stopped and arrested. He looked upon this as the most oppressive section of this most oppressive Bill, and the most dangerous part of it, as it would inevitably give rise to a great deal of disturbance, seeing that the people were likely to resist the interference of the police in this way. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary pointed out that if the police saw a man going about at night armed, they would arrest him. No one would object to that; but the clause, as it stood, gave the constable power to make arrests at any moment and under any circumstance.

Mr. FINIGAN said, the Home Secretary had just told them that he objected to the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Major Nolan) being accepted by the Committee, because in the case of a man of dangerous character going about armed, and being a person whom it would be desirable to arrest, he would escape arrest on the ground that he was well known, and could be easily identified. But if such a man were known to be a dangerous subject, he ought to be arrested under the Coercion Act, because, as a dangerous character, he must either be reasonably suspected of some crime or incitement to crime or outrage. A person in that position would be arrested at once, and not allowed to go round the country flourishing fire-arms, because the mere fact of his carrying arms would afford reasonable suspicion that he was guilty of treasonable practices. The Bill provided that any person carrying or having arms or ammunition in contravention of the Act might be arrested without a warrant. That was a very great power to begin with. But the clause did not say that he was to be arrested without a warrant and dealt with in some way that was not according to law; but it actually said "in order to his being dealt with according to law." Would it not be much more logical and much more reasonable that this man, who was not a well-known ruffian, and was not reasonably suspected of committing crime or inciting to crime, or on whose premises arms had been found—would it not be much more logical that as long as he was well-known, and could be easily identified, and unless there was a reasonable apprehension that he intended to make immediate and violent use of the arms he carried, he should have the full benefit of the spirit of the law—namely, that he should be found guilty before he was sent to a common prison? In this, which was the true spirit of the law, he hoped the Amendment would be accepted.

Mr. HEALY said, the wording of the Bill had been copied from the Act of 1875, at which time there was no Coercion Act in force, and the Home Secretary, in servilely adhering to the former wording, appeared to have forgotten that, at the time in question, there was no power of arresting persons on suspicion. The Government having just passed a Coercion Act for Ireland, under which they could arrest persons on suspicion, the words sought to be excluded from the present Bill were unnecessary. The Amendment before the Committee, therefore, appeared to him to be perfectly reasonable. But there was one point to which he desired to call particular attention. It was well known that the police in Ireland had the character of desiring to give everybody as much annoyance as possible. If a policeman had a grudge against any man in Ireland, he had a hundred ways, even under the ordinary law, of causing him annoyance; but under this Act his means of doing so would be multiplied a hundred-fold. As an instance of this, a man having a licence for arms might have left it at home, and one of these vigilant and intelligent officers might find this out, arrest the man, and subject him to fine and imprisonment. He might even imprison him while sending home for the licence. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would, therefore, do well to consider this Amendment, and endeavour to bring up on Report some compromise which would remove the difficulties complained of.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he thought the Home Secretary had himself suggested the way in which the Bill ought to be amended. It would, however, be necessary that the Amendment should be introduced in a different place. He would therefore move an Amendment to an earlier line of the clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway is now before the Committee.

MAJOR NOLAN: I am willing to withdraw, to allow the hon. Member for Dungarvan to move his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. O'DONNELL suggested that a man might be arrested without warrant by any constable or peace officer in the night time. This was the limitation suggested by the Home Secretary.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: As a matter of Order, the hon. Member cannot propose any Amendment except after the word "Law," in line 11.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the Amendment he was about to move would allow a constable or peace officer to arrest without warrant any person, who for some inscrutable reason, might be wandering at night-time about the country. It was absolutely intolerable that in the day-time a police constable should have the power of arresting respectable persons, whether belonging to the class of landlords, or traders and shopkeepers in towns. But if the power to arrest without warrant were confined to the night-time, the complaint that at present armed men could go about the country at night would be entirely removed, and, in fact, something would be done to take away that aspect of the Bill to which reference had been made at an earlier stage—namely, that it seemed more calculated for worrying and annoying respectable people during the daytime, than for dealing with malefactors at night. Without referring to the details in subsequent clauses, he observed that the powers of search under the Bill were only to be exercised during the day-time and, therefore, it would seem some provision should be made against marauders and dangerous persons during the night. He regretted not having called attention to this defect in the Bill before the hon. and gallant Member for Galway had moved his Amendment, which he had since withdrawn by leave of the Committee. However, he hoped the Home Secretary, having himself pointed out the defect, would now admit the remedy which it was sought to apply in conformity with his own suggestions. It was not in the-day time that dangerous persons went about the country with arms; those who did so would almost certainly be men for whose character some persons of fair respectability would be able to answer. In asking for this alteration, therefore, they were not applying to the Government for any illegitimate safeguard. The proposal he had to make would bring the Bill still more closely in keeping with the original intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and, therefore, he suggested the words "between sunset and sunrise." Of course, if the right hon. Gentleman preferred the words "in the night-time," he should be happy to accept that emendation.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 9, after the word "warrant," to insert the words "between sunset and sunrise."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the clause provided that—

"Any person carrying or having arms or ammunition in contravention of this Act may be arrested without warrant by any constable or peace officer, in order to his being dealt with according to law."

He could not understand why that should not be done in the day-time as well as at night. To say that outrages and murders were not committed in the day-time was, as everybody knew, contrary to the circumstances reported from day to day, which showed that dangerous men were going about in Ireland with arms quite as much by day as by night. The object of the clause was to enable the police, when they saw persons carrying rifles and revolvers, to interfere, take their arms away, or arrest them. The Government could not, therefore, accede to the Amendment, which it was difficult to believe had been proposed seriously, for it must be obvious to everybody that it was impossible to identify and confuse two such different acts as entering a house in search of arms at night, and arresting a person for having them in his possession.

Dr. COMMINS said, the only way in which the people of Ireland could be protected from improper and mischievous interference on the part of the police was by preventing their arrest in the day-time. Under the present law, any persons carrying arms in the day-time to the terror of Her Majesty's subjects could be arrested. It was, therefore, the fault of the framers of the Bill that the words "any person openly carrying arms" had not been employed. Not having used them, they had thought it necessary to add to the powers of the existing law. If the peace of the country was to be preserved, and if this Act was not to be made an engine of oppression, he thought its operation ought to be restricted to the night-time, so far as the arrest of persons having arms or ammunition was concerned. In the first place, it was not likely that any person intending to commit an offence with arms, contrary to the peace or to the danger of another person, would carry them openly; nor was it likely that the police would have any means of ascertaining who it was that carried arms, and who did not. The arms would, of course, be carried secretly, and it was only by personal violation of the liberty of everyone on the highway that they could be discovered. But it was clear that the framers of the Act wished to subject the people of Ireland to as much indignity and outrage as they could. For it would be an indignity that policemen should stand upon the highway, and at the entrance to market towns, for the purpose of seizing by the throat everyone who had a weapon with him. The clause would be utterly futile for the prevention of crime in the day-time, although it might be of some use for the purpose at night. He thought that if the Government wished to have the means of reaching offenders, without inflicting injustice upon innocent persons and converting them into offenders, they should consent to the slight alteration proposed, which had for its object simply the prevention of abuse.

Mr. HEALY remarked, that the ignorance of the Home Secretary with regard to Irish affairs was, no doubt, the reason why he had so stubbornly resisted all Amendments. Were he (Mr. Healy) to hunt up the files of Irish newspapers which appeared during the operation of a former Act, he could produce many cases of men in the possession of licences for arms being stopped in the streets by policemen and put into gaol because they were simply possessed of arms. Within his own knowledge, men had been arrested on their way to a county town merely for the purpose of getting their arms cleaned. Moreover, a former Member of that House had his servant arrested, whom he had sent into Cork for the same purpose, without his licence. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, of course, knew nothing about these matters, and, therefore, maintained a dogged resistance to the proposed Amendment; but on the supposition that there were some Members of the Government who had a care for Ireland, he submitted to them that Amendments of this character, which did not contravene the spirit of the Bill, should be accepted, especially when they were designed to effect what was neither injurious or hurtful to any body of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had shown nothing to the contrary of this, and, therefore, the Amendment, which was a very reasonable one, should, in his opinion, be accepted. In view of the large majority ready to pass any Amendment which might be proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, and of the small numbers of Gentlemen who supported the views of the Irish Members under like circumstances, he urged upon the Government to consider the matter entirely upon its merits.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, that if the constable had to go four or five miles to obtain a warrant for the arrest of a person as to whom certain information had been received, the contemplated crime, which was the subject of the information, might be committed before the warrant could be obtained. With reference to the point of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), where a man might omit to put his licence in his pocket, or send his servant without it, he would observe that those were difficulties of every day occurrence in shooting and salmon fishing, and a person who had not his licence with him would have to take the consequences. In the case of salmon fishing, a man was liable to have his rod taken away by the bailiff. He did not think it was enacting too much to provide that the person who had a licence should carry it with him, or take care that his servant had it in his keeping.

The O'DONOGHUE could not conceive that statements should be reiterated, which would lead the Committee to suppose that a licence would be any protection to persons carrying arms, when the fact was they could be interfered with at any moment. A person who had a bottle or a large pipe about him that caused an unusual development might attract the attention of the police, who could proceed to search him. He thought the clause must lead to collisions between the police and the people.

Mr. DAWSON, supporting the Amendment, objected to the presumption that every human being passing along a road should be liable to be stopped and searched for arms.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR thought the Solicitor General for Ireland had put a case which was a *reductio ad absurdam.* He seemed to think that if a man going along a road was suspected of carrying a revolver, and the policeman had to go and get a warrant before he could search him, when the policeman came back a murder might have been committed. It was, however, out of reason that a man having been seen with a revolver would within five minutes of that go and commit a murder. It was obvious that any person so seen, even if he contemplated a murder, would go home about his business, and abstain from his fell purpose. Under the Coercion Act, he understood there was power to arrest a man who was armed with a revolver obviously with a criminal purpose; and he would point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland that although it might not be the object of those who introduced the Bill, yet the necessary consequence of the clause under consideration would be that in several towns in Ireland life would be made intolerable by the swagger and impudence of the police. Already life had become almost intolerable in his own constituency through those privileged breakers of the law, the magistrates and the sub-inspectors of police. The Home Secretary probably did not care how much discomfort the Act would cause in Ireland; but he appealed to the Solicitor General for Ireland whether it was his desire that the swaggering magistrates and impudent policemen should be able to make the daily life of the people intolerable owing to their interference. If any persons wished to commit murder in Ireland, in 9 cases out of 10, or in 999 out of 1,000, they would not select the day for the commission of the crime; and any person going about with a revolver in the daytime it might be assumed was a person who intended to commit no crime, or who, if he did intend to commit a crime, would abstain from doing so if he met a policeman. Therefore, unless the Government wished to increase the authority of the magistrates and policemen more than was necessary they might very well accept the Amendment.

Mr. SEXTON observed, that the Home Secretary seemed to be greatly pleased to learn that life was being made intolerable in Ireland; and he complimented the right hon. and learned Gentleman upon the spirit with which he was dealing with the Irish people. The right hon. and learned Gentleman argued that crimes were committed and people intimidated by day, and that the power of arresting any person in the daytime without a warrant ought to be given to the police; but the police had never at any time encountered the people committing crimes before the crimes were committed. In other words, people who committed crimes by day committed them so carefully and prudently that they never came within sight of the police. Therefore, no matter how well it might seem in theory to give this power of arresting by day to prevent crime, it would not have any practical effect, because if people had concealed themselves so successfully in the past they would be able to do so in the future, and this power would not affect the commission of crime. People who went about by day with visible weapons, or with some weapons concealed about them, would not be people who carried such weapons for the purpose of crime, but people who carried them for some lawful purpose, and who, if called to account, would be perfectly well able to answer for their conduct. Therefore, he contended, there was no necessity for giving the proposed power, first, because the people who committed crimes were not likely in the future to be seen before the commission of the crimes any more than they had been in the past; and, secondly, because persons carrying arms by day had no intention to commit crime, and would be willing to submit themselves to ordinary inquiry. He thought the Home Secretary might be satisfied that the power to arrest without warrant should be restricted to the night time. He had been surprised at the remarks of the Home Secretary as to the people being allowed to walk about carrying arms; but he admitted that if a body of men were met going about at night time carrying arms it would be the duty of the police to stop them. There was no occasion whatever for this power being exercised by day; and if it was limited to the night it would amply meet all the proper and legitimate purposes of the Bill.

Mr. O'DONNELL wished to say a few words in explanation, because the Home Secretary evidently quite misunderstood his observations. He wanted to prevent the danger of having any number of innocent and respectable people arrested——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can only speak strictly in explanation, and not in argument.

Mr. O'DONNELL was under the impression that Mr. Speaker had ruled that both in the House and in Committee, under the Rules of Urgency, the Member who moved a Motion had a right to reply.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is mistaken. An hon. Member who has moved an Amendment can speak in explanation of any errors that have been made with respect to his Amendment, but with no right of reply.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he was not going beyond that. His Amendment was intended to prevent persons having arms from being wantonly arrested by any constables who might happen to meet them.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that if the Amendment was carried, a person who was seen carrying arms could be summoned in the usual way by the police; but if the Amendment was not carried, any person perfectly well known to the police, and not likely to abscond from the district, could be taken into custody and subjected to all the annoyance of personal arrest; and it seemed to him that unless the Government wished to make the Bill more troublesome to the people than it otherwise would be they should accept the proposal. The Solicitor General's case seemed to be that for dealing with cases of intimidation and with actual violence the Bill ought to stand as it was; but he had not understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that arms could be carried in Ireland for the purpose of intimidation in the daytime. They might be used for intimidation after dark; but it was unreasonable to suppose that men would go about with blackened faces and carrying arms in the light of day when everybody could see them. He thought the Amendment would make the Bill more consistent with itself than it was in its original form, and would not only do no harm, but would lessen the evils of the measure.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 161: Majority 126.—(Div. List, No. 114.)

Mr. HEALY proposed an Amendment, the object of which was to prevent the unnecessary detention of people arrested. He explained that his Amendment was intended to provide that any person who was arrested, and yet had a licence at home, should be at once taken before a magistrate, and not be detained for 24 hours; and also that if a servant had been sent into a town with his master's gun to have it cleaned, it should be sufficient answer that his master had a licence. A Bill of that kind, it seemed to him, always proceeded on the presumption that it did not matter how much inconvenience it caused Her Majesty's subjects; but he maintained that Her Majesty's subjects had as much right to be preserved from inconvenience as Her Majesty's Government. They who represented the people had a right to maintain that loyal and peaceable subjects should be preserved as far as possible by Act of Parliament from inconvenience; and although it might be said that inconvenience would be caused to the Executive, that was of no consequence—in fact, the more inconvenience they threw on the Executive the better they liked it, for what they wanted to do was to cause the Executive so much inconvenience that innocent persons should not be punished.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The object which the Amendment of the hon. Member contemplates is already secured by the words in the Bill—"in order to his being dealt with according to law." It is the duty of every constable, on arresting a man, immediately to take him before a magistrate for having arms without a licence. He will have an opportunity of proving that he has or is entitled to a licence. Therefore, in point of fact, these words are unnecessary.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the observations of the Home Secretary convinced him that there could be no possible objection to introducing the words of the Amendment, or some words to the same effect. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, intended that a man arrested under the Act should be instantly taken before a magistrate and dealt with according to law. It was not perfectly clear on the face of the Bill what "according to law" meant. On a cursory reading of the Bill, it apparently meant that the person arrested according to that particular law should be dealt with at once, with a view to his being punished for the illegal possession of arms; and that, at any rate, he should be detained for any time that was convenient to the authorities, in order that, under no circumstances, should a man who was possibly guilty escape. All that the Amendment of the hon. Member would effect was to put on the face of the Bill an instruction to those who would have the administration of the law that the rights of the individual subject should not be altogether left out of consideration. He did not in the slightest degree question what the Home Secretary had said, that what he meant by the words, "in order to his being dealt with according to law," was that every facility of proving that his arrest was needless should be left open to a man arrested; but he ventured to say that the constables and the magistrates would be much more inclined to give such a construction so favourable to the liberties of the subject if the proposed Amendment was inserted.

MR. SEXTON considered the Amendment very reasonable, and was unable to feel satisfaction with the reply of the Home Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to assume that the words, "in order to his being dealt with according to law," amounted to the same thing as the Amendment, but he was not able to come to that conclusion; and he contended that if it was desirable that the Bill should be carried out in a considerate manner that should be provided for by explicit words. If the right hon. Gentleman had no objection to what the hon. Member proposed to insure, why should he object to the Amendment? Suppose a man was arrested, and he informed the police that he had a licence at home. His house might be a considerable distance away, and all that the hon. Member wished was that it should be incumbent on the police to take such a person before a magistrate at once in order to give him facilities for proving his innocence. His own experience of life in Ireland did not lead him to believe that in many cases the police were at all anxious to afford facilities to a man to prove his innocence. If the Bill was allowed to stand as at present, if a man were arrested at 4 o'clock in the evening, as it was extremely unlikely that they would proceed with the matter that same evening, he would be locked up in a strong room in, perhaps, the most remote police barrack in Ireland, subjected to the pain and indignity of suffering imprisonment for a whole night, and then, probably, be brought at the convenience of the police before the magistrate the next day. He saw nothing in the Bill which compelled the police to do anything with a man who was arrested for being in possession of arms other than that they had merely taken him before the petty sessions; and they had simply to place him in custody, and at their convenience proceed with the case. The Amendment of his hon. Friend was one which was founded in justice; and he thought it was the duty of the Government to accept the Amendment in order to prevent any person being treated in the manner which he had described.

Dr. COMMINS was not satisfied with the answer the Home Secretary had made to the Amendment proposed by his hon. Friend. The answer of the right hon. Gentleman argued a good deal of ignorance of how what was called "Petty Sessional practice" proceeded in this country still more in Ireland. In the majority of cases under this Act arrests took place under what were called "Petty Session Cases," and were cases of summary procedure. Now, they had many hundreds of Acts in England and Ireland which provided for the arrests of persons who were to be dealt with summarily. He doubted whether in a single one of those many hundred Acts—and if anyone doubted the existence of the number, they could easily find out that his statement was correct by reference to *Stone's Manual*—there was not a common form given under it to arrest, and the words of the Amendment followed those common forms. It was that the man should be forthwith taken before a magistrate to be dealt with according to law. But where was the word "forthwith?" It seemed to be left out from that Bill. What almost universal form was necessary in order to protect persons who might be liable to summary procedure and over-officiousness; and the omission of the word "forthwith" seemed to be a mistake altogether. He differed entirely from the Home Secretary in part of the speech which he had made; but he agreed with him in this—that notwithstanding the high authority against him it was highly necessary to prevent any obnoxious action under that Bill. How would the thing work? A charge under that Act was a bailable offence; the punishment was three months' imprisonment, or something of that kind. In every single case the man had a right to be brought forthwith to justice. There were a number of cases of a similar nature where a man was allowed to give bail, when arrested, if he could obtain it. The offender then came up at the next petty sessions to answer the charge. The reason of that was that there should be no unnecessary imprisonment before the man was found guilty; but in Ireland, and to some extent in England, such charges were heard at petty sessions only once a fortnight. A person might be arrested a day after the holding of the petty sessions, or even on the afternoon of the same day; and unless there was a special direction, such as was proposed by the Amendment, for the police officer to bring the man forthwith before the magistrate he might be detained during the whole of that period unnecessarily. The magistrate, on hearing the case, might be satisfied with the explanation offered. He might be assured that the case was a weak one; and yet, even in all those circumstances, the man might, as the Act stood, be detained in prison for an entire fortnight if the policeman was not under an obligation to bring him before the magistrate at once. He was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary did not wish to subject a large number of persons to such hard treatment. He certainly thought it could not be out of the way to insert what was a common form in the statutes to which he had referred in that Act. No harm could come of it. The man would be dealt with according to law. Let them take the case of a man who was in a highly respectable position, against whom there was really no charge whatever. The magistrate, on being satisfied that that was the case, might instantly release him. The Amendment was in the spirit of all the summary legislation in England and Ireland, and they were perfectly justified in asking the right hon. Gentleman to accept it.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think there is something in what has fallen from the hon. Member who has just spoken that the words of the Act do not sufficiently carry out the object which is intended, and it appears that the word "forthwith" should be inserted. I will take care that some such provision shall be made. I do not think that the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) has used the best form of words; but hon. Members may take my assurance that, if necessary, words which would meet the case shall be included in the Act.

Mr. HEALY said, that after the recent remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary he begged to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MAJOR NOLAN said, that, in moving the Amendment which stood in his name, he would say that the remarks which had fallen from the Home Secretary to a certain extent met the object which he had in view.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member is now speaking on the Amendment to leave out the words "constable and peace officer."

MAJOR NOLAN said, that that was not the case, that he was speaking on the prior Amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member asked leave to be allowed to withdraw the Amendment, and it was withdrawn. The hon. and gallant Member must now be speaking on the Amendment which refers to constables and peace officers.

MAJOR NOLAN submitted to the Chair, as a point of Order, that, if he withdrew an Amendment in order to allow of a prior one being brought on, he did not thereby waive his right to move his Amendment thereafter. He had a right to do so, and he trusted that the Chairman would allow him to proceed.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understood that the hon. and gallant Member wished to withdraw his Amendment altogether. If he merely withdrew it in order to allow the prior Amendment to come on, he could, of course, move it now.

MAJOR NOLAN then begged to withdraw the first Amendment which stood in his name. He would proceed to the following Amendment. An unusual power was given by that Act to search people. He would point out to the Committee that there was a similar power under the old Act of 1847. He maintained, however, that there was an essential difference between them. The way in which the Act of 1875 worked was as follows:—The constable looked at the Act of 1875, and in it he found a reference to previous Acts, and in previous Acts he found other references, and eventually got back to the Act of 1847. In that Act he found the power; but the Act of 1875 gave no power to search, except by previous Acts. The effect of that was that the power given under this Act was practically a new power. The Solicitor General for Ireland, in the remarks he had made, had referred to the previous statutes; and, no doubt, as regarded the law of the point, he was better up than he (Major Nolan) could pretend to be. But in a matter of practice, he contended, he was not better informed. A sub-constable did not know much about the provisions of Acts; and when he found that there was no actual power contained in the statute he would not proceed to refer to previous statutes to find such a power But if, in the Act which he had before him, an express power was contained to search a man or woman, he would have no hesitation in so doing. He strongly objected to any such power as that being given to an ordinary constable. The fault of the constables was that they were over-zealous; and sometimes, he was afraid, they were inclined to bully. Although, in some cases, the constables were very estimable men, in other cases they were sometimes liable to abuse their power. Now they were going to put before them prominently, for the first time, this power; and in that respect the present Act was a worse one than that of 1875. He thought the power should be confined to superior officers. The hon. and gallant Gentleman concluded by moving, in page 1, line 11, to leave out "constable or peace officer," and insert "sub-inspector or other superior officer of constabulary."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The charge which the hon. and gallant Member brings against the clause is that it is too intelligible. According to the former Act, the clause was drawn in such a way that nobody could understand it. That seems to have been the merit of the Acts of 1875 and 1870. Legislation by reference to previous Acts always makes them unintelligible. In the original Act of 1847 there was a searching clause, and from that time the law has remained the same. The hon. and gallant Member said that previously to this Act the law had not been clear; but the object of this Bill was to make the law as intelligible as possible. We are merely stating the law as it was from 1847 to 1875. The hon. and gallant Member also says that this power should not be placed in the hands of an ordinary police officer; but, supposing a man should be suspected of having arms in his possession, he might, as the hon. and gallant Member says, be met with his pockets bulky, and the constable might assume that those pockets were filled with revolvers. But if the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member were accepted, it would be necessary to go to the sub-inspector—who might be miles off—in order to obtain the power to search him. We must allow the ordinary constable to search, otherwise the law would not work. I see that the Amendment leaves out all personages other than Justices of the Peace. I do not think that that is desirable either. I have followed the ancient form of the Statute of 1847. I am quite sure that the form is the necessary one, and I am sorry I cannot accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member.

Mr. PARNELL thought the Committee should understand that his hon. and gallant Friend, and, in fact, all the Irish Members, objected to that provision of the Bill. The reason why they objected was that the Bill proposed to give a power which was entirely a new one in the Criminal Judicature of the country. They had not, so far as he could learn anywhere, in any Act of Parliament the right given to a policeman or a magistrate to search a person. He understood that if a policeman reasonably suspected a person of having committed a felony, he could, under certain Statutes, arrest that person and take him to the police-station and search him, and then bring him before a magistrate, in order that the case might be heard; but, under the present Bill, they were going to give a policeman a power which no policeman had ever before possessed. That crime of carrying arms was, of course, a manufactured one. It was exceedingly probable that many persons in remote parts of Ireland, who had obtained weapons since the last Peace Preservation Act was allowed to elapse, would not be aware of the provisions of the Act; and they were going to give a power under that Bill to any policeman who met anyone, man or woman, whom he suspected of being in possession of arms, to expose that person to the indignity of a personal search on the spot. He should much have preferred it if they had adhered to the old lines of criminal jurisprudence. A power should be given to a policeman to arrest simply and to take to the station, in order that the searching might take place there, where they had facilities for so doing. Just let them consider what might happen. Supposing that there was a fair, and a policeman stationed himself at the entrance of a village or town and searched everybody that came along the road. He doubted really whether the Government desired to expose the people of Ireland to such ignominy as that. It was degrading enough to be deprived of arms, still more so to be exposed to search by any policeman on the spot. He did not suppose any magistrate could be found who would be mean enough to exercise that power; but they were going to give the power to any policeman to stop anybody in the road and see whether he was in possession of arms. He really thought that the effect of that Bill had not been sufficiently apprehended. The Government had a desire to make the Bill effective, and they had inserted that provision into it without due consideration. He would ask whether they could not reconsider the matter and rely upon the old methods? They had already a Peace Preservation Act in force in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. Certainly they did not require the additional power to be given to search any person who might be suspected of carrying arms. It would be impossible to control, within proper limits, such a provision as that; and he trusted, therefore, that it would not remain in the Bill. It would inevitably lead to hostility between the police and the people, and it would be regretted that it had ever been inserted. He could not understand how it was that provision had ever crept into the Bill; and he thought that if the right hon. Gentleman in charge of it only gave the matter a little consideration, he must accede to the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend. The offence of carrying arms was a moral one only; and, under those circumstances, he considered that provision too stringent for the measure then before the Committee.

Colonel MAKINS said, that the hon. Member who had just sat down had stated that there was no law which gave a right to search; but under the Poaching Acts it was in the power of any policeman to stop anyone on the highway outside a town who was suspected of having game on him, or instruments of poaching, and to take them from him, if found in his possession, and this practice applied to women also. It was not, therefore, extaordinary that a similar power should be introduced into the present Bill.

MR. O'DONNELL certainly hoped that the Committee was not going to be guided by a species of precedents drawn from the Poaching Acts. He was not going into a digression upon that matter; but the Poaching Acts of this country were a disgrace to civilization, and had stained the soil of England with blood in a hundred places. One of the reasons why they asked the Government to surround that right of search with some reasonable guarantees was in order to prevent crimes occurring all over the country. They had to deal with a people who were quick-spirited and soldierly; and now they were proposing to give to any constable, however rash, a right to stop any peasant or poor person on the roadside, and not merely to arrest him and bring him to the station, but there and then to subject him to the degradation and indignity of a personal search. That degradation in hundreds of cases would be too strong, and too great an insult not to be met with resistance. If the Government did not take the necessary precaution and submit the right of search to limitation, very heavy responsibility would rest upon them. Under the ordinary rules of the law in such cases, by a provision conformable thereto, their objection would be met, and the public peace sufficiently safeguarded. But to thrust such a power as was proposed into the hands of any constable who suspected any man, woman, or child, would be simply a provocation, and would inevitably lead to bloodshed. He was sure that no Irishman—and no Englishman—would submit tamely to such an insult, however legal it might be. The right to search poachers had been resisted to the death in scores and scores of cases; and the success of the poaching legislation had not been sufficiently great for its terms to be extended to other legislation either in this country or in Ireland. It must be remembered that the personal dignity of the meanest Englishman was surrounded in that House by a kind of respect. There was a certain amount of regard for the protest of the English Representatives, and the Irish Members could not close their eyes to the fact that the Representatives of public opinion in Ireland did not obtain the same respect as those English Representatives. If Her Majesty's Government wished to widen the gulf between the Irish people and the Representatives of law and order in Ireland, let them insist on granting this unlimited right of search—this provoking, and indecent, and insulting right contained in the Bill.

MR. MACDONALD would press this on the attention of Her Majesty's Government—it was a well-known fact that the police were not immaculate; they were not all thoroughly honest men; and it would be well that the persons to be searched should be taken to the barracks before other people before that search was made. Take the case which had been adverted to by an hon. Member opposite—the case of a man coming from a fair. The man returning from a fair was slightly inebriated—[*Laughter.*]—Hon. Members laughed at the term he used; perhaps it would be more in keeping with their style if he used another term, which, however, he should refuse to do. The man coming home from a fair was in the condition of being unable properly to take care of himself. Any policeman who found him in that condition had power to put his hand in his pocket; and the officer, if he were dishonestly inclined, might rob the man of a considerable sum. ["Oh!"] An hon. Member called out "Oh!" but did not the records of the police courts from day to day in this, so-called, free and crimeless England, point to this sort of thing having occurred? Had they not heard of the punishment of English policemen for robbing the prisoners they had taken into custody? Was it not a fact that frequently they found in the general Press of the day accounts of inspectors of police, and even the chiefs, committing very serious crimes? How long was it since all London was in commotion in respect to the actions of Clarke, Meiklejohn, and Druscovitch? Under the circumstances, he considered that this was a terrible weapon against the people that the Government sought to put into the hands of the Irish police. What he had spoken chiefly about was of men. What if a single policeman had the power of stopping a woman on the street, on a lonely road, would it not be an out rage on the feelings of the woman? but what are the results it might lead to?—blackmailing, to an absolute certainty. Would they submit their own wives, their own daughters, to be so treated? If not, would they degrade the Irish people by such a power being in the hands of the police. Moreover, in the interest of the policemen themselves, this power should not be given, as it would prove a source of temptation to them, and might lead them into crime. If the examination and search took place before witnesses in the ordinary way there would not be this objection. He would put it, therefore, to Her Majesty's Government, both in the interest of the public and the police themselves, that the Bill should be amended so as to provide that a person should be taken to the police office before being searched.

Mr. GIBSON wished to make two or three very short observations on the Amendment now before the Committee. As the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had correctly stated, this provision had been in practical operation for a very considerable number of years; and though it might in a very few instances have been abused, everybody connected with the country knew that, on the whole, it had been carried out without undue harshness or abuse. ["No, no!"] Well, he had had, at least, as good an opportunity of knowing how it had worked as any other hon. Member. Supposing that a police officer met a person whose appearance suggested that he might have some weapon concealed about him, the officer would search that person—no doubt it was an unpleasant necessity connected with this legislation that the police should have this power—but if it was found that suspicion was well founded, then the police officer had to arrest the person and bring him before a magistrate to be dealt with according to law. Of course, where it was found that the suspicion was unfounded it was to be regretted that the person had been searched, and he was at once released. What was the alternative suggested by the Amendment? He regretted that there was obliged to be such a clause in the Bill; but was now contrasting it with the Amendment before the Committee. The alternative would be vastly worse than the clause, because the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) suggested—and was supported by several other hon. Members—that it would be better not to give this power of immediate search, by which suspicion could be tested at once; and that the person suspected of having arms should be taken from his home—it might be some considerable distance—before a magistrate or officer of constabulary, and searched to see if suspicion was well or ill-founded. Really, if they went to everyone in Ireland likely to be affected by this Bill, and asked them whether in the event of their being searched they would like to be searched according to the existing provisions of the measure, or would prefer to be subjected to the inconvenience of being taken before a magistrate or to the police office for search—which might in some country districts of Ireland involve a journey of 15 or 20 miles—he would venture to say the general reply would be—"I don't want to be searched at all; but if I am to be, do it now, so that I can go about my business." It might be well to give an alternative—that any person who objected to being searched by a police constable could have the privilege of being taken into custody, and waiting until all the machinery of the police office could be employed in searching him. He certainly thought that, even if the Amendment were agreed to, and were put upon the Statute Book, the provision would be one which would be very little put into operation.

Mr. HEALY said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin had made a very plausible statement about a man who had to be searched, and had the choice given him of the mode of search, choosing immediate search, and saying, "For God's sake! search me at once, and let me go about my business—don't take me before the magistrates;" but it should be pointed out to the right hon. and learned Gentleman that if a police constable had to take a man before a magistrate there would be less likelihood of people being searched unnecessarily. Policemen would not be inclined to interfere with a person where there was no case of reasonable suspicion; for if they did, they might get a severe dressing from the magistrate, not, perhaps, on account of the inconvenience occasioned to the unfortunate prisoner, but on account of the unnecessary bother and trouble given to the magistrate himself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to have forgotten this. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for South Essex (Colonel Makins) made what, no doubt, he considered a good point when he said the clause only contained a provision which was to be found in the Poaching Act. Surely that reason was not sufficient to recommend the clause to the intelligence of Radical Members opposite. The provision, by the way, was in the Night Poaching Act, and not in the Day Poaching Act; but even if it were in both it would be no argument in these times, for if the Poaching Acts were to be passed now, he ventured to think that they would be very different enactments to those on the Statute Book. What was done in a Poaching Bill 20 years ago was no argument for what should be done in a Peace Preservation Bill in 1881. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in proposing the Bill, said that this provision was most reasonable; but to his (Mr. Healy's) mind this was the most odious proposal in the entire measure—this right of personal search. Let him remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that it did not only apply to men, but to women also; for, according to the Government proposal, women were not excluded from the operation of the measure. It was in human nature to err, and he did not suppose the policeman would be immaculate or would properly appreciate the objects of the Act. Whether or not, this House had always legislated on the assumption that they should not give a power which was likely to be abused; and it had been shown that the police in Ireland were driven—by the system which insisted on promotion being only given on account of the number of offences detected, and by a lot of unjustifiable provisions of that nature—into a position of antagonism with the people, and that they consequently abused their powers. Therefore, he declared that this odious provision, which enabled every one of the 10,000 police of Ireland to stand in the cross-roads and personally search every man, woman, and child who came in his way, was a provision which should not remain in the Bill. What would be said if the Corporation of London declared that policemen should stand on the bridges and collect a toll from every passer by, possessing power of personal search to levy a certain octroi? Would it not be objected to, notwithstanding that everyone in England was, in a certain sense, in sympathy with the police looking on them as protectors? In Ireland the state of things was very different. The police there were not looked on as the protectors of the people, but as the protectors of the landlords and the Government. The people repudiated them in every sense. There was another point—the provision in the Bill actually placed the policeman in the position, for the time being, of the magistrate, and permitted him to be the judge both of the law and the fact. Would the Government permit the police of Ireland, not only to prove the crime, but to try the man and dismiss him or not as they thought fit? The police might take it into their heads not to discharge a man they searched; they might take him to prison. Was it wise to put the police into this position? With regard to the right of search, it was well known that there had been cases before the Dublin magistrates in which the police had first "set" a crime—to use a phrase thoroughly understood in Ireland—that was to say, had first placed the materials of the crime on the person or in the house of the man he was at enmity with, and had then "discovered" the crime. What was to prevent a policeman who had a grudge against a person putting his hand into that person's pocket—his hand being full, say, of percussion caps, or gunpowder, or bullets—and then drawing it out and saying to a brother officer, "Oh! he has caps upon him?" And he declared that a single percussion cap being found in a man's possession had been sufficient, before now, to procure an arrest. The Irish Members in fighting this Bill were in a much worse position than formerly, because they could not, when they came to an odious provision of this sort, do as at one time they were able to do—namely, move to report Progress, and compel delay, in order to enable the Government to think about the matter. Instead of that, they were in the position of having Members coming in from the smoking-room—not that hon. Gentlemen had not a right to go there if they chose—and from the library when the bell rang, and, without having heard the arguments, blindly voting for the Government. In former times, by moving

Motions for reporting Progress and for adjournment, they could cause delay, so as to give hon. Members an opportunity of informing their minds upon the question at issue. ["Question!"] He was speaking precisely to the Question. The more some of them spoke to the Question, the less it seemed to suit hon. Members opposite. What he was insisting on was that if the Irish Members had this power of insisting on divisions, hon. Members would have time to consider whether the Government ought to give this power of personal search to Irish policemen; but, as he had said, in matters of this sort hon. Members were in a worse position than formerly. Hon. Members seemed to think that the Bill before the Committee was only a renewal or a reproduction of former Acts; but if anyone would take the trouble to look at the Act of 1875, and would read through it, he would see that the provisions under the present Bill were much more stringent and severe than anything in the previous measure. Under the Act of 1875 he understood there was no right of search given, and yet the Government told them they only proposed to renew a power contained in that measure. Much as they hated the Tories in Ireland, he must confess they had always acted like gentlemen. They had never proposed needless provisions of a harassing character such as the Government were now insisting upon. The Tories were harsh at all times; but they had never proposed enactments of this character. The provision of which he complained was not an old one, but one evolved from the inner consciousness of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he, for one, should give it his most strenuous opposition.

Captain O'SHEA appealed to the Government to accept a compromise, for unless they did so, the power which would be given to policemen in the case of women would be very much too great. They should give a woman the option of saying whether she would submit to immediate search, or whether she would be taken to the police-station, where she would have protection against any abuse of power. The roads in the West of Ireland were very lonely. Considering that the proposal for a compromise had come from such an influential quarter as his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson), he really thought the Government ought to accept it.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The case of women will come under a later Amendment.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY remarked upon the extraordinary opportunity the clause offered for the exercise of officiousness or the indulgence of private malice. It said—

> "A constable or peace officer may search any person whom he may reasonably suspect to be carrying or having arms or ammunition in contravention of this Act."

And then a further clause defined what arms and ammunition were. It said—

> "The expression 'arms' includes any cannon, gun, revolver, pistol, and any description of fire-arms, also any sword, cutlass, pike, and bayonet, also any part of any arms as so defined."

With regard to ammunition, it said—

> "The expression 'ammunition' includes bullets, gunpowder, nitro-glycerine, dynamite, gun-cotton, and every other explosive substance, whether fitted for use with any arms or otherwise."

If it was only cannon that were to be searched for, the clause would not be very objectionable; but the clause included revolvers and "any part of any arms," and the carrying of such was an offence which, if suspected, would lay a person open to search. If a person had a percussion cap or a bullet in his or her pocket, or was suspected of having it, he or she—for women came under the provision—could be stopped and searched by a policeman. Well, any police officer might stop any man or woman if he were maliciously inclined, and subject him or her to a most thorough and indelicate examination to see if there was any bullet or portion of a pistol about his or her clothes. That was a power that ought not to be given to a policeman. The Home Secretary knew nothing about Ireland—probably was never in the country in his life. If the right hon. Gentleman knew anything of Ireland, he would be aware that police constables were not people who had such a very intelligent and delicate perception and appreciation of their duties that they could with impunity be intrusted with such powers as these. He had no doubt that the exercise of these powers would be the means of causing quarrels. The right hon. Gentleman knew how the Sicilian Vespers began; but without prophesying any event so terrible in Ireland, he would warn him that this clause, unless amended, was likely to give rise to considerable bitterness of feeling and serious village quarrels.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am desirous of meeting the wishes of the hon. Members as far as I can. I feel that there is a great objection to search by the police, and quite appreciate the strength of the objections of hon. Members opposite. At the same time it is quite evident that we must deal, not only with cases where arms are carried, but also with cases where there is a reasonable suspicion of carrying arms. I gather from what has fallen from hon. Members, and I confess it strikes me as desirable, that it would be far better to arrest in both cases and get rid of the search altogether. In a case where a man is suspected of carrying arms, or who is discovered carrying arms, if the Committee accept my proposal and insist that he shall be forthwith taken before a magistrate, you have the security of an investigation by a magistrate, and you get rid of an objectionable provision. I would propose to strike out the latter part of the paragraph which has reference to the search, and remodel the first part with reference to arrest in the spirit of the statement I have made.

MAJOR NOLAN: On that understanding I would beg to withdraw the Amendment.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would propose to leave out the words from the word "and" to the word "Act" at the end of the paragraph, it being understood that at a future stage I shall remodel the clause.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, to strike out from the word "and" down to the word "Act" in line 13.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment is in the name of the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan); but I think the Committee will agree with me that it does not come within the provisions of this Bill. The effect of it is that where the people do not possess guns the police shall shoot down the small birds on their farms. The Amendment is not one that I can put in the form of an Amendment.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, if the Chairman would allow him to read the proposed Amendment to the Committee he should be content.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have stated that, in my opinion, it cannot be put as an Amendment. No doubt the hon. and learned Member can give Notice of it as a new clause.

MR. W. CORBET said, he had next an Amendment to provide that arrests should only be made by stipendiary magistrates or members of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, after the word "person," to insert the words "being a stipendiary magistrate or a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary force."—(*Mr. W. Corbet.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that the circumstances provided for by the clause could only take place under the power of a warrant; and it was desirable that that warrant should contain the name of the person by whom it was to be executed. It was desirable to have the clause in general terms, for the reason that if the Amendment were accepted, and only a stipendiary magistrate or member of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force could act, that would prevent the powers of the clause being carried out in Dublin or in Limerick, or any other large Provincial town where the Metropolitan Police or local peace officers or watchmen, not being members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, had authority.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped the hon. Member would not insist on the Amendment, though, no doubt, his object in bringing it forward was to improve the Bill. There were many places where the proper persons to put the warrant in force would not be the stipendiary magistrate or a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary. He would rather intrust the liberties of the Irish people to the Lord Lieutenant than to the officials by whom he might be surrounded, or to the persons who, under the Bill, if so amended, might be empowered to carry out the Act—such, for instance, as a sub-inspector of constabulary, or even a member of the Constabulary Force. In his opinion, it was certainly too wide a provision, and he would rather leave the matter in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant than place it in the hands of miscellaneous members of the Constabulary.

Mr. HEALY thought the words "any person named in such warrant" should be struck out of the clause, and the matter left in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, who, if he thought fit, might by warrant direct a search for arms to be made. At all events, he was of opinion that the Amendment was an improvement upon the clause as it stood, and he would therefore support it, although he confessed that he did not see much in the matter, either one way or the other.

Mr. DAWSON believed that his Amendment, which would come next, would throw some light upon the matter. He intended to propose that the search should only take place in the presence of a magistrate. No search ought to be made unless there were circumstances of strong suspicion. Any honest and reputable person possessing a gun and displaying it openly would not be a person likely to be proceeded against under the Bill; but its provisions were directed against evil-minded persons who were suspected of concealing arms. The search might be made at any time between sunrise and sunset. This would include very unseasonable hours and times; and therefore he thought it would be necessary that the persons making the search should be accompanied by a magistrate, so that any improper invasion of a man's rights and liberties might be prevented. Under the Bill premises might be broken open and beds and bedding searched. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that there should be some really responsible person, such as a magistrate, present, in order to see that the rules of propriety and decency were duly observed. The search, consistently with the proper enforcement of the law, should be carried out in a manner that would not hurt the feelings of delicacy of any person concerned. He would therefore suggest the omission of the words "any person," and the substitution of the words "any responsible magistrate." There would be no difficulty, in the isolated cases that would occur, in securing the attendance of a magistrate at any contemplated invasion under the Act of the rights of domestic privacy, or the inviolability of the homes and hearths of Her Majesty's subjects. He was satisfied that the Government would not wish that any dwelling-house should be searched unless there were strong suspicions that arms were concealed in it. If the Government would consent to allow the search to be made only in the presence of a magistrate, he thought the chief difficulty would be removed.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. SEXTON begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name to the 3rd paragraph of Clause 1. That section of the clause directed that—

> "The Lord Lieutenant may by warrant direct any person named in such warrant to search in houses, buildings, and places situated in a proclaimed district and specified in the warrant, for any arms or ammunition suspected to be therein in contravention of this Act."

He proposed to add, after the word "places," in line 15, the words—"Not being places of religious worship, nor houses occupied by religious communities." He did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would say that there was, in the remotest degree, any possibility that arms would be concealed in places of worship, or in any of the houses occupied by religious communities. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the influence of the Irish clergy, and of all persons connected with religious orders in Ireland, had always been exercised on the side of public peace and order, and in favour of the due observance of the law, even when the law was most oppressive. He was the more encouraged to proceed with this Amendment by the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had shown a disposition to meet, to some extent, the views of the Irish Members, and to prevent the operation of the Act from unduly exasperating the public feeling. There could be no doubt that, however discreetly this Act was enforced, it would, to some extent, exasperate public feeling; but it was not necessary that there should be any needless exasperation. Under these circumstances, and with some confidence, he submitted this Amendment. He believed that the propriety of it was self-evident; and he would not, therefore, enter into any further argument in support of it.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 15, after "places," insert "not being places of religious worship nor houses occupied by religious communities." — (*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I quite agree with the hon. Member that this Act should be worked with as little exasperation as possible, and I also agree entirely with all he has said about the ministers of religion and members of religious communities in Ireland. I believe that, to whatever denomination they belong, they do exercise their influence on the side of peace, law, and order. But, at the same time, I think that no exceptions of this kind ought to be made. There are no exceptions in England; but the Queen's writ or order to search affects a church just as much as it would affect a house or a barn. And, although I do not believe that it is within the range of probability that this power will be exercised at all in the case of buildings for religious worship or houses occupied by religious communities, I can see great objection to making any exception from the operation of the Act. The power now asked for in this clause has already existed for 23 years; and the Members who come from Ireland, and who know the districts of country which have been affected better than I do, will be able to say whether the Act has ever been used for the purposes contemplated in this clause in connection with places for religious worship or houses occupied by religious communities. I certainly conceive that it has not been so used. I do not think that any case of the kind has occurred. The only conceivable circumstances under which the provisions of the Act could be put in force would be where persons, unknown to those who had the charge of a religious building, had temporarily made it a place for the deposit of arms. In such a case I do not think the law ought to be deprived of the right of search which it would have in this country in the case of a Protestant church. I certainly see great objections against the laying down of exceptions which do not exist in regard to the law in England, and I know of no evil that can arise from allowing the clause to remain as it is.

MR. O'DONNELL quite concurred in the spirit of the observations of the right Gentleman. He thought that the Bill was altogether unnecessary in Ireland, and he had opposed its introduction to the utmost of his ability. But, whatever injustice might be committed by the Act, he hoped that the religious communities of Ireland would be quite as open to learn the sweets and bitters provided for them by Her Majesty's Administration as any other class of persons. He was sure they would be acting contrary to the wishes of the clergy of Ireland, he hoped of all denominations, if they were prepared in any way to separate their lot from the lot of the Irish people at large. Let every insult and every outrage that could be perpetrated under the Bill be perpetrated just as freely within the houses of religious communities as in the houses of the humblest laymen. On principle he was totally opposed to laws which contained exceptions of this character; and, therefore, he hoped that his hon. Friend would not persist in his Amendment. If any excesses were committed in the exercise of the right of search in connection with the churches and religious communities of Ireland the Irish people, who were awaiting their own good time to pay off one score against Her Majesty's Liberal Administration, would doubtless find an opportunity of paying off this score also.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA hoped the Irish people would have no score to pay off in respect to the search of places of worship and the houses of the religious communities; and he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) would act wisely if he refrained from pressing the Amendment. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had pointed out that these places of worship might be abused, not by those who were properly in charge of them, but by lawless individuals who might obtain access to them on the pretext of prayer and devotion, but who might make use of them for improper objects.

MR. SEXTON thanked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the tone of his remarks, and accepted the general assurance given by the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the places mentioned in the Amendment would not be unnecessarily subjected to the right of search.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SEXTON moved in page 1, line 16, to leave out "and," and insert "each such house, building, or place being." The clause said that—

> "The Lord Lieutenant may by warrant direct any person named in such warrant to search in houses, buildings, and places situate in a proclaimed district, and specified in the warrant, for any arms or ammunition suspected to be therein in contravention of this Act."

He proposed after "a proclaimed district" the words "and each such house, building, or place being specified in the warrant." If these words were not inserted in the clause it would be competent for the Lord Lieutenant to issue a warrant enabling persons to search a whole town, or a whole barony, or a whole county. The Act consequently might be used as an instrument of extreme annoyance and terror to the inhabitants of a district, and would not afford any additional security for the preservation of peace. The class of persons intrusted with the execution of the warrant might be common policemen. or men of no education or social position, He did not think it would be right to confide to such persons the right of searching the whole of a town. Such a proceeding would excite a great deal of animosity among every class of people, and would probably lead to hostile conflicts between the people and the police. He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman would see that it would be most unwise to place in the hands of the police powers which might be used for the purpose of creating terror or annoyance. If the Lord Lieutenant or anybody in Dublin Castle had reason to suspect that arms were concealed in any particular house or building it would be easy to issue a warrant in reference to that house or building; and he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not deem it necessary or proper, in order to search any particular building or place, to issue a warrant which would involve the search of every house throughout the whole of a town.

Amendment proposed in page 1, line 16, to leave out "and," and insert "each such house, building, or place being."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'and' stand part of the Clause."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My reason for objecting to this Amendment is that the clause as it stands really does carry out what the hon. Member desires, because it says that the Lord Lieutenant may direct the search of such houses, buildings, and places situate in a proclaimed district as may be "specified in the warrant." I understand from that that it would be necessary to specify the houses that are to be searched, although there is no limitation as to the number of houses to be specified. For instance, the warrant might specify certain houses—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, in a particular street. The same thing might be done under the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman. He says that each house, building, or place, should be specified, and there would be no limitation unless the clause were to declare that only one house or building should be specified as liable to be searched. Therefore, I think the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman is already provided for in the Bill. We could not say that each building or place should be specified. For instance, in the case of a farm-house it would not be necessary to say "the cow-house, the pigstye, and the stable;" but it would be sufficient to say "such farm-house and places belonging to the farm-house." That would carry with it all the buildings appertaining to the farm-house. Therefore, there is no necessity for the Amendment of the hon. Member, which is already provided for in the Bill.

MR. PARNELL said, it seemed to him that the desire of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in this case was that the ordinary law with regard to the granting of search warrants should be observed in this case. He (Mr. Parnell) spoke, of course, subject to the correction of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but, as far as he knew, the practice in the ordinary law in cases where it was desirable to institute a search of any premises in order to obtain evidence in regard to the commission of crime was that the premises it was considered desirable to search should be named in the search warrant. Why should that not be done under the provisions of this Bill? [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is done.] He thought not; but, of course, he said this subject to the better knowledge of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It appeared to him that the warrant in this case should specify all the houses in a particular town it was proposed to search. It would be quite sufficient if the warrant gave a power to search all the houses or buildings in a particular town or district, to enable the officers named in the warrant legally to search all such houses and buildings, under the Bill. Of course, if they were told on the authority of the Irish Law Officers of the Crown that this was not so, they would be perfectly satisfied; but they did think that when they had constituted what was not previously an offence to be an offence that they ought to rely on the ordinary provisions of the law with regard to search warrants, for the purpose of obtaining evidence in regard to the commission of an offence. Surely if it was sufficient where a burglary or a felony had been committed to issue a search warrant, authorizing a particular house or particular premises to be searched—surely, in the present instance, it would be sufficient to take the same course. The police would have abundant evidence as to the houses in which arms were likely to be concealed; and in every case where they thought it necessary to obtain a search warrant, they would have no difficulty in obtaining one specifying the houses they considered it necessary to search, in order to detect the offence which they suspected to have been committed.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, the provision made in the Bill specified exactly what a search warrant should contain. The premises to be searched would be specified as they should be specified in every search warrant.

MR. PARNELL: Will the names of the owners be given?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): The search warrant requires that in every case the premises must be specified; but the owner's name may not be known.

MR. PARNELL: And the district?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): The district must be proclaimed before any action can take place under this Bill. When a district has been proclaimed a search warrant may be issued, and such search warrant must specify the premises that are to be subjected to search, and the persons must be named in it by whom the search is to be conducted.

MR. PARNELL: The premises will be identified in the warrant?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): Yes.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. DAWSON moved, in page 1, line 18, after the words "with such constables," to insert "with a magistrate and such other persons as he shall call to his assistance." The object of this Amendment was to secure that the person directed to make the search should always be accompanied by a magistrate. He presumed that a search would only be made in cases of aggravated suspicion; but as it might be conducted between sunrise and sunset, it might be carried out at unseasonable times and hours. It was, therefore, desirable that a magistrate should be present. There were 40 or 50 magistrates in every Irish county, and as it was not at all preposterous to presume that steps involving so great an infraction of public liberty would be taken on light or trivial grounds, it should not be left open to any person or policeman to knock up people at unseasonable hours, and insist upon searching their houses, unless a magistrate was present to see that the search was properly conducted. In some cases information might have been lodged and the search directed from motives of mean personal revenge; and, therefore, where in any case of suspicion a search was ordered, it should be conducted, not by a common constable, but on the responsibility and in the presence of a magistrate. These gentlemen were very numerous, and very readily at hand in Ireland. They might be suspected of acting from partizan motives, and of being influenced by personal bias in some matters; but as regarded anything that might be construed into an outrage upon decency, he was perfectly sure that the magistrates of Ireland would make such an occurrence quite impossible. If, therefore, it was found necessary to inflict this Act upon the Irish people, they ought to give them the protection which the presence of a gentleman in the position of a magistrate would afford, against any outrage upon decency and propriety. He was satisfied that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would see nothing preposterous in the Amendment, and that it would not interfere with the object which the Government had in view.

Amendment proposed, after the word "with," in page 1, line 18, to insert "a magistrate and."—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I really thought that we had decided this point upon the previous Amendment in another paragraph which proposed that the warrant should only be directed to a magistrate or to a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force. I thought the Committee had disposed of the present Amendment in the discussion which took place then. If you allow the Lord Lieutenant to give this warrant to "any person," surely he will decide that the person to whom the warrant is given is a fitting person to execute it. The hon. Member suggests that motives of private spite or malice may induce a constable to go and search a house improperly. But we have taken precautions against that, because he cannot go unless the Lord Lieutenant gives him a warrant. Unless the Lord Lieutenant thinks there is sufficient grounds for the issue of a search warrant, he would not be influenced by the private malice of any member of the Constabulary Force. It seems to me that the proper person to execute the warrant is the person to whom the Lord Lieutenant gives it; and the whole question has, in reality, been disposed of in a previous part of the clause.

Mr. HEALY thought there was a good deal in what the right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated; but the contention of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) was, that the person to whom the warrant was directed might bring with him a score of other persons to assist him in executing the warrant. He might be induced to bring half of the village to see the fun. He (Mr. Healy) did not suppose that such a thing was likely, and he was not arguing in favour of the Amendment, but in favour of the position taken up by his hon. Friend in that sense. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman would tell the Committee that the warrant would only be executed by the person named in it and a force sufficient to meet any resistance to the execution of the warrant, he would be quite satisfied.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: That really would be so. The person to execute the warrant would be the person to whom it was directed; and as to the persons by whom he might be accompanied, I may, perhaps, be allowed to add one word in order to dispose of the point mentioned by the hon. Member. It is the general law that a constable engaged in the execution of a warrant should have the right of calling upon all the Queen's subjects to assist him if he is resisted. There is nothing more in this particular warrant than the ordinary law sanctions. The ordinary law calls on everybody to assist Her Majesty's officers, and there is nothing more in these words than the carrying out of the regular law. What I understand the hon. Member is now proposing is, that the person named in the warrant should not be the only person to execute the warrant, but that in every case he should be accompanied by a magistrate. I think that without such a provision ample care is taken that the warrant shall be properly executed.

Mr. DAWSON had no objection to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Mr. SEXTON said, the Bill had caused a great deal of animosity between classes in Ireland; and he feared that the local police, in conformity with the clause under discussion, might allow the bailiff or other retainer of the landlord to accompany them into the houses of tenants in their search for arms. If that were permitted, he believed the power would be used for purposes other than those contemplated by the Act. Again, a magistrate might accompany the police in order to pry into the domestic affairs of the tenant, for the purpose, perhaps, of ascertaining how far his furniture would satisfy a distraint for rent, or the power might be used by a landlord to get together evidence as to how far this Act might be made useful for getting in arrears. For these reasons, it was, in his opinion, not advisable to allow bailiffs to accompany the police into the houses of tenants in their search for arms, for it was well known how a vulgar man might move the feelings of the people on an occasion of that kind. He trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman would give some general assurance that instructions would be given to those who executed warrants under the Act that they should be accompanied only by those persons strictly necessary for the purpose. Having explained the object of his proposal, he would now formally move the Amendment standing in his name—namely, in page 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out "and other persons."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no objection to give the assurance asked for by the hon. Member for Sligo. These words are not intended to be applied except in cases where the assistance of persons is necessary to execute the law.

MR. HEALY expressed his satisfaction at the excellent spirit shown by the right hon. and learned Gentleman in accepting this and other Amendments.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SEXTON trusted the Home Secretary would also extend his favourable consideration to the Amendment he was about to propose. The clause ran thus—

> "The person named in such warrant, with such constables and other persons as he calls to his assistance, may, within twenty-one days next after the date of the warrant, ... execute the warrant."

Now, a warrant issued from Dublin Castle would reach any part of Ireland in a day or a day and a-half. Why, then, should the person charged with the execution of a warrant keep it in his pocket for 21 days? The effect of this would be most prejudicial, for the fact that the warrant had been received would soon become known to the townspeople. The warrant might relate to a considerable number of houses, and influence a large number of persons in the locality, and therefore he thought the Government should allow as much time as would be reasonable for its execution, and no more. He could not understand why the sub-inspector should hold this instrument of terror over persons for three weeks, and keep a whole town, perhaps, in a state of excitement and suspense while he made up his mind as to when he should execute his warrant. In the hope that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would make a little further concession, he begged to move the Amendment standing in his name—namely, in page 1, line 19, to leave out "twenty-one," and insert "seven."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have received so much encouragement from the hon. Members for Wexford and Sligo, that I am tempted to split the difference between us, and agree to 10 days instead of 21, as the time within which the warrant is to be executed.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, to leave out the words "twenty-one," and insert the word "ten."—(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. SEXTON drew attention to the consequences of a person proceeding to execute a warrant immediately after the proclamation of a district. The proclamation might be posted on a certain day in any district in Ireland, and the person authorized to execute a warrant might do so on the following day. It would follow from this that the person affected would receive no warning whatever, and could not possibly know, especially at night, by what right it was sought to execute the warrant. In sustaining the Amendment he was about to propose, he would refer to the Peace Preservation Act of 1875, which provided that persons in search of arms should state their business, and then wait a reasonable time before entering a house. Had he seen the clause in this Act before he placed his Amendment on the Paper, he would have adopted the language therein employed; but, practically, the wording he had used would secure the same result, and he had simply to ask the Home Secretary to allow the person executing a warrant under the Act—first, to state his authority; secondly, the nature of his business; and, thirdly, after entering a house, whether by force or otherwise, to exhibit his warrant before making his search.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 23, after the word "warrant," to add "Provided that, previous to forcing an entry, the person engaged upon the execution of the warrant shall, if required to do so by any person in occupation or care of the house, building, or place which he seeks to enter, proclaim his authority and the nature of his business, and shall, if so desired to do, exhibit his warrant before proceeding to make the search."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The wording of the Act of 1875, to which the hon. Member has just referred, has been supplied in this clause by the words "if need be, by force." Her Majesty's Government have endeavoured to make the present Act as short as possible. The objection I have to the

Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo is that it would give to persons likely to resist, possibly by armed force, time to prepare for such resistance—in point of fact, time to load their rifles or revolvers and fire a volley. That, I think, would not be desirable. I believe the hon. Member will find, on consideration, that everything he can desire, so far as this matter is concerned, is contained in the words "if need be."

Mr. DAWSON suggested that some person should be present at the execution of a warrant who was a competent judge of the need to enter by force. If the right hon. Gentleman did not agree to that, he thought the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo should be accepted. Certainly, if the interpretation of the words "if need be" were left to the judgment and responsibility of indiscreet people, serious consequences would very frequently follow, and, therefore, there was great reason in asking that the person executing the warrant should state his authority and exhibit his warrant after entering the house.

Mr. MOLLOY pointed out that if the clause remained as it was, any person could enter a house without exhibiting a warrant at all, and proceed to search it, merely stating that he came under the authority of the Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. BIGGAR said the right hon. Gentleman had advanced a case as an argument against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo which had never occurred, and which, in all probability, never would occur—namely, that of persons in a house attempting by force of arms to set the authority of the law and the police at defiance. The right hon. Gentleman, in rejecting the Amendment, had refused the very reasonable request that parties asked to admit the police should be told what their object was. As the Bill stood, the police must have a warrant, and the only difficulty appeared to be as to whether they should exhibit it to the people of the house. Of course, the parties concerned would be justified in keeping their doors closed unless they were told that the police had authority to force their way in. But if they were told that the police had a warrant, they would be bound to open the door, or else it would be broken open; and, therefore, it appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman was encouraging illegal proceedings in allowing the door to be forced without giving the inmates any reason to suppose that the police had any authority to enter. Again, the warrant might be in the hands of policemen in uniform or in plain clothes, or it might also be in the hands of persons who were not police at all. How, then, were the parties in the house to know what to do without the exhibition of the warrant? Under the circumstances, it was clear to him that the Government had taken up a thoroughly unreasonable and untenable position with regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo, which he thought they ought to agree to.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member was reasonable. The Bill provided that the search should be made in pursuance of a warrant issued by the Lord Lieutenant. What then was the good of that warrant if it were to be kept in the pocket of the person making the search? In the so-called Coercion Bill which had lately passed that House, it was stated that the grounds on which any person might be arrested should be stated in the warrant of arrest, and a copy of it given to the person arrested. The present Bill proposed that there should be a search under a warrant. But he maintained that the warrant in this case would be a dead letter, unless it were shown to the person whose premises were to be searched. If houses were to be entered, the person entering might make a false representation; he might go there for a criminal purpose, ascertaining the condition of the house, while the inmates would have no means of preventing him, for they would not know whether he had authority to search. Therefore, it appeared to him that in granting such extraordinary powers, Parliament ought to accompany them, as far as possible, with such safeguards as would protect innocent and respectable persons against abuse. He thought it was but an act of justice and reason, that when a man entered the house of another in pursuance of an Act of this character, he should be able to show the authority under which he entered, and that the people of the house should have the right to demand his warrant. Under those circumstances, he hoped his right hon. Friend would re-consider the position, and not make a stand against what appeared to him to be a reasonable and necessary proposal.

MR. R. T. REID said, he understood the objection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to the Amendment to be that if the officer proclaimed his authority and exhibited his warrant, time would be given in case resistance should be intended to load rifles and revolvers and fire a volley. But if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would look at the words of the Amendment, he would find that nothing more was proposed before entering the premises than that the officer should proclaim his authority and state his business. Whether the warrant was exhibited or not, the whole proceeding would not occupy more than about three seconds of time.

MR. GIBSON thought it would be well if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would say that before Report he would consider whether there was any objection to introduce the words of the Act of 1875 into the present Bill, because, as the clause stood, a house might be broken into without warning or summons. For that reason, he thought that notice should be given before a house was broken into in pursuance of the Act, and that the case would be met by adopting the words of the Act of 1875.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I shall be happy to adopt the words of the Act of 1875.

MR. LEAMY pointed out that the Act in question did not provide for the exhibition of the warrant. He would ask the Home Secretary what harm there could be in accepting the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo, which simply bound the police officer to state who he was, and with what object he came, and required him to produce his warrant before proceeding to search the house? He said that before a policeman proceeded to upset any house, the least he should do would be to exhibit his warrant, which was of no use whatever unless it was shown. He was surprised the right hon. Gentleman hesitated for a single moment in assenting to the Amendment before the Committee.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, that his right hon. Friend would do anything for a quiet life in this matter. The warrant would be executed in just the same way as any search-warrant, and the law in England and Ireland was that the owner of a house had a right to keep a constable out until he produced his warrant to enter. That was the case when the door was open; much more was it the case when the door was closed. The officer, therefore, would be bound to produce his warrant and notify his business before the door was opened. His right hon. Friend the Home Secretary was willing to introduce into the clause the terms of the Act of 1875; and in order to satisfy the hon. Member for Waterford, he would add to them that the constable should, if required, produce his warrant.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HEALY moved an Amendment to the effect that all arms and ammunition voluntarily delivered up to the authorities should, after the lapse of six months, be valued by some competent person, and the value thereof paid by the Grand Jury of the county to the owners of the same. The wording had been taken from the South African Act, without alteration, except that in order to place the cost upon the local rates, he had used the words "shall be paid by the Grand Jury," although he felt sure that if the Government accepted the Amendment, this would be made an Imperial charge. It was well known that a police-station was not the best place in which to store arms, which, if a little wet got into them, would be very seriously damaged. It was reasonable to suppose that in the course of five years some deterioration would take place in the arms, and he thought the Government should deal with the Irish people as they had dealt with the Blacks in Africa, and give compensation for the arms. An appraisement of the arms should be made at the time of the delivery. With regard to ammunition, that was not so necessary; but some person who was not open to suspicion ought to be appointed to value the guns. Owing to the Coercion Act, Ireland would, no doubt, become a land flowing with milk and honey, and then there would be no necessity for renewing this Act. The people would then be entitled to receive their arms back, and it would not be fair that, having been deprived of their guns for five years, they should have them back in bad condition. The Bill proposed confiscation for a limited period. What would the publicans say if it was proposed to shut up their houses for some days a-week? They would ask for compensation. And he maintained that people would be much more likely to give up their arms if they got reasonable value for them. He, therefore, urged the right hon. Gentleman to give the Amendment his attention.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I desire, as soon as possible and as short as possible, to state what the Government are prepared to do in this matter. As the Bill stands, arms improperly held are declared to be forfeited. As the hon. Member said, it is quite true that that would not be a great encouragement to people to voluntarily surrender their arms, and I think there ought to be a special provision made for cases where voluntary surrender is made. Of course, the provision will still remain for arms carried or found, and not voluntarily surrendered, and they will be forfeited; but in reference to arms voluntarily surrendered, what I propose to do and to secure by provision in the Bill is that which has practically been done under all preceding Arms Acts down to the beginning of last year. That is, that all arms voluntarily surrendered are deposited with the Government, and the Government are supposed to be in charge of them and to return them to the people to whom they belong. I am informed by those who are conversant with the manner in which this has been practically worked, that there has been a great deal of confusion about these arms, and that when a man came to recover his arms he could not get them. Under those circumstances money was paid for the arms, and I think that was fair and proper. I do not propose to go into anything like the details of the Amendment as to the deposit of the arms, and as to how they are to be taken care of, and what is to be done with them. That, I desire, like all other details, to leave to the Lord Lieutenant—to state where the arms are to be deposited, where they are to be registered, and what is to be done in the way of taking charge of them. What I should propose at the end of this clause is to put in a Proviso—

> "That when any arms or ammunition are voluntarily surrendered in accordance with the provisions of the proclamation, such arms or ammunition, or the value thereof at the time of the surrender, shall be returned to the owner when the proclamation relating thereto shall cease to be in force."

That will give to the authorities the right to have their arms returned, or to have the value of such arms at the time of surrender. The other proposal of buying the arms outright, the Government think cannot be acceded to; but this Proviso will give parties who voluntarily surrender their arms a right to have them properly taken care of and restored, or to have the value of them. I hope that that may be considered a satisfactory manner of meeting the requirements of the case, and that will dispose, I think, of a good many of the Amendments on the subject on the Paper.

Mr. SEXTON regarded the proposal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, so far as it went, as fair and reasonable. There had been a great deal of confusion, and the general impression in Ireland was that they might as well throw their arms into the sea as give them up to the Government. He had no doubt the Act would be very energetically administered for two or three weeks, or for a month, after it became law; and he wished to point out that there were a good many people who would be subject to the operation of the Act who were illiterate, and would not be able to read the proclamation. Policemen would visit many houses, the occupants of which had had no opportunity of seeing the proclamation, and in that way there would be many cases in which owners of arms who had no intention of wilfully contravening the Act would be arrested. He, therefore, submitted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman might, from the point of view of good feeling, usefully supplement his already large concession by providing that in certain cases, where it might appear to the magistrate or local authorities that the occupant of a house was not holding arms in wilful contravention of the Act, he might receive compensation. Such a man might be ignorant of the Act, and would have just as much claim to compensation as people who understood the proclamation.

Mr. MACFARLANE did not quite understand the period when the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to pay the value of arms. He had an Amendment on the Paper which proposed that payment should be made at the time the arms were received; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to postpone payment until the end of the period during which the man might be deprived of his arms, that would be hard treatment. If a person had paid £5 or £10 for a gun before the introduction of the Bill, it would be hard that he should be deprived of that money until the expiry of the Act. He, therefore, urged that the payment should be made at once, on the delivery of arms, leaving the Government then to deal with the arms as they chose. That would make the Act very much less obnoxious than it promised to be.

MR. DAWSON said, the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman had suggested to him an important point. There was a large number of people in Ireland who were Irish-speaking people; there were 800,000 who spoke only Irish. They were mostly located in Connaught, and that part of the country, and it would be a humane provision that those people should be informed through the only avenue that would approach their intelligence—through an Irish proclamation—that the Act was in force; otherwise, it would be found that many people did not understand the proclamation. He urged the Home Secretary, who had shown a disposition which the Irish Members were so happy to appreciate, to see that care was taken in Galway, in Connaught, and in Kerry, that the proclamation was communicated in Irish. He thought he had only to throw out the suggestion to the Home Secretary to ensure its being adopted.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Clearly the greatest possible encouragement ought to be given to people to bring in arms voluntarily; and, therefore, the Government would desire that the Lord Lieutenant should take every means of informing the people. With reference to the point raised by the hon. Member who moved the Amendment (Mr. Healy), that the Proviso should apply not only to persons voluntarily surrendering their arms, but to persons who can show that they have not withheld them, I think there is force in that, and if hon. Members desire that, I will keep back the Proviso I have suggested, instead of moving it now, in order to consider whether that might also be included in the Bill; or I will move the Proviso as it stands at present, if the other Amendments are withdrawn. I beg now to move this Proviso as I read it to the Committee. I am asked whether the term is to be five years. That is not so. The proclamation of a district might be only for six months, or for a year; then would arrive the time for the return of the arms, or the payment of their value. Whenever a district should be considered to be in such a condition as no longer to require the exigencies of the law, then the time would arrive for the return of the arms to the people of that district. If the arms were not forthcoming, the people would get compensation.

MR. BIGGAR said, the case put by the right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed at first sight very favourable; but in the event of a proclamation not terminating in a year, the settlement of claims would be postponed, and the owners of the arms would get neither their arms nor the value of them. He thought the fairest plan would be to pay the value of the arms to their owner when he gave them up, and let the arms then be the property of the Government. Then there was another point. As he understood the right hon and learned Gentleman, if the particular arms required could be found, even if they were damaged by having been kept by the Government, the owners would have no remedy, but would be bound to take them without the option of money. He would suggest that payment should be made at the time when the arms were given up; or, that at the end of the term, the owners of the arms should have the option of being paid in cash, or of taking the arms back again. That would be only fair, and he urged the Government to accept one or the other of those suggestions.

MR. GIBSON was very glad that the Home Secretary had seen his way to making the concession he had announced, and to deal in some way with the question of payment. It should be remembered, he observed, that since the expiry of the Peace Preservation Act in June last, there had been nothing to tell the people—who had in the meantime purchased arms—that they were doing anything illegal, or that their possession of arms would be afterwards interfered with. The Act having expired they were free to buy arms, and to avoid the danger of their position being abused, he had, by a question some days since, suggested the insertion of a clause in the Bill providing that all arms surrendered would be paid for. Care must be taken that the provision of the Home Secretary was one which would really be a working provision. It seemed to him that the concession was reasonable and very valuable, and that the right hon. Gentleman had met the Amendments in a very fair spirit; but he would suggest that before the Report he might deal further with the matter. It was true the proclamation might only last for a year, or for a few months; but it might last for five years, and if the Act was renewed the proclamation might last for 10 years. Therefore, he thought a reasonable alteration would be, that if the proclamation lasted for more than 12 months after the passing of the Bill, persons depositing arms should have the option of receiving their arms back, or the payment of reasonable value for them.

Sir JOHN HAY said, that to a certain extent he agreed with the Home Secretary, and, therefore, would not propose the Amendment standing in his name in the same sense and for the same object. But he was not quite certain that the Amendment suggested by the right hon. and learned Gentleman would fully carry out what he thought desirable. There were three classes of persons who would be likely to have arms. Those—the smallest number—having arms for illegal purposes; a certain number having arms for protection against those having arms for illegal purposes; and others who legitimately had arms for sporting and other purposes. His Amendment proposed that persons improperly holding arms should have certain compensation if they gave up their arms immediately. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman's Amendment would carry out that object he should be entirely satisfied, and would not press his Amendment.

Mr. LALOR said, it was well known to any man who had any dealings with fire-arms that if they were kept in a damp place, in 12 months they became perfectly useless, and would not be worth anything. It was not unlikely that many guns worth £5 or £10 would be seized, and if a man was deprived of such a gun for five years, or even one year, what would be the value of it at the end of that time? The value might not be more than £1, or, perhaps, 10*s.*; and it would be a downright injustice to treat any man in that way. He pressed the Home Secretary for an assurance that a person giving up his arms should have a receipt at the time stating the value of the gun or guns, and that when the proclamation terminated he should have the choice of taking either the guns or the value of them when surrendered.

Mr. HEALY, in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment, said, he thought it might be better to propose such an Amendment on Report. With regard to the point of voluntary surrender in the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment, he observed that that might mean a surrender while the Bill was going through the House, and that a surrender the day after the passing of the Act would not be regarded as a voluntary surrender. He would suggest that the period for voluntary surrender should be one month from the date of the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think, that on the whole, the suggestion of the hon. Member is the best, and that this Proviso, instead of being now put on the Paper, should be moved in another form on Report.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. Member does not propose the Amendment?

Mr. O'DONNELL: We are also to understand that it is not the Chief Secretary for Ireland who will continue the conduct of this Bill on Report?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 172; Noes 28: Majority 144.—(Div. List, No. 115.)

Clause 2 (Power as to proclamation in respect to arms and ammunition).

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: I beg to move, Mr. Chairman, that you report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I suppose the Committee will be somewhat tired. I am sure I am; and, therefore, I do not oppose the Motion.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

BILLS OF SALE ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 16.]

(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Fry, Mr. Barran.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. MONK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he wished to explain that in 1878 an Act was passed to regulate bills of sale——

MR. WARTON: I rise to Order. I object to the second reading.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no Notice of objection to the second reading on the Paper; therefore, the objection cannot be taken.

MR. MONK said, the Act of 1878 came into operation on the 1st of January, 1879, and the result of the passing of that measure had been that the number of bills of sale given had enormously increased; he found, indeed, that the number had increased until there were something like 1,000 issued per week, many of them being for an extremely small sum—for sums of £20, £10, and even £5—and those bills of sale for the most part got into the hands of a low class of money-lenders, whereby the public had been very much injured. It was principally the poorer classes who gave these bills of sale. Well, then, the object of the Bill was to amend that Act of 1878, and to require that every bill of sale should have a schedule attached to it containing an inventory of all the goods which passed under it. If the measure was favourably received and read a second time, when it got into Committee it was his intention to move an Amendment which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), requiring that the absence of such schedule should make the bill of sale absolutely void. There were other provisions in the measure, which was a very short one. The measure was simply an amending Bill, and he was happy to find that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was favourably disposed towards it, and intended to support the second reading. After the Bill had been read a second time, he should be anxious to have it committed *pro formâ,* in order to admit of the insertion of certain Amendments, which, he believed, would make it more useful and more acceptable to the Government; and he would meet any objections which might be raised by other parties. Especially he was ready to accept the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dewsbury. He saw that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Carmarthen (Mr. B. T. Williams) had placed a Notice on the Paper of his intention to move, after the second reading, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. As far as he (Mr. Monk) was personally concerned, he should be glad to see this Bill, and the measure promoted by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dewsbury, referred to a Select Committee; but that was a matter which he would rather leave to the decision of the Government. He hoped to be allowed to proceed with the Bill, giving a a sufficient time for the consideration of the Amendments which he proposed to have inserted.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

MR. WARTON quite appreciated the motive of hon. Members who had put their names on the back of this Bill, and had brought it in. No doubt, the motive was a good one; but the goodness of the motive would not make up for the badness of the Bill. No doubt, the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had heard of cases where certain evils occurred under bills of sale. No doubt, certain transactions had taken place which were anything but honest or proper, and he had no doubt that this Bill would prevent all such transactions; but, while it would do that, it would practically have the effect of destroying bills of sale altogether. He was perfectly certain that if hon. Members looked at the 8th clause, they would agree with him that no man in his senses would ever lend money on a bill of sale after the passing of that provision. The 8th clause was the essence of the Bill; and though there might be a great deal of talk about amending in Committee, he would point out that no amount of alteration in the Committee stage could make a measure acceptable when it was radically wrong. If any hon. Member—he did not say any hon. and learned Member, because this was a matter which any layman was quite as well able to understand as a lawyer—would only look at the 8th section of the Bill, he would see that the provision it contained was such as to effectually put a stop to bills of sale. Of course, the borrowers who wished to raise money on bills of sale were persons in needy circumstances—no man who was not in needy circumstances would think of raising money in such a way—but if the lender was liable to this danger, that if, within three months after advancement upon a bill of sale the borrower became bankrupt, he would not be able to recover, no man would be found foolish enough to lend on such doubtful security. Why did not the hon. Member for Gloucester at once say that he intended to abolish bills of sale altogether? Such a statement from him would have been intelligible and reasonable. As far as he (Mr. Warton) was concerned, he should call this measure, not an Act to amend bills of sale, but an Act to abolish bills of sale altogether. According to the Bill, a man who lent money on a bill of sale, instead of getting the full return, might only obtain a half-penny in the pound after the attorneys and others had melted away the bulk of the borrower's assets.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken, was a man of such supreme power that one was almost afraid to approach him. He had told them three times over that no man in his senses would lend money on a bill of sale if this measure passed, and that its effect would be to abolish bills of sale altogether. Well, under the present conditions on which bills of sale were given, it seemed to him that it would be a great improvement and a great benefit to many persons if bills of sale were abolished. The persons who for the most part advanced on bills of sale were money-lenders, men who preyed upon the poverty and helplessness of persons in embarrassed circumstances. These people took enormous interest, while they had as well the best possible security—namely, the property of the debtor, which, in most cases, was the property of his creditors. That property was often seized in a very short time after the granting of the bill of sale, the lender having made himself secure of his interest—for that he generally kept in hand. In place of the hundreds of pounds to be advanced, he gave, perhaps, only 60 or 80 per cent, taking enormous interest, ranging from 20 to 40 per cent, and even more. The money-lender pounced upon the property of the trader, and took everything that he had, which properly ought to go to the creditors; therefore, it seemed to him that bills of sale, under such circumstances, had better be abolished altogether. If the effect of the Bill was to put a stop to the issue of those bills of sale, it would be a great boon to the insolvent and embarrassed trader, and certainly a great benefit to the injured creditor. The only person who would deplore the abolition of that form of security would be the money-lender. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had another Bill upon the Paper upon the subject; but it had been blocked—he did not know why, because the Gentleman in whose name stood the Notice of opposition, as far as he could see, had no interest whatever in the matter. The Bill now under discussion was the Bill of the Chamber of Commerce, which was introduced last Session by the late Mr. Whitwell. His (Mr. Serjeant Simon's) Bill was the same Bill as that of Mr. Whitwell's, and the one before the House, with certain additions, which he had proposed last Session and the year before in the form of Amendments, which Mr. Whitwell had accepted. He should be quite content if the present Bill went into Committee. His hon. Friend had agreed to accept most of his Amendments; therefore, he should be satisfied. The only Amendment, as far as he knew, to which the hon. Gentleman objected was with regard to a matter which he thought they would be able satisfactorily to arrange. Whether the Bill went into Committee in the ordinary course, or was referred to a Select Committee, he should be prepared to support the second reading. If it were referred to a Select Committee, he would ask that the Bill he had introduced should be also referred to the Select Committee. The subject was one of great importance to the commercial world. For a long time these bills of sale had been a crying evil to business men, who found themselves suddenly deprived of property which ought to be a security to them in the course of honest trade. That property, as had already been pointed out, was swept away by money-lenders, who preyed upon embarrassed people, and brought about their ruin. He was glad to hear that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade agreed to the second reading of the Bill; and whether it went into Committee in the ordinary course or not, he should be happy to give it all the support in his power.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the Board of Trade accepted the second reading of the Bill on the conditions stated by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Monk)—namely, that it should be committed *pro formâ*, in order that certain Amendments should be introduced; but the Government would not hold themselves bound to accept any further stage until they had considered the effect of those Amendments. With reference to the Amendment on the Paper, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, the President of the Board of Trade did not think it desirable to agree to such reference, as he did not think the measure contained materials of sufficient importance to warrant its being considered by a Select Committee. The Board of Trade itself had a Bill on this subject "on the stocks," and it would be as well that it should be before the House before the question was remitted to a Committee.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, that after the announcement of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, that the Board of Trade had a Bill "on the stocks," it certainly seemed to him unwise to proceed further with the present measure. He (Mr. Fowler) had one complaint to make in regard to this Bill, as he had with regard to some other measures delivered. There were the names of five eminent Members of this House on the back of it; but those five names were the names of Gentlemen who all belonged to the Party opposite. If this were a non-Party Bill, and to be considered aside from Party politics, it would only have been courteous on the part of the hon. Member in charge of it to have got some hon. Member on that (the Conservative) side to have put his name on the back of it. As the Government were dealing with the matter, he thought it desirable to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. R. N. Fowler.*)

MR. B. T. WILLIAMS said, that, no doubt, great frauds were perpetrated throughout the country by means of bills of sale, and at the present moment the subject was one of great importance. ["Question!"] He did not wish to speak on the subject of adjournment, but on the subject-matter of the Bill—in fact, on the second reading——

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is that the Debate be now adjourned.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 19, Noes 93: Majority 74.—(Div. List, No. 116.)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS wished to call the attention of the House to the very peculiar position in which it stood in reference to this Bill. The Government had announced, through their Representative the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight (Mr. Ashley), that they had a Bill of their own on the subject which they were prepared to present to the House. ["No!"] At any rate, it was "on the stocks;" and yet they proposed to accept the second reading of the present Bill. There was, however, a foreshadowing that if the Bill of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) was read a second time, it would be referred to a Select Committee. He (Mr. Lewis) believed it would be found that Her Majesty's Government were a Government of Select Committees. Two Bills on Friday, on very small matters, were referred to Select Committees, and he had no doubt that the present Bill would meet the same fate. His own opinion was that when the Government measure was submitted, it would be time enough to deal with the matter; and until that time arrived he should oppose the second reading of the present Bill.

MR. ONSLOW was unwilling to stop the Bill of a private Member, knowing the enormous difficulties which private Members had experienced this Session in bringing anything before the House. But after the announcement of the Government that they looked upon the present Bill as a crude measure, and that they were themselves going to introduce another Bill on the same subject, he thought it was playing with legislation to ask the House to read the

Bill a second time. He would, therefore, appeal to his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Monk), who had had much experience in these matters, whether he considered that it would further his interests to take the second reading. He might tell his hon. Friend honestly that the progress of the Bill would be stopped on any further stage, and that he would not be allowed to proceed further than the second reading. Indeed, he believed that the Government themselves would oppose every further stage in every way they possibly could. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but he gathered that from what had been said by the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight, who spoke on behalf of the Government, and who said that the Government themselves intended to bring in a Bill on the same subject, and that they regarded the present measure as crude and imperfect.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) thought there was a little misunderstanding on the subject. Considering the few opportunities which private Members had of proceeding with a Bill, the Government did not wish to throw any obstacle in the way of the second reading of the present measure. But the object of reading the Bill a second time, had already been stated by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary to the Board of Trade—namely, that it was intended to introduce Amendments into the Bill; and, in order to do this, it was proposed that the Bill should be read a second time and then committed *pro formâ*, in order that the Amendments might be inserted. When these Amendments were introduced, the Government would be prepared to give their best consideration to the Bill. He thought the Bill was one which the House might consent to read a second time. It would be highly objectionable for the House to oppose the second reading simply because the Bill was introduced by a private Member. If the Bill were not satisfactory the objections to it would be pointed out, and the measure would be stopped. But to stop it now at the present stage, would be to interfere with the opportunities private Members had of proceeding with Bills, and he, therefore, hoped that the House would agree to the second reading. He believed that if the names of some hon. Members on the opposite side of the House were placed on the back of the Bill when it was re-committed, that all objection to it would be removed. The omission to do this was, however, an offence which he trusted might be easily forgiven, if his hon. Friend would promise that it should not occur again.

CAPTAIN AYLMER hoped that the second reading of the Bill would be deferred.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the House had already negatived a proposal to adjourn the debate upon the second reading.

MR. WHITLEY remarked, that a Bill of this kind was one that was very much wanted and very much needed. He thought there ought to be a register or schedule of all articles included in a bill of sale. That would be a very important step. He hoped the House would accept the second reading of the Bill; and he was quite satisfied that if they did so, clauses might be inserted which would make it a very serviceable measure.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

HERRING BRAND (SCOTLAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. R. DUFF moved that a Select Committee be appointed—

> "To inquire into the expediency of continuing the present system of branding herrings, and into the appropriation of the revenue raised from the brand fee."

The hon. Gentleman said, that he did not propose that night to nominate the Committee; but if the House would consent to the appointment of the Committee, he would postpone the nomination of it until a future day. He believed that his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had given Notice of opposition to the names of the Committee, and it was for that reason he would not proceed with the nomination now.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had given Notice early in the evening that he would oppose the nomination of this Committee, not because he objected to the Select Committee itself, or because he thought the names put down for the constitution of the Committee were those of hon. Members who were not qualified to sit upon it; his objection had a different origin. He found on looking over the names that eight of them were Liberals, six Conservatives, and that one belonged to the Third Party. Some attempt was made last Session to alter the old proportions in which the different Parties were placed on Committees; and it seemed to him, on looking over this list, that that attempt had been renewed. He believed that some communications had passed between those who managed these matters on the other side of the House and the leading Whip of the Conservative Party, and that an agreement had been come to of which he was ignorant. Now, he thought that whatever agreement was arrived at should be made public, and that there should be no chance of a precedent being established for the future which would be made to apply to Committees in which political considerations might possibly enter. He felt satisfied that the minority of the House, of whichever Party it happened to be composed, must be careful not to allow any alteration of the traditional proportions of Committees. He would not oppose the appointment of the Committee, because the discussion he was anxious to raise would more properly come on when the names were put to the House.

Major NOLAN would like to say a word as to to the composition of this Committee. It was a question that was of some importance to Ireland, and it was only right that there should be an Irish Member upon it. He was reminded of the picture in *Punch* last week depicting a young lady trespassing upon a farmer's land. The farmer asked why she was trespassing over his ground, and the young lady's answer was—"I have no ground of my own, and I must be on somebody's ground." It was quite impossible that the old proportions of Committees could be observed if the Irish Members were to serve upon them as representatives of the Third Party.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER wished to ask the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), who always sat on the Liberal side of the House and persistently supported Her Majesty's Government, if he considered that he was to be placed on a Committee as a Liberal or as a Conservative?

Mr. SPEAKER: The House is now considering the Question of the appointment of a Select Committee. This discussion is quite irregular now, but might, with propriety, be brought on later, when the nomination of the Committee is under the consideration of the House. The Question now is simply whether a Select Committee should be appointed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the expediency of continuing the present system of branding herrings, and into the appropriation of the revenue raised from the brand fee."—(*Mr. Robert Duff.*)

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Major Nolan, Bill to amend the Tramways (Ireland) Acts, 1860, 1861, and 1871, *ordered* to be brought in by Major Nolan, Mr. Corry, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Gray, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Litton.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 102.]

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) [COMPENSATION].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation for arms and ammunition voluntarily surrendered in pursuance of the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the Preservation of the Peace in Ireland (Queen's *Recommendation* signified), *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 8*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.] — Public Bill — *Committee* — Alkali, &c. Works Regulation (29-33).

ALKALI, &c. WORKS REGULATION BILL.—(No. 29.)

(*The Marquess of Huntly.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put in Committee, read.

Viscount MIDLETON said, that before their Lordships went into Committee he desired to say a few words.

The evil with which the Bill dealt was a growing one. He had been informed on very good authority that the effect of the vapours from some works was felt six or seven miles away. This Bill was very much weaker than its predecessors. He had put some Amendments on the Paper, and had been strongly pressed, in case they should not be carried, to move the rejection of the measure on the third reading. He did not, however, intend to take that course, as he considered that there were some good points in it. He thought coke works should come under the Bill, and he desired to restore to the 2nd Schedule a number of works recommended by the Commissioners to be placed under inspection. The whole time of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors ought to be devoted to their work, they being paid in a sufficiently liberal manner. He was of opinion that the Reports should contain not only the opinions of the Chief Inspector, but those of the Sub-Inspectors also. There ought to be liability on the part of masters for the acts of their servants, and he could not understand why it was proposed by this Bill to alter that old law. After a great deal of consideration he had come to the conclusion that no Bill which did not contain a collective liability clause would be satisfactory. He had excellent authority for the belief that the test required by the Bill was less stringent than were those recommended by the Commissioners, and than those which were now in use in many establishments. That was a blot upon the Bill, and he certainly thought they ought to have as severe a test in the matter as was practicable. He would accept the Bill on the principle that half-a-loaf was better than no bread, and that "we ought to be thankful for small mercies," although he felt that it would not cure evils which might have been got rid of by a statesmanlike measure.

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 6, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Condensation of acid gases in sulphuric acid works).

Viscount MIDELTON moved, in page 3, line 22, after ("work") to insert ("and every coke work"), and in line 27, after ("acid") to insert ("or coke").

Viscount Midleton

The Marquess of HUNTLY said, he could not consent to the Amendment, which would make the clause too restrictive.

Lord ABERDARE said, that as the Royal Commission recommended that there should be legislation in respect of coke ovens, he hoped the Government would in some way give effect to the recommendation.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY observed, that the noble Viscount (Viscount Midelton) appeared to desire coke ovens to be subject to still more stringent provisions than had been recommended by the Commission. He thought the enormous volumes of black smoke emitted from them might be dealt with under the provisions of the Nuisances Act rather than by this Bill. If the coke ovens were placed in the clause, it would be utterly impossible, owing to the expense, for the proprietors to carry on business. If the House thought that there ought to be legislation in respect of coke ovens constructed in the future, it would be better to do that in another manner than that proposed in the Amendment.

Viscount CRANBROOK suggested that coke ovens might be dealt with in the Schedule.

Viscount MIDELTON said, that, for the most part, the existing coke ovens were carried on by an almost bankrupt proprietary, and the sooner they were swept away the better. It was monstrous that they should continue to pollute the country and destroy vegetation because it would be expensive to manufacture coke if precautions were taken to prevent the escape of acid. The least he could consent to was a clause giving power to the Government to introduce future regulations.

Lord ABERDARE said, there were not a half-a-dozen towns in England where the local authorities could be induced to enforce the Smoke Nuisance Act, notwithstanding the frequently expressed public indignation of the inhabitants. If these authorities neglected their duty in this respect, some alternative ought to be provided. Under the new system of coke ovens, the damage done by the sulphurous fumes emitted was comparatively small; but by the old system the damage extended as far as half-a-mile, vegetation in that whole radius being injured. He did not think the Amendment dealt with the coke oven question in the best way; but he hoped their Lordships would receive from the Government an assurance that they would make a proposal on the subject.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY asked the noble Lord (Lord Aberdare), whether he would be satisfied if the new coke ovens were dealt with?

Lord ABERDARE said, that would be better than nothing; but it would hardly meet the case.

The Marquess of HUNTLY said, the Government would have no objection to consider the matter before the Report.

Viscount MIDLETON said, he would press his Amendment.

On question, their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 28; Not-Contents 46: Majority 18.

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Salisbury, M.

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Jersey, E.
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Manvers, E.
Nelson, E.
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Abinger, L.
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Selborne, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)

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Lansdowne, M.

Airlie, E.
Dartrey, E.
Derby, E.
Ducie, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Spencer, E.
Sydney, E.

Cranbrook, V.
Sherbrooke, V.

Aberdale, L.
Annaly, L.
Auckland, L.
Brabourne, L
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carrington, L.
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Denman, L.
Dorchester, L.
Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Foley, L.
Harris, L.
Houghton, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Kenry, L. (*E. Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Lawrence, L.
Lyttelton, L.
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Sandys, L.
Sefton, L. (*E. Sefton.*)
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Sudeley, L. [*Teller.*]
Sundridge, L. (*D. Argyll.*)
Vernon, L.
Waveney, L.
Wolverton, L.

Resolved in the *negative.*

Clause verbally amended, and *agreed to.*

Clauses 7 to 26, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Clause 27 (Actions in case of contributory nuisance).

Lord ABERDARE moved to leave out the closing words of the clause, which were—

> "Notwithstanding that the act or default of such defendant would not separately have caused a nuisance."

He did not see, when it was difficult to state with accuracy what part a person might have had in the creation of a nuisance, that he should be proceeded against separately. Copper and other works were excluded from this Bill, and would not be inspected. Consequently, though they might contribute to the particular nuisance, they would escape, while the inspected works would come within this clause. As Lord Justice Lush had laid down that any number of defendants might be included in the same action, there was already a means of recovering damages from every owner of an inspected works who contributed to the damage.

The Marquess of SALISBURY hoped that the Government would adhere to the words proposed to be left out of the Bill. There might be great annoyance caused to a large population which could not be traced to one single work, or to two works, or three works. He knew that in some places great injury was done to trees, houses, furniture, and animals without the owners being able to say more than that the injury came from such a district or such a town. This principle of collective liability was a feature absolutely necessary to give the Bill any salutary effect.

The Earl of DERBY hoped the Government would not allow the words in question to be struck out, else the Bill would not be worth sending to the other House of Parliament.

A noble Lord said, that after what had fallen from the noble Lord (Lord

Aberdare), he should like to know whether, in the opinion of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, the regulations as to costs under the Judicature Act applied to County Courts dealing with actions under the present law?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would inquire into the matter; but he did not think it probable they would be applicable.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 33.)

INDIA—THE MILITARY ESTIMATES.

QUESTION.

LORD WAVENEY inquired, When any further Correspondence on the Military Estimates of India will be presented in accordance with the assurance contained in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech at the opening of Parliament?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: In reply to my noble Friend, I beg to inform him that "further Correspondence on the Military Estimates of India" was presented to both Houses in January last. Some further Correspondence is now in course of preparation, and will be distributed in a few days. I may state, however, that, as far as we know up to the present date, there is no material alteration with regard to the Estimates as compared with those already presented.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 8th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—*Resolution in Committee*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation].

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Rotherham, Parkgate, and Rawmarsh Street Tramways (No. 1) *.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Clonakilty, &c.) * [103].

Committee—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98] —*Second Night*—R.P.

Committee—Report—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment * [16-104].

QUESTIONS.

LIVINGS (METROPOLIS)—ST. MARGARET PATTENS.

SIR HENRY PEEK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can explain out it is that the Rectory of St. Margaret Pattens with St. Gabriel Fenchurch, found by the recent inquisition of the Bishop of London to be worth £811 per annum, is entered in the present Clergy List as population 229, value £214; and, whether, in prospect of promised legislation, he will take steps, through the Ecclesiastical or Charity Commissioners or otherwise, to have the correct values of all City livings ascertained, and the result communicated in good time to the House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, *The Clergy List* is not an official publication, and I have no cognizance whatever of statements contained in it. As to the question of promised legislation, I am afraid that it is so far distant that I have not yet begun even to collect materials.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE NORWICH COUNTY COURT JUDGE—MR. ARCH.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the report of a case which appeared in the "Norwich News" of February 26th, in which the Trustees of the Long Strutton District Amalgamated League Sick Benefit Society applied to the county court judge for an order to compel the treasurer of the Society to give up the banking book? In the course of the proceedings, the judge is reported to have asked "if the Society had anything to do with the movement with which Mr. Arch was connected." A reply having been given in the affirmative, he said "he should show no mercy to Arch and his lot, as they were a pest to society;" and, whether he can state if the words quoted were used by the judge; and, if so, whether he would deem it right to ask him to refrain from remarks of this character?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, this is a matter under the immediate cognizance of my noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor. I am in communication with him on the subject, and I hope my hon. Friend will postpone his Question for a day or two.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS—FACTORIES.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is practicable to extend the advantages of the Post Office Savings Bank system, by opening branch savings banks, under the control of the Department, at large factories, when and where wages are being paid, as similar arrangements, even in private hands, have been found to encourage thrift?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, the best way in which I can answer the Question of my hon. Friend is to refer to a circumstance which I have the permission of my hon. Friend the Member for East Staffordshire (Mr. M. A. Bass) to mention—namely, that a few weeks since he placed in my hands a proposal from Mr. Clay, a partner in the firm of Messrs. Bass, that a clerk should be sent from the Burton post-office once or twice a week to their brewery, when the wages of the workmen were being paid, with the object of opening on the premises a Post Office Savings Bank, Messrs. Bass at the same time undertaking to defray all the expenses to which the Department might be put. I at once gave most cordial assent to the proposal, and it has now been in operation for some weeks. I can only say that, under the same conditions, I shall be very pleased to make similar arrangements with other firms, so far as the resources of the local post-offices will permit.

SOUTH AFRICA—KAFFIR PRISONERS.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the suggestion which the late Colonial Minister made to the Cape Government, in a Despatch dated October 2nd 1879, that the term of indentureship for adult male Kaffirs captured in war should be limited to one year has been acted upon; or whether it be true that since the date of that Despatch Kaffir prisoners have been indentured for a much longer period?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that no Act amending the existing laws of master and servant passed the Legislature of the Cape Colony during the late Session, so my answer to the first part of his Question is in the negative. In reply to the second part, I have to say that no information has reached us, but that we shall immediately inquire.

POST OFFICE—ASSISTANTS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Whether he sanctions the extension to such assistants as are relatives of the postmaster, in whose office they are engaged, of privileges which are not accorded to those holding appointments in the service; whether he sanctions the withdrawal, partially or entirely, from telegraph duty of telegraph clerks in offices where the full number of assistants allowed for by the Department is not provided, in order that they may be employed on postal work, and thereby enable the postmaster to dispense with the assistants and absorb their salaries; whether it is not the duty of surveyors, when inspecting offices, to see that the full number of assistants is provided, and none suppressed, and also to see that these are paid at the rate fixed by the Department; does any check exist to make surveyors and their assistants perform these duties; whether he sanctions, in cases where two assistants are allowed for by the Department, the suppression of one, or the suppression of two where three are allowed for; is he aware that the work of the suppressed assistants must be discharged by telegraph clerks, in addition to their own duties; whether, also, postmasters may benefit pecuniarily to any degree by the "assistance" allowances granted to their offices, other than that which they reap by having relatives appointed to assistantships; and, whether it is permissible to postmasters to derive any pecuniary benefit from the allowances made to their offices by not devoting these allowances to the objects for which they are voted?

Mr. FAWCETT: I conclude, Sir, from the series of divisions contained in the Question which has been addressed to me by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), that he believes that at some post-offices work which ought to be done by the assistants, who are paid out of a lump sum given to the postmasters to provide such assistance, is imposed on telegraphists or other established officers of the Department, and that in this way the postmasters are able to appropriate money which is intended for the payment of their assistants. I can only say that if such practices prevail, I should regard them as grave irregularities, which ought at once to be put a stop to. Such irregularities have not been reported to me. I shall be much obliged if the hon. Member will give me the names of any offices at which he considers that the irregularities in question exist, in order that an investigation may at once be instituted.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS—THE ELECTION COMMISSIONERS' REPORTS.

Mr. RODWELL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he can explain the cause of delay in presenting the Reports of several of the Commissions appointed to inquire into corrupt practices at the late Elections; and, whether he will take steps to expedite the presentation of the remaining Reports?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, it would be remembered that eight Royal Commissions were issued in September last year; seven in reference to alleged corrupt practices at the General Election, and one in connection with a bye-election some six weeks later than the General Election. On the appointment of the gentlemen who were chosen to act as Royal Commissioners, he thought it right to call their attention to the fact that legal proceedings could be instituted against persons for corrupt practices within 12 months of the alleged offence. As the Elections were held at the end of March or the beginning of April last year, it was obvious that the Reports ought to be brought under the notice of Parliament a reasonable time before the 31st of March in this year, and it was necessary that the evidence should be placed in the hands of the Attorney General in order that he might peruse it before instituting proceedings. Four Reports out of the eight were already in the hands of hon. Members—namely, Canterbury, Boston, Knaresborough, and Sandwich; but the evidence in respect to Sandwich had not yet been delivered to the House. He had made inquiries of the Commissioners from time to time, and was informed that all the evidence, except that of the last two days, was placed in the hands of the printer before Christmas. The evidence of these last two days was placed in the hands of the printer six weeks ago; but it was not yet in the hands of the House, owing to the large amount of work imposed upon the printer consequent upon the early sitting of Parliament. The Oxford Commissioners had not yet reported. Three Reports remained—Macclesfield, Gloucester, and Chester. None of these Reports were yet completely printed, and certainly none of the evidence was in the hands of the printer. He was beginning, indeed, to be very apprehensive that the printing of the evidence would not be completed by the 31st instant, and that no reasonable time would be afforded for his careful perusal of it in order to decide what proceedings should be instituted, as the pressure of work at the printers was very great at this time of the year. He had, so far, perused the Reports which had been laid before him, and had determined what course ought to be taken against certain persons who were reported to be guilty of corrupt practices. He would suggest that the evidence in the cases he had last mentioned should be laid on the Table in manuscript, and he would do what he could to peruse it, in order that there should be no miscarriage of justice.

Mr. HERMON gave Notice that, in consequence of the answer of the hon. and learned Attorney General, he would, on a future day, ask, Whether some arrangement, independent of the Queen's printer, could not be made by which the extraordinary delay in the printing of Parliamentary Papers could be avoided?

AFGHANISTAN—AYOOB KHAN.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for India, If it is true, as reported in the newspapers, that emissaries have arrived at Candahar upon a mission from Ayoob Khan, and have been received with honour by the British authorities in that city; if there is any reason for supposing that Abdur Rahman will resent the opening of negotiations with his rival; and, if before these emissaries were honourably received, Ayoob Khan had satisfied the

British authorities that he was not implicated in the murder of Lieutenant Maclean?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It is true, Sir, that Envoys have been sent by Ayoob Khan to Candahar on a mission to the British authorities. They have been received with courtesy; but I am not aware that anything that can be described as negotiation has taken place with them. I have already stated that I do not think it would be for the advantage of the Public Service that I should enter into details as to such negotiations. Ayoob Khan has sent more than one communication to the Government of India protesting his innocence in the matter of the murder of Lieutenant Maclean, and his absolute ignorance of it till his arrival at Herat; but I am unable to say whether these protestations have been considered satisfactory by the Indian Government.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—THE BLANTYRE MISSIONARIES.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has yet received any report regarding the alleged atrocities perpetrated by the Blantyre missionaries; and, if so, whether he has any objection to lay it upon the Table?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the evidence taken before the Commission sent out by the Established Church of Scotland to inquire into the conduct of the Blantyre Missionaries has been received from Her Majesty's Consul at Mozambique, with despatches which will shortly be laid before Parliament.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—ALFRED AYLWARD.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the person named Aylward, said to be the chief military adviser of Commandant Joubert, the leader of the Boers, is the person known as Commandant Alfred Aylward, who, in November, 1876, succeeded Captain von Schlieckman in the command of the Lydenburg Volunteer Corps, the first body of troops ever organised by the Transvaal Republic; and, whether, as a necessary qualification for such command, he became then a citizen of the Republic; and, whether he was not at one time a correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph?"

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, to the first part of the Question I have to reply that I presume that the hon. Member's conjecture is correct. To the second part I have to reply that I have no information whatever upon the point. No light seems to be thrown upon it by the book which purports to have been written by the person to whom the Question alludes. Neither am I able to reply to the third part of the Question of the hon. Member.

Mr. MACDONALD: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman can state whether at one time he was a Government spy in Dublin Castle?

ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—ISSUE OF MARTINI-HENRY RIFLES TO THE VOLUNTEERS.

Colonel WALROND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is his intention to issue the Martini-Henry rifle to the Volunteers at the same time as the other branches of Her Majesty's Auxiliary Forces?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; the issue of the Martini-Henry rifle to the Volunteers will follow its issue to the Militia.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WITHDRAWAL FROM CANDAHAR.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will give any facilities for the discussion of the Motion relative to the withdrawal of Troops from Southern Afghanistan, of which the Member for Mid-Lincolnshire has given Notice?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am most anxious to meet the suggestion conveyed in the Question of my right hon. Friend, both on account of the weight of authority with which it is put and the subject-matter of the Motion to which it relates; and, therefore, I have no difficulty in saying that the very first time that is at our disposal, and in regard to which we can exercise a free choice, shall be given for the purpose indicated. But, having said that, I am sorry I must add that the present condition of Business in the House places us under most severe limitations unconnected with any matter of policy or discretion. As the House is aware, we are desirous to introduce the Irish Land Bill on the first opportunity. That is a question of policy, and, so far, a matter of choice. The other matters to which I must refer are matters of law of a very severe and inflexible character. There are various numerous and important Votes to be taken in Supply, and the very latest day on which the last of those Votes can be taken is next Monday week, the 21st of March. That is the latest day, and, although it is not easy to say how many days the subjects of the Votes will occupy in discussion, yet, making the best calculation we can, we cannot expect to get through them in less than five or six days. Then comes the Ways and Means Act, which must, in order to comply with the provisions of the law, pass the House at the latest not later than March 28, even if that be not too late. There is then the Mutiny Act, upon which it is possible that legitimate discussion may arise, and with regard to which it is necessary that it should pass through this House a considerable time before Easter. These are matters that are perfectly inflexible, to which we must pay the first regard; but, subject to the demands of this particular Business, I will engage to give the right hon. Gentleman and my hon. Friend who has given Notice of Motion the very first day that shall be at our disposal.

AFGHANISTAN—WITHDRAWAL FROM CANDAHAR.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, before Candahar is evacuated, he will afford the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom, out of whose pockets it is believed that a considerable proportion of the cost of the war in Afghanistan will be taken, an opportunity of discussing the policy of that step; and, if he will postpone the abandonment of that city until such an opportunity has been afforded?

Mr GLADSTONE: Sir, having already given an engagement to afford the best opportunity we can find for the discussion of the subject, I cannot undertake to enter into any other engagement. I do not think, however, that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India expects that any immediate step will be taken.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BOERS.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the event of Mr. Kruger's reply to the communication made to him by the late Sir George Colley proving acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, or affording grounds on which peace might be concluded, it will be the intention of the Government, before any terms of peace are finally agreed upon with the Boers, to lay upon the Table of the House all documents bearing upon the negotiations, and to give the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion thereon? He further asked, Whether the course indicated in the Question he had put would not be in exact accordance with the views strongly expressed by the right hon. Gentleman on more than one occasion with respect to the use and abuse of the treaty-making powers of the Crown?

Mr GLADSTONE: To answer the last part of the Question first, I may say that the course indicated by the noble Lord would not be at all in accordance with the views I have expressed as to the treaty-making powers of the Crown. With regard to the use of those powers, we should always be desirous to proceed in harmony with what we might suppose to be the sentiments of the House and the country; but in a case when it is a question of emerging from a state of actual hostilities, which might again become a state of actual hostilities, in a very remote part of the earth, separated from us by many thousands of miles, to expect us to undertake that no terms of peace or accommodation shall be accepted before they have been subjected to the review of the House is to ask for an engagement into which we cannot enter.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I will, on Thursday, ask him, Whether the necessity for the prompt vindication of the authority of the Crown over the subjects of the Queen in the Transvaal, as expressed in the Royal Speech at the opening of Parliament, still exists, and, if so, whether that "prompt vindication" has been obtained by the battles of Laing's Nek, Ingogo River, or the Majuba Mountain; or whether it has been attained by the invasion by the Boers of the Crown Colony of Natal, or by the repeated declarations of President Kruger, Commander Joubert, and others, before and since the battles I alluded to, that nothing but the complete independence of the Transvaal would satisfy the rebels?

SIR HENRY TYLER gave Notice that he would ask, Whether there were any precedents for a Bitish Government accepting an armistice and negotiating as to terms of peace after three unsuccessful engagements with its own subjects, rebelling against authority, with arms in their hands?

ARMY — THE NEW ARMY SCHEME— THE GUARDS.

COLONEL DIGBY asked the Secretary of State for War, If, by the new Army scheme, it is proposed to make any reduction or alteration in the number of Officers or Companies in each Regiment of Foot Guards?

MR. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; there will be an addition to the number of field officers and a diminution in the numbers of the other ranks in the Foot Guards; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman will see the details in the Paper which I am about to lay on the Table.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, CLASS III.—GOVERNMENT PROSECUTIONS.

MR. H. H. FOWLER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table of the House details of the sum of £7,587 proposed to be voted for the costs of the prosecution of the Directors of the West of England Bank, and of the sum of £7,230 proposed to be voted for the costs of the prosecution of the Directors of the Northern Assurance Company?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, if my hon. Friend likes to move for it, I shall be happy to lay upon the Table a Return of the expenditure in these cases in the same form as was adopted in the case of the Tichborne prosecution, which will be found in Parliamentary Paper, No. 358 of 1877.

PUBLIC HEALTH — TRICHINOSIS—IMPORTATION OF PORK FROM THE UNITED STATES.

DR. FARQUHARSON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in view of the alleged frequency of trichinosis in American and other hams and pork, and of the recent outbreak of diarrhœal disease traced to the presence of infecting organisms in pork at Welbeck by Dr. Ballard, and reported in the "British Medical Journal" of March 5th, he will suggest to the local sanitary authorities throughout the kingdom, to instruct their medical officers to make frequent microscopic examinations of pork and ham exposed for sale?

MR. DODSON: Sir, I believe no case of trichinosis has occurred in this country, and therefore I think there is no real cause of alarm on that score; but still, looking to the prevalence of that disease as reported in other countries, and to the Welbeck case, I thought it right, some days ago, to direct a Circular to be issued to the several sanitary authorities in the country calling their attention to the precautions to be used in the cooking of hams and pork, and also urging them to require of their medical officers especial vigilance in carrying out the regulations of the Public Health Act in regard to the examination of ham and pork exposed for sale. That Circular is in type and will be issued in a few days.

ARMY—THE NEW ARMY SCHEME— SECONDED AND SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will endeavour to make clear, in the Revised Statements of the Regimental Establishments which have been promised to be laid upon the Table, the numbers and grades of the seconded and supernumerary officers and their cost, so as to remove the doubts which may naturally be created cf more officers being thus provided, in order to make good the numbers which are struck off the fixed establishment with corps?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I have had great difficulty in understanding my hon. and gallant Friend's Question; but if he means to ask whether there will be any supernumerary regimental officers on the 1st of July next, when the new establishments will commence, I must answer in the affirmative; and as to seconded officers, I hope to keep the number down as much as possible, but there always must be many. It is practically impossible to estimate the exact number on the 1st July; but I will give, at the right time, an approximate detail.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—RUMOURED ARMISTICE.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, between the 26th January, the date of the receipt of the first proposals of President Brand to mediate, and the 27th February, the date of the last of the three reverses with heavy loss of life experienced by British troops, any telegram was sent by Her Majesty's Government to the late Sir George Colley, directing him either to suspend hostile operations or to obtain from Boers armistice, for consideration of "guarantees under which armed opposition would cease" (President Brand telegram, Jan. 29th, page 86, South Africa Papers (C. 2783), 1881)?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will endeavour, Sir, to give the noble Lord an answer in the clearest terms I can command; and in order to make my answer quite clear, I may remind him and the House that, in reply to communications from Mr. Kruger, certain announcements were made to the Boers with a view to a settlement, and Sir George Colley was told to allow a reasonable time for the transmission of those announcements and the receipt of an answer from the Boers. The instructions given for his conduct before the receipt of the answer have already been stated in their full substance to the House; but, further, he was instructed to the following effect—that if the proposal of the Government were accepted, he was in that case authorized to agree to a suspension of hostilities. We have never directed our Commanders to ask for or obtain an armistice; but we entirely approve of the conduct of General Sir Evelyn Wood.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman could give the dates of the communications?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It would, Sir, be rather difficult for me to give them from memory; but I think I stated yesterday that the 16th of February was the date of the instructions relating to the conduct of General Sir George Colley during the interval before the answer of the Boers was received, and I believe it was on the 19th—not later—that the instructions were given which I have just explained to the House, when, if the propositions were accepted, Sir George Colley was authorized to agree to an armistice.

Mr. CHARLES LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the proposal for the armistice with the Boers proceeded from Her Majesty's Representative in South Africa after the knowledge of the defeat of Her troops on Sunday 27th February; and, if so, whether such step had the direct sanction of Her Majesty's Government? He wished also to know, Whether any active steps had been taken to promote an armistice since the 27th of February?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think not, Sir; but, at the same time, I do not like to answer a question of dates, or one involving a matter of dates, without having power of reference. But with respect to the other part of the Question of the hon. Gentleman, I would only say that I do not wish to be considered as being a party to a statement that the proposal for the armistice with the Boers proceeded from Her Majesty's Representative in South Africa. That is a matter upon which our information may henceforward be fuller than it is at present; but, so far as I am able to judge, I could not affirm that proposition. Undoubtedly, whatever Sir Evelyn Wood has done in becoming a party to the conclusion of an armistice must have been done in full cognizance of what was done on the Sunday.

Mr. CHARLES LEWIS gave Notice that, on Thursday, he would again ask specifically, Whether Her Majesty's Government had taken any active steps whatever since the disaster of the 27th of February towards the promotion of an armistice?

PROVISIONAL ORDERS—MILTON ABBAS.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to take steps to confirm by Parliament the Provisional Orders of the Board respecting the divided parts of the parish of Milton Abbas, in Dorsetshire; and, if so, whether he is aware that it would be in direct opposition to the wishes of nine-tenths of the ratepayers of that parish?

MR. HIBBERT, in reply, said, that it was the intention of the Local Government Board to take the step referred to in the Question of the hon. Member.

LICENSED VICTUALLERS' REGULATION—THE DRAFT BILL.

MR. HARDCASTLE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is any truth in the statement which appears in the "Standard" of that morning, to the effect that a printed draft of the Government measure for regulating the trade of Licensed Victuallers had, by accident, got abroad; and, whether the account given by that paper of the provisions of that measure has any foundation in fact?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, of late years, a great many printed drafts of a great many subjects have, by accident, got abroad; but I can confidently state that no printed draft of a Government measure for regulating the trade of Licensed Victuallers has got abroad, and for this reason—that there never has been such a draft, and, therefore, it never has been printed.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ARMY ESTIMATES.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Prime Minister, Whether the Army Estimates would be brought in on Thursday?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, if we finish this Bill this evening, we may take the Report to-morrow, and the third reading on Thursday, so that there will be no possibility of bringing on the Army Estimates on Thursday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 7th March.*]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Power as to proclamation in respect to arms and ammunition).

MR. SEXTON moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 30, after "part" to add—

> "Provided, That an interval of not less than fourteen days shall elapse between the date upon which the proclamation is promulgated, and the date specified as that upon which the Act is to come into force."

The clause under notice proposed to enact that—

> "The Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, may, from time to time, by proclamation, declare this Act to be in force within any specified part of Ireland, and this Act shall thereupon, after the date specified in the proclamation, be in force within such specified part, and any such specified part of Ireland is in this Act referred to as a 'proclaimed district.'"

The object of the Amendment was simply to provide that the people living in any district affected by any proclamation might have a reasonable time to learn and to understand that the Act had been put in force so far as they were concerned. As the Bill stood at present, the Lord Lieutenant might issue a proclamation to-day, and it would come in force to-morrow. There was no provision for any interval between the issue of the proclamation and its application to the people, notwithstanding the serious manner in which it would affect the rights and liberties of the people. He thought it was of the utmost importance that a march should not be stolen upon the people in such a matter; but that they should have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the fact that the district was in reality proclaimed. He wished, in the first place, to protect them from unnecessary domiciliary visits by affording them an opportunity of giving up any arms of which they might be possessed. He felt sure that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, following up the same spirit he had lately exhibited, would not question the propriety of the proposal, which simply amounted to this—that there should be some protection afforded by the language of the Act against the proclamation of a district taking the people residing within it altogether by surprise.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 30, after "part" add "Provided, That an interval of not less than fourteen days shall elapse between the date upon which the proclamation is promulgated and the date specified as that upon which the Act is to come into force."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The adoption of this Amendment would render it necessary that we should go into details in the Bill which we desire to avoid. The hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) will see that the proclamation itself is to make provision for the manner in which it is to be promulgated; and I have no hesitation in saying that the Lord Lieutenant will consider it his duty to allow a proper time to elapse between the issue of a proclamation and its coming into operation in a particular district. What will happen will be this—the district will not come under the stringency of the Act until there has been a proper proclamation. The course which is pursued in such cases is, I believe, well-known in Ireland. The proclamation will take place under the ordinary form, and, of course, all of those things will be done which have been done hitherto. I can assure the hon. Member that there will be no attempt to entrap people by issuing a proclamation bringing a district under the operation of the Act, and then proceeding to put the Act in force within a few hours after the proclamation has been issued. Such a circumstance is not at all likely to occur; but matters will be allowed to follow the course which has been usual in these cases, and everyone will have an opportunity of knowing what has been done, and what they may expect, so that they may be prepared to do their duty in respect to the possession of arms.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he should have been disposed to trust to the assurance which the right hon. Gentleman had given to the Committee if it were not that the experience of the last three or four days proved that Her Majesty's Government were not particularly slow in carrying out any powers which the House might confer upon them. But if the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance that a period of 14 days would be allowed to elapse between the date of the proclamation and the date upon which the Act was to come into force, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) would be satisfied. [Sir William Harcourt: I cannot say that.] He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman could not give such an assurance. He was certain that his hon. Friend would be prepared to withdraw the Amendment at once if the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance that some reasonable interval would be allowed to elapse between the proclamation of a district and the Act coming into force.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot say that there will be an interval of 14 days; but I feel confident that the proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant will allow a reasonable time.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. SEXTON moved, as an Amendment, in page 2, line 2, to leave out from "set" to "and" in line 4, both inclusive. The clause stated that—

> "Any such proclamation may set forth the conditions and regulations under which the carrying or having of arms or ammunition is authorized, and make provision for the appointment of persons to give effect to the same, and the manner of the promulgation thereof."

The Amendment omitted the words requiring the proclamation to

> "set forth the conditions and regulations under which the carrying or having of arms or ammunition is authorised,"

and limited the extent of the proclamation to the making of

> "provision for the appointment of persons to give effect to the same, and the manner of the promulgation thereof."

He protested in the most solemn manner against the extent of the powers which it was proposed to concede to the Lord Lieutenant under the Bill. He had been able to gather, from the remarks made by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland upon the previous clause, that the proclamation would enumerate certain persons who would be allowed to carry arms. The proclamation was always a document of moderate length, and he was entitled to presume that the conditions would be briefly set forth, and be very simple. But he contended that the proper place to consider the propriety of the conditions and regulations, and whether they were compatible with the public good, was the House of Commons, and not Dublin Castle by the Lord Lieutenant, with the advice of the Irish Privy Council. The Privy Council in

Ireland was composed partly of country gentlemen, partly of members of the Judicial and Episcopal Benches—who were not only partizans, but saturated with prejudices—and partly by military officers in command of the Forces. He was of opinion that such a body was neither a proper nor an efficient one to consider and settle the important questions included in the provisions of the present clause. If the Government would consent to lay before the House a list of the persons whom they considered entitled to licences to carry arms, and what they deemed fit and proper regulations to be imposed in connection with such licences and for the government of the excepted classes, he thought the Committee would be inclined to debate the matter in a reasonable spirit, and not at undue length; and in the long run, not only would Her Majesty's Government save time, but it would be more creditable to the reputation of the House that they should consult the feelings and opinions of the Representatives of the people. This, he thought, would be far better than the proposal now made to confide the regulation of the right to carry arms to the sole control of the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Privy Council. For these reasons he had placed the Amendment on the Paper. He thought that the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant could not, with propriety, do more than make provision for the appointment of persons to give effect to the proclamation and to put the law in force. He strongly objected to confer upon the Irish Executive the powers of a Turkish Pasha, with such regal and imperial rights and privileges as were set forth in the present clause. He hoped the Government would consider, in a proper spirit, the proposal he had made, and would tell the Committee what the class of persons was in whom they proposed to vest, unconditionally, the right of carrying arms; and what the conditions were which they were prepared to impose upon any other class.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 2, to leave out from the word "may" to the word "and" in line 4.—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed,

"That the words 'Set forth the conditions and regulations under which the carrying or having of arms or ammunition,' stand part of the Clause."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not quite understand the point of view from which the hon. Member proposes this Amendment. In point of fact, we did discuss the question raised by the Amendment on the first paragraph of the 1st clause, which says—

"In a proclaimed district a person shall not carry or have any arms or ammunition save as authorized by the conditions set forth in the proclamation hereinafter mentioned."

The point raised then was that the conditions ought not to be set forth in the proclamation. I agree with the hon. Member that it is not necessary to occupy the time of the Committee at any great length in discussing this proposal. I can only say that it is not an unusual form of legislation to give to the Executive which is to enforce the provisions of an Act of Parliament as "the Queen in Council" powers very much larger than any contained in the present Bill. This opinion will, I am sure, be confirmed by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) from his own personal experience in the Levant. In the Levant, in China, and in other quarters, legislation is conducted entirely by Orders in Council, and it is not at all unusual to vest the Queen in Council with very much larger powers than those which are given by this Bill. The hon. Member asks me to state who will be the persons licensed to carry arms, and what the conditions will be for regulating the possession of arms. It is because I feel that it is impossible to anticipate what the precise action of the Executive will be at any particular place and at any particular time that I am unable to do so. In some places the conditions will probably be more stringent than in others according to the exigencies of the case. But an Arms Act has existed in Ireland now, with a few intervals, for a period of 23 years, and it is perfectly well known what the conditions are under which the law has been administered. I believe that hitherto it has not been oppressively administered. It has been enforced in order to keep arms out of the hands of improper and dangerous people; but it has not had the effect of keeping arms out of the hands of those who might fairly be intrusted with them. If that has been so during the long experience we have already had of the operation of an Arms Act in Ireland I do not see why we should anticipate that it would be otherwise now. For these reasons I am unable to accept the Amendment moved by the hon. Member.

Mr. HEALY said, he was unable to conceive what object would be gained by making the present measure differ from previous Acts. He could very well remember when the walls were placarded with proclamations in 1867; and they contained a notification exempting soldiers, sailors, other servants of Her Majesty, magistrates, and others, from the operation of the Arms Act, and he did not see why the same thing should not be done now. These Arms Acts were not new in Ireland; and as there was a precedent, why did not the right hon. Gentleman act upon it? He did not suppose that the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant could provide for everything. For instance, if the Volunteers were called out in Ireland, would every man composing it be deprived of his arms? Such a case was not very likely to occur; but it was possible under the Bill. He apprehended, however, that during the existence of the Act the Lord Lieutenant did not contemplate the possibility of calling out a Volunteer force. There was certainly one part of Ireland in which he (Mr. Healy) should like to see an Arms Act enforced during a certain period of the year, and that was in the month of July in some of the districts of Ulster. An Arms Act would certainly be of great service there in preventing both Protestants and Roman Catholics from carrying arms. If they had a guarantee that the Act would be used in this way, and not employed oppressively in depriving particular sections of Her Majesty's subjects of the right to have arms, the views of the Irish Members would be met. The Act would not really be put in force by the Lord Lieutenant, but by his subordinate officials in Dublin Castle. The real Lord Lieutenant would not be Earl Cowper, but Mr. Burke and the resident magistrates. Were they persons who cared anything for the rights and liberties of the Irish people? Nothing of the sort. Yet the Lord Lieutenant would be guided by these officials; and as a class, he (Mr. Healy), for one, distrusted them. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo, and consent to insert in the Bill words similar to those which had appeared in previous Acts. He would only be following the precedent set by other measures if he inserted words stating directly who were to be allowed to carry arms.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR hoped the discussion would not be allowed to drop until the question had been thoroughly ventilated. The point involved was a most important one. As he understood the Bill as it stood at present, the whole right of carrying arms in Ireland was to be dependent, under every circumstance, upon the arbitrary will of the Lord Lieutenant, advised by the Privy Council. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary told them that the point had already been settled by the 1st clause. No doubt his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) did attempt to raise the question upon the 1st clause; but he was told by the Chairman that any allusion to it would be out of Order at that stage of the Bill, because his hon. Friend was not ready with a Schedule containing a list of persons whom it was proposed to allow to have arms. He was sure that if the right hon. Gentleman had been disposed to accept the general principle laid down in the proposal of his hon. Friend that certain exceptions should be set forth in the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman might reasonably have passed over the fact that his hon. Friend had not a Schedule ready at the moment. He wished the Committee to understand clearly what the meaning of the clause was if passed in its present form. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary passed a Hares and Rabbits Bill for England. What would be thought if a Minister of the Crown were now to come down to the House and propose that the power of shooting hares and rabbits should be at the disposal of the magistracy and squirearchy of England? If such a provision had been tacked on to the Hares and Rabbits Bill by the right hon. Gentleman, all the concession made to the farming interest in that measure would have been entirely destroyed and nullified. Nevertheless, that was what the meaning of the present Bill was. The Lord Lieutenant, the mouthpiece of the landlordism and magistracy of Ireland, would be able to prevent even an honest and peaceably-disposed farmer from exercising the right given to him by the right hon. Gentleman's Bill of last year of clearing the ground of vermin. That was how the case stood. The right hon. Gentleman appealed to the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) to corroborate the assertion that very large powers were given to the officials in the Levant acting by order of the Queen in Council. But the right hon. Gentleman forgot that there was an essential distinction between the officials of the Levant and the officials of Ireland. The officials of the Levant were trusted by the people, whereas the officials of Ireland were the sworn enemies of the Irish people; and every single power Parliament gave to the official hierarchy in Ireland was a power that would be used by an oligarchy—whether by the Lord Lieutenant alone, or by the Lord Lieutenant sitting in Privy Council with the Judges and magistrates—against the interests of the people of Ireland. The Irish people had no confidence in any one of them. The judicial ermine in Ireland covered a corrupt enemy of the people. ["Oh!" *and* "Order!"] That was not the case in England. ["Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"] He was perfectly in Order in expressing a general opinion as to the general character of a class in that country, unless it was to be understood that an Irish Member had no right now to express any opinion whatever upon Irish affairs. The whole class to whom it was proposed to give these large powers was a hierarchy more or less unrestrained by any feeling of justice, or sympathy with the people of Ireland. There was another case which he would put to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. Supposing a magistrate had a private malice against any particular young farmer. This was not an improbable case, for he was in the receipt daily of letters from young Irishmen, who, having made themselves obnoxious to the powers that be—the magistrates and others, asked for his advice whether they should leave the country. If the magistrates were intrusted, without restraint, with the large powers which the Bill proposed to confer upon them, it was not improbable that they would seek to revenge upon these young men the private quarrels which had separated them into two classes in the past. He was strongly of opinion that it was not desirable to give the Lord Lieutenant the power of selecting every class and person who should be entitled to carry arms.

Mr. LEAMY thought that before the Committee went to a division, it was only reasonable to expect that the Law Officers of the Crown should tell them why the precedent contained in former Acts was not followed on this occasion. Previous Arms' Acts had been fully enforced; and, therefore, there was no reason why, in the present Bill, they should depart from established precedent. He supported the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), because he was very much afraid that if it were not carried it would be impossible to move the insertion of a clause upon the subject afterwards. Seeing that this was the second Coercion Act of a Liberal Government during the present Session, he thought the least they could do was to make it run on all fours with previous enactments.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) regretted to hear the observations which had been made by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) in reference to the Judicial Bench. He did not think it was consistent with the dignity of the House, or with their love of fair play, that an hon. Member should take every opportunity he could make available for the purpose of attacking the Judicial Bench in Ireland.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: What I said I believe to be perfectly true; and I will say it as long as I can.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) was extremely sorry to hear such a remark repeated, and he would commend it to the respectful consideration of the House of Commons. In regard to the question put to the Government as to the reason why the precedent of former Acts had not been followed it was this—the Act of 1847 contained 23 clauses; the Act of 1870, which partially modified and partially continued the Act of 1847, contained 41 clauses; the Act of 1871 contained 12 clauses; and the Act of 1875, which had been referred to, was framed on the same principle. He hoped the Committee would bear in mind these results of past legislation—23 clauses, 41 clauses, and 12 clauses, while Section 2 of the Act of 1875 repealed certain parts of the Peace Preservation Act of

1870; Section 3 continued other parts of the Peace Preservation Act of 1870, subject to amendments and modifications, and altogether it was rendered extremely difficult eevn for the Judicial Bench to grasp the effect of all these continuations, repeals, modifications, and amendments, leaving out of the question the consideration that the Act of 1875 called upon an ordinary layman to apply himself to the construction and discovery of the law. The principle of the present measure was that it should be self-contained; that it should be brief and concise, and that there should be no unnecessary repetition in it. Accordingly, it provided that in a proclaimed district arms should not be borne except under conditions prescribed by the Lord Lieutenant in the proclamation; and accordingly the Committee had already provided that—

> "In a proclaimed district a person shall not carry or have any arms or ammunition save as authorized by the conditions set forth in the proclamation hereinafter mentioned."

The Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo was intended to obliterate from the Act of Parliament this preliminary contingency, so that henceforth the Lord Lieutenant would be unable to carry out the Act as he was previously instructed to carry it out. The mode of procedure under the Bill as it now stood was simple and easily understood. The proclamation of a district would be made, and would specify the persons who would be required to obtain licences; and it would further state the conditions on which licences would be granted. He could hardly imagine that the Lord Lieutenant of that portion of Her Majesty's Dominions called Ireland was not fitted to be intrusted with the ordinary government of that country.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland had acted wisely in challenging so boldly the observations of his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) in reference to the Judicial Bench. The opinion expressed by his hon. Friend was certainly an opinion largely, if not universally, entertained by the Irish people. ["No, no!"] He did not, of course, speak of every member of the Judicial Bench in Ireland, or many members of it; but he believed that was the feeling entertained in regard to some members of that Bench. Possibly it might have been created by a recollection of the political antecedents of some of the Irish Judges, who had attempted arbitrarily to put down the national opinion, as exemplified in the persons of particular individuals who might have been brought before them. Hon. Members very well knew that promotion to the Judicial Bench in Ireland was on a very different footing from what it was in England. In Ireland it was too often the reward of some unscrupulous partizan who, like Rabagas, first helped to stir up some political agitation, and then used his power to put down and punish the very movement by which he had risen to eminence. He believed that the remarks made by his hon. Friend below him (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would, rightly or wrongly, be adopted by nine out of ten of the population on the other side of the Channel. He supported the Amendment moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), although he did not think it would accomplish all that his hon. Friend expected from it. It merely proposed that the conditions and regulations under which the carrying or having of arms or ammunition was authorized should not be left to be defined by the Lord Lieutenant in the proclamation; and that, instead of intrusting the Irish Executive with this power it should be included within the provisions of the Act itself. His hon. Friend asked that Parliament should define in the Act what was and what was not to be an offence under its provisions. He did not understand that the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo went further than that. The Bill proposed to create a new offence, and it was only fair that it should specify the limitations of the offence which would bring a man within the meshes of the law, and that the power of defining the offence should not be intrusted to any individual, however honourable or however exalted. He thought they were bound to make every possible provision for the protection of the rights of the people, and that they should not intrust the liberty and character of any man to the will of any officer of the Government, however high and honourable he might be. He would therefore cordially support the Amendment of his hon. Friend, and he hoped that his hon. Friend would press it to a division.

Mr. CALLAN had carefully examined the Bill from beginning to end; but he had not been able to see how anything contained in it could come before the Judicial Bench in Ireland. The Judicial Bench were not involved in the operation of the Act. Unfortunately, in one of its clauses, it took away the power of appeal, and gave a summary jurisdiction to the magistrates. He could not concur in the remarks which had been made by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) and the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) with respect to the Irish Judicial Bench. He believed that the Judicial Bench in Ireland bore a favourable comparison with the Judges in this country; but there was one exception, and he should certainly be very sorry to intrust his life and liberty to the learned Judge whom he had in his mind. But, apart from that right hon. Gentleman, the Irish Bench was, he believed, above suspicion. The hon. Member for Galway, referring to the persons who were to administer the Act, spoke of ermined corruption. It was the first time he (Mr. Callan) ever heard that a local magistrate in Ireland wore ermine. He hoped that in using this new term the hon. Member was as far out as he was in speaking of a corrupt hierarchy. He was afraid that such a term might be misconstrued. [Mr. T. P. O'Connor: What I said was a corrupt judicial hierarchy.] He thought that the less that was said about a corrupt hierarchy in connection with Dublin Castle the better. Then, again, in regard to the operation of the Hares and Rabbits Bill, there was not the slightest doubt——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is travelling away from the Amendment before the Committee.

Mr. CALLAN said, he only intended to remark that a magistrate, in regard to a gun licence, would be more likely to refuse one on account of the sporting proclivities of the applicant than on account of his moral character. In the county which he represented a man had been paid £15 out of the secret service money for an injury he had sustained at the hands of a magistrate who had refused to give him a licence, because he considered that he was addicted to poaching. If it was probable that injustice would be committed owing to the partizan action of the magistrates, it was the duty of the House of Commons, as far as possible, to prevent that injustice; and, therefore, as this Amendment would in some degree fetter the action of the magistrates, he would support it. ["Question!"] The hon. Member who cried "Question" really did not seem to know what the Question was.

Mr. FINIGAN said, that nothing stung so much as the truth; and he believed that that was the reason why the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was really anxious to show his personal sympathy for the Irish Judicial Bench. He did not, however, believe that his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) intended to attack any individual personally. ["Question!"]

The CHAIRMAN: The remarks of the hon. Member are altogether outside the Question before the Committee.

Mr. FINIGAN said, he might look upon it, then, that the Irish Bench were altogether beside the Question. He would only remark that the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had told them that the Government had not followed the precedent set by previous Acts in regard to this Bill, because they wished to be brief and concise, and short and simple. The Irish Members wished also to be brief and concise, but not at the expense of principle and justice. He therefore thought that Her Majesty's Government, following up the spirit which happily prevailed last night, might come to a compromise in regard to the present Amendment. It would be wise to take that course, especially when it was considered that the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council in Ireland would have the enforcement of the Act under their sole control. The Committee had a perfect right to ask that it should be definitely and specifically stated how and when people might carry arms; how and when they would not be entitled to do so; and who were to be allowed to possess them. It was because he believed that the Bill ought to state these things definitely that he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would be able to accept the Amendment.

Mr. DAWSON thought that he and every Irish Member should take advantage of every opportunity of clearing themselves from any suspicion of wishing to cast an aspersion upon the character of the Irish Judges.

The CHAIRMAN: I have already ruled that that question is outside the Amendment now before the Committee.

Mr. DAWSON asked if he was to understand that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was to be allowed to make remarks upon a question which he (Mr. Dawson) was to be prohibited from alluding to?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland considered it necessary to make a remark upon an observation made by another hon. Member; but that observation I did not consider to be in Order.

Mr. DAWSON inquired whether he was to be allowed to make an explanation upon the same matter?

The CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member desires to speak to the Amendment he is at liberty to do so; but it is not convenient to continue questions to the Chair when the point of relevancy has been decided.

Mr. DAWSON said, the Amendment related to the 2nd clause of the Bill, which declared—

> "That the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, might from time to time, by proclamation, declare the Act to be in force."

He had no wish to make any allusion upon any subject which the Chair was of opinion ought not to be referred to; but he trusted that he might be allowed to clear himself from any participation in the views of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor.)

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is mistaken. The Amendment is to omit certain words in the clause.

Mr. DAWSON said, the proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant, with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, was referred to in the first part of the clause; and the sentence which the hon. Member for Sligo wished to have omitted from the clause related to the conditions and regulations being made by the Privy Council and the Lord Lieutenant. He submitted to the better judgment of the Chair that a certain phrase in the clause alluding to the parties who were to take action under it should not be held to be outside the orderly consideration of the Amendment. If that were so, he would not be able to refer to his Excellency Lord Cowper, or any other person concerned in the administration of the Act. He had no wish to say a word in regard to the character of any member of the Privy Council; but he merely wished to offer an explanation in reference to the mode of procedure to be adopted by right hon. Gentlemen composing the Privy Council in making the rules and conditions under which the carrying of arms was to be authorized, and that he took to be a totally different matter. The Privy Council and the Judicial Bench, which formed part of it in Ireland, were not in the same position as right hon. Gentlemen occupying a similar position in England. In Ireland they attained that position on account of political action; and a declaration from such a body would not inspire a sufficient amount of confidence to induce the Irish Members to intrust them with the power of making these laws and regulations. In England, no doubt, the Judges attained their high position from higher motives; but in Ireland every member of the Judicial Bench sitting upon the Privy Council, who would be intrusted with the making of these conditions, was a man who could be pointed out as a decidedly political partizan. It was only right, therefore, that the House should regard with some suspicion the rules and regulations that were likely to be promulgated by a body who had themselves attained their present position by being, in the first instance, extreme agitators; but who threw their extreme views on one side when it suited their purposes, and they were appointed to a higher position. ["Question!"] He supported the Amendment of his hon. Friend, and he thought that, as far as possible, the conditions should not be left to any body of individuals; but should be defined by Parliament itself. Touching the word hierarchy, which was used by the hon. Member for Galway——

The CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Member to keep strictly to the terms of the Amendment, which is now clearly before the Committee.

Mr. DAWSON would only add that for the reasons he had stated, and because he had no confidence in the body who were to make the rules, he should support the Amendment of his hon. Friend.

Mr. GILL also supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He thought if the conditions were not stated in the Bill they might be made to press with unnecessary harshness upon a certain class in Ireland—namely, the farmers. He thought it should be specified that all farmers who held a gun licence should be allowed to bear arms; at least, on their own farms, so long as they held such licence. If anything was discovered against them which should prevent them from carrying arms, it would be easy to cancel the licence, and after that the weapons might be taken away. The reason he said this was that he felt it might inflict great hardship upon that class of persons, because it was well known that the magistrates of Ireland would be the principal advisers of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council in putting the Act in force, and that they almost entirely belonged to the landlord class. It would be a very easy mode of defeating the Ground Game Bill, passed last Session, for these landlords to deprive the farmers of their licence to carry a gun. Under the provisions of the Bill the magistrates of Ireland would have a very simple means of defeating the objects of that Act. In point of fact, it would have the same effect as compulsorily signing a tenant out of the Act of 1870. There could be no doubt that if a farmer was prevented, for the long term during which this Act was to run, but which, he hoped, would be mitigated later on, from carrying a gun, the result would be that his farm would be overrun with hares and rabbits, and land for which he was paying a rent of 30*s.* an acre would not be worth 5*s.* an acre. As the Bill was now drawn it was to continue in force for a period of five years; and unless an Amendment was carried to diminish that period, a farmer might be prevented from using a gun for five years. In fact, he had seen farms in Ireland, some years ago, in regard to which there were covenants in the lease prohibiting the tenants from killing rabbits, which had been reduced to such a condition, in consequence of the ravages of ground game, that they were scarcely worth cultivating. The same result might be brought about by a stringent and unjust use of this Act, and by defeating the object of other Acts which had been passed for the protection of the farmer. This was one of the reasons why he thought the persons should be specified in the Act who were to be allowed to carry arms; and among them should be all farmers who had a gun licence, and who were only using their guns upon their own farms.

MR. BIGGAR was of opinion that the Committee should settle, as far as possible, the details of every law that was passed. It was proposed by the present Bill to give authority to the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council in Ireland to make certain regulations with regard to the carrying of arms and ammunition. That might be all very well if they had an Executive in Ireland that was free from partizanship, and who knew anything of the people they were appointed to govern; but, in the present constitution of the Privy Council, it was notorious that a great many of the members of that body were strong political partizans, while, on the other hand, the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary knew very little about Irish matters. The result would be that in framing the rules and regulations the Lord Lieutenant and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would be entirely in the hands of the Privy Council. The consequence might be that the Irish magistracy, who belonged to the landlord class, acting in conjunction with the clergy of the Established Church, might enter into a combination to arm only those members of the artizan classes in the towns who were their co-religionists, and to take all arms out of the hands of the farmers and other classes who were opposed to them in political and religious views. Surely the farmers had a reasonable excuse for possessing arms, seeing that they required them for the protection of their interests against the depredations of ground game. If, however, they were disarmed, and the artizans and labourers in the towns were allowed to carry arms, although they could not possibly require them for the protection of their property, the law would operate with unfairness and injustice. For these reasons it was extremely desirable that the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo should be adopted, and that the power of making the regulations should be taken out of the hands of an irresponsible body and confided to Parliament itself. He had seen an account in an Irish county paper that very day, which stated that in every town in the county certain classes were being provided with arms by means of subscriptions supplied through landlord agencies, established for the purpose of crushing the tenant farmers. It would have a most mischievous effect if these irresponsible persons were allowed to have possession of arms, while the parties who ought to have them were deprived of them.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 295; Noes 31: Majority 264.—(Div. List, No. 117.)

Mr. LALOR said, the object of the Amendment he was about to propose was to preserve to the farmer the right of holding arms for the purpose of protecting his crops from wild fowl. If the farmers had to depend upon their landlords for their licences they stood a very poor chance, for it was well known that the Irish landlords were quite opposed to the farmers having arms, as they complained of the farmers destroying the game. For the last 10 years he knew that no farmers in his county could get arms, owing to the action of the magistracy on the Bench.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 4, after the word "ammunition" to insert "for purposes other than agricultural."—(*Mr. Lalor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am afraid that the insertion of the words of this Amendment would be a rather dangerous exception to the clause. There are some circumstances connected with agriculture in which the Bill is intended to prevent the carrying of arms. The use of firearms in the Ground Game Bill was not given, because it was the most effectual method of destroying ground game, which can be done much better by snaring. The Irish farmer will, therefore, not be prevented getting in his crop through the want of firearms. But the point has already been decided by the Committee upon the Amendment moved by the hon. Member himself to insert the words "outside of his own land." That Amendment was discussed at considerable length, and I trust hon. Members opposite will now allow us to get on with the remaining clauses of the Bill.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR thought the right hon. Gentleman had rather jocosely treated a great difficulty which would arise under the Bill; and he again appealed to him not to leave the farmers of Ireland entirely in the hands of their masters, the landlords.

Dr. COMMINS said, there was more ground for the Amendment than the right hon. Gentleman supposed. It was well known that large portions of the land in Ireland were in process of reclamation. The geological character of Donegal, for instance, was such as to render blasting necessary from year to year, and the blasting-powder and dynamite which was used would be strictly for agricultural purposes. Under the Act, however, these necessary substances would be considered as ammunition. The Committee would see that it was wrong to restrict them by the same rules as ordinary gunpowder, seeing that they were indispensably necessary for the reclamation of large portions of land in many parts of Ireland. Therefore, he urged upon Her Majesty's Government that the use of these substances should be permitted, and that they should not be subject to the vexatious regulations sought to be imposed.

Mr. GIBSON hoped the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Lalor) would not divide the Committee upon that Amendment. The clause which the hon. Member sought to amend enabled the Lord Lieutenant by proclamation to make general arrangements with reference to both agricultural and non-agricultural holdings. The Amendment of the hon. Member would have the effect of fettering the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of his discretion, and would leave him no power to deal with purposes that were agricultural.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DAWSON moved an Amendment providing that the proclamation specified in the clause should be published both in the English and Irish languages. The reason for that was obvious, because in the Western parts of Ireland—the parts most affected by this Bill—the proportion of the Irish-speaking population was very great indeed, amounting, as it did, to several hundreds of thousands of persons. He could not better point his remarks than by a reference to the fact that when the Duchess of Abercorn left

Dublin Castle, she addressed her farewell to the people of Ireland in both the English and Irish languages, so that it might be understood in the Irish-speaking districts as well as in other parts of Ireland. If, therefore, the Duchess of Abercorn, upon so simple an occasion as her departure from Ireland, thought it necessary to do this, it was of much more importance that it should be done in the case of a proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant as a means of making it effectually understood by the people. He did not think Her Majesty's Government would have any hesitation, for the reason he had given, in assenting to the Amendment standing in his name, and which he would now move.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 6, after the word "thereof" to insert "and in Irish-speaking districts such proclamation shall be made in the Irish language."—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that if the Lord Lieutenant thought it necessary, he would, of course, direct the proclamation to be issued in the Irish language. They must bear in mind that the Lord Lieutenant had to prevent the carrying and having of arms in certain districts, and he would therefore take the best means to that end. He (Sir William Harcourt) was not, like the hon. Gentleman opposite, familiar with the Irish language, nor did he know the names of the newspapers published in that language by the Land League; and, under existing circumstances, he thought it better to leave the matter to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA: I hope the hon. Member for Carlow will not divide the Committee upon this Amendment.

MR. DAWSON said, he was willing to withdraw the Amendment, notwithstanding that he had proposed it most seriously. He thought that care should be taken that the Irish people should not be punished for contravening an Act of Parliament which had not been brought to their knowledge.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHAIRMAN: With regard to the Amendment standing next upon the Paper in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Major Nolan), I have to say that, by Clause 1, the Committee have already agreed that no person shall carry arms or ammunition, unless authorized to do so by the conditions set forth in the proclamation mentioned in Clause 2. The terms of that clause already agreed to are to the effect that the Lord Lieutenant in such proclamation may set forth the conditions and regulations for the carrying of arms or ammunition, and for appointing persons to give effect to the permission, and also for promulgating the manner of giving it. All this the clause, in the terms agreed to, leaves to the judgment and discretion of the Lord Lieutenant. The Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County not only limits the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, as to the manner of appointing such persons, but compels them to issue licences for the carrying of arms by agricultural tenants upon specified land, this having been already negatived in a former Amendment; and it also interposes between the Lord Lieutenant and the execution of the Act the certificate of two Justices of the Peace, who may authorize any person to carry arms generally. The Amendment is, therefore, inconsistent with the clause as already agreed to, and cannot be put. The same remarks apply to a subsequent Amendment — that of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan).

MAJOR NOLAN hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would consider the matter on Report.

MR. HEALY said, the idea of the Amendment he was about to move was taken largely from the South African Act, which contained a very similar proviso. His object was that the Lord Lieutenant should state the place where arms could be deposited, and name a time for their being so deposited. He suggested also that the time for such deposit should be a reasonable one. There was another point to which he desired to call the attention of the Committee. Many persons would have to travel four or five miles to the police barracks, and it would be a great hardship to compel them to bring in their guns within any short periods. Therefore, he thought that it would only be fair to say that they should bring in their arms on the next market day after the proclamation was published. The Government having determined to call in arms, it should be sufficient for a person to write a letter to the police barracks saying that he was possessed of a gun, and then the police might come and fetch it. He could not see why the Government should call upon the people to act as Her Majesty's carriers in bringing in their arms, and considered that a simple notification to the police was all that should be demanded.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 6, at the end of the Clause to add "and every such proclamation shall name a certain day and place on or before and at which every person residing, or being within the district specified, not being one of the persons permitted to have and carry arms or ammunition under this Act, shall deposit and leave the arms and ammunition, and a receipt for the same shall be given to the person depositing them."—(*Mr Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I believe that the Proviso I have already undertaken to bring up on Report will accomplish all that the hon. Member seeks in his Amendment. The Proviso will deal with the custody and registration of the arms in proper places.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA thought the right hon. Gentleman would be better able to carry out the intention of the Amendment before the Committee than if they actually agreed to the Amendment, which he hoped the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) would consent to withdraw. He considered the Amendment, however, to be very reasonable in its requirement.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill to the question of arms in the possession of shopkeepers. If the stock of traders was to be seized, he presumed that the Proviso alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman would insure compensation to the owners on the same principle as compensation was given in the case of an alteration in the Excise duties. There were in Ireland many traders who had large quantities of arms in their possession.

Mr. HEALY inquired what proportion of the cost of game licences would be returned to persons having to surrender their arms. It was only right that persons who had paid the sum demanded for a licence should, when they gave up their guns, be allowed compensation. He was willing, however, after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Amendment.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: It happens to be a part of the year when shooting licences will not be taken out.

Mr. LALOR said, the licence referred to by his hon. Friend was the 10*s.* gun licence, and not the £3 licence for shooting game.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I will consider the matter.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 270; Noes 26: Majority 244.—(Div. List, No. 118.)

Clause 3 (Power as to prohibiting or regulating sale or importation of arms and ammunition).

Mr. CALLAN said, he had an Amendment to propose before the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) rose to move that standing in his name. He proposed to leave out in page 2, line 7, the words "by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland." The Committee had so constantly heard from the Secretary of State for the Home Department that the Lord Lieutenant's discretion should not be fettered; that no limits were to be placed to it; and that if he were trusted at all, he must be trusted entirely; that he (Mr. Callan) could not see why he was to be fettered with the obligation of taking the advice of the Privy Council. When he proposed to add the words to a former Bill, he was met with the argument that the Privy Council in Ireland were a very large body, and that it would require a long notice to be given in order to summon them together.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 8, to leave out the words "by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not think the object of the hon. Member would be at all interfered with by leaving these words in the clause. I have never understood that the Lord Lieutenant is fettered by the Privy Council; and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland informs me that is not the case. Having set forth that the proclamation is to be made with the advice of the Privy Council, it is almost necessary that their advice should be given in the present matter. I may mention that the proper phrase is "The Lord Lieutenant in Council."

DR. COMMINS said, the Government seemed to think that what was wanting in Ireland was arbitrary power placed in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant. But if they were to submit to arbitrary power at all, it was almost the A B C of political science that the less power placed in his hands the better. If the responsibility of the Lord Lieutenant was to be shared with a shifting, variable, and almost unknown body like the Privy Council, so much the more likely would his arbitrary powers be abused. It might, therefore, conduce very considerably to the proper exercise of that arbitrary power to have it vested in the Lord Lieutenant alone, so that he should not at any time be able to shelter himself by saying he had acted by the advice of the Privy Council. The advice of the Privy Council was not listened to; and, to all intents and purposes, they did not exercise the slightest influence. Why, then, should they be retained in the Bill? No good object was gained by it; and the only object gained was the leading away of public opinion and the House from fixing its attention on the authorities who were primarily, and virtually, and necessarily responsible for all the acts promulgated in the name of the Privy Council. That was misleading; and he urged the Committee to take away that nominal guarantee, which was really worth nothing, and to withdraw words which added nothing to the force or stringency of the Act.

MR. SEXTON approved of the Amendment, and believed that the Lord Lieutenant, whether he were an Englishman or an Irishman, would be far better without the advice of the Privy Council, the members of which in many cases distinguished themselves by vindictiveness. The Lord Lieutenant would be better off if he exercised all his powers without their advice, for although they might know more about Ireland than he, he was not animated by the same spirit of vindictiveness. He preferred uncorrupted ignorance to sinister knowledge.

MR. DAWSON would rather leave the responsibility of this Act on English statesmen and English Governors. So long as Ireland was governed by this country he would let Englishmen bear the responsibility.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he had been unable to gather what was the precise function which the Privy Council performed. At one time it was said to be an ornamental body, at another that it was useful, and at other times that it combined both qualities. When the two right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were members of that body it would be both useful and ornamental; but he wished to know whether that body was ever really consulted? The Secretary of State for the Home Department said the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant was not much fettered by the action of the Privy Council; in other words, the Lord Lieutenant called a number of gentlemen together, and said—"Really, you must put your signatures to this proclamation. It is merely a matter of form, and you have only to sign your names here." If that was all that the Council did, why were their names appended always to the Viceregal proclamations? If they simply gave their names as a sham and an unreality, their names ought not to be attached to the proclamations; if they were a reality, what could be more monstrous than that the persons who performed judicial functions should be the same persons who constituted the Executive? What would be the effect if the Lord Chief Justice of England was called to Windsor one day to make legislation and the next day to judge of a case at Westminster which was constituted a crime under the proclamation he had taken part in issuing? That could only be permitted in Ireland; if it were done with regard to Basutoland the Radicalism on the opposite Benches would rise in rebellion, and condemn it. The functions of that distinguished body—the Privy Council — were fulfilled by three classes of persons, who were, to his mind, unfit and unsuitable for Executive functions. They were either high ecclesiastics of one particular religious persuasion—and it was grossly unfair that the religious persuasion of the minority of the people alone should contribute to the officers of the Executive—or renegade patriots who had reached the Bench in Ireland; or some swaggering officers who had distinguished themselves by cruelties towards the race which had the misfortune to be subject to British rule. Many nations had that misfortune; and he held that ecclesiastics of one sect—and that the minority—Judges who were renegade patriots, and officers of rather unfortunate antecedents, were the very last persons who should be intrusted with the duties of the Executive of a country. He therefore took this opportunity, as he should take every opportunity, until the public opinion of this country was aroused, of condemning the scandal and the infamy of the judicial and Executive system in Ireland.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA pointed out that the previous clause provided that the Lord Lieutenant might, by warrant, direct any person named in such warrant to search the houses, &c., and said he did not see, therefore, that it was of any importance to retain the words "by and with the advice of the Privy Council." This was not a material matter; but he did not approve of the principle of fettering the Lord Lieutenant by the Privy Council.

Mr. LEAMY said, he understood that the right hon. Gentleman was a Member of the Privy Council, and he asked him to inform the Committee what the Council did when it met. He could not understand the insertion of the words "by and with the advice of the Privy Council," unless it meant that the Lord Lieutenant must act under the direction of the Privy Council. If he so acted he would be fettered, and the Committee had a right to have that clearly explained. The Government demanded unlimited powers for the Lord Lieutenant. He thought personal power had been given to the Lord Lieutenant by the Coercion Act; but the Government were not satisfied with that; they must bring in this Bill to increase that power. He was in favour of letting the Lord Lieutenant have the personal power demanded.

Question put.

The CHAIRMAN stated that he thought the Ayes had it, and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Noes to stand up in their places, and Ten Members only having stood up, he declared that the Ayes had it.

Mr. WARTON begged leave to move an Amendment of one word. The clause under notice empowered the Lord Lieutenant to make orders for prohibiting in Ireland the sale or importation of arms or ammunition, and the word he proposed to insert was "manufacture." It seemed to him that it might be necessary to check the manufacture of arms in Ireland; and as it was likely that claims would be made for weapons of which people might be deprived, it seemed desirable to stop the creation of weapons for which such claims might be made.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 9, after the word "sale," insert the word "manufacture."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): I think the Amendment is hardly necessary, the object being sufficiently provided for by the restrictions on the sale of arms.

Mr. WARTON expressed his willingness to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. GIBSON wished to suggest that introduction of the proposed Amendment would improve the clause, because the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would go to show that the words "or importation" might not be necessary, if everything was covered by the word "sale." But he would not press the matter.

Mr. CALLAN thought that to prohibit the manufacture of arms in Ireland would be something akin to prohibiting the woollen manufacture. He supposed the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) thought the demand for arms in Ireland would cause a new industry to spring up which might interfere with some English industry.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. SEXTON proposed, as an Amendment, to leave out of the clause the words "sale or," in order to limit the power of the Lord Lieutenant to importation. He did not propose to offer any resistance to the power of the Lord Lieutenant over the importation of arms; first, because importation might be illicit, and, secondly, because, even if the importation itself might not be illicit, arms might be imported for illicit or illegal distribution. He was not concerned to defend any such system; but considering the stringent and extreme powers given to the Lord Lieutenant by the previous Act over the personal liberty of Irishmen, and by this Bill over the possession of arms, he thought it was injudicious and unnecessary to hamper the industry of a particular class of traders by the proposed regulations. The sale of arms in Ireland was an open and legitimate branch of trade, and he wished to point out to the Committee and to the Government that the present time was one of depression, and that it would be extremely hard that people who had to pay taxes should be embarrassed in their trade for no sufficient reason. People who had no right to have arms would not be likely to go and buy arms, and he urged that shopkeepers selling arms should not be impeded in their trade by vexatious restrictions. The public peace would be sufficiently maintained by the power to prevent the importation of arms, and he protested against the proposal to hamper the trade of shopkeepers.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 9, to leave out the words "sale or."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'sale or' stand part of the Clause."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON): I am sorry it is impossible to accept this Amendment. In former Acts—in Acts from 1870 to 1880—it was deemed necessary to insert these words, and especially in 1875, when the whole thing was re-considered, and it was decided to impose this amongst other restrictions. The object is not to hamper trade, for the trader will find it as easy now as it has been for the last 10 years to have a licence; but it is to prevent dishonest traders doing what will, in fact, injure honest traders. Therefore, I trust the hon. Member will not press the Amendment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR did not think he need encourage his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) to proceed with the Amendment; but this clause was one of the most odious clauses in the Bill. It put every man trading in guns under the patronage and control of the Government. The Solicitor General for Ireland said it would only interfere with dishonest traders; but what was the definition of dishonest trade in guns? An hon. Member said, "Trade in guns that were burst!" That was a very reasonable answer; but was that the right hon. Gentleman's definition? Was not his reason one of those oratorical arguments that *Nisi Prius* lawyers flashed out to confuse people? How could there be a dishonest trade in guns? A gunsmith must keep open shop so that people might go freely in and out, and the police could look in and see what was going on at any time of the day. The fact was that the present Ministry wanted to get everything in Ireland under more espionage and control than it even was. There was not a single circumstance of social and political life that did not lie at the discretion of the Government in Ireland; and, going on in the excellent process of imitating the worst features of French life under a despotism, they proposed to have gun-shops under Ministerial control; and, by-and-bye, they might put tobacco-shops under the same control, so that any individual who wished to sell tobacco would have to go to Dublin Castle and recommend himself to Vice-regal patronage by such a declaration of political principles as would commend itself to the occupants of the Treasury Bench. If the Government wished to preserve the peace in Ireland, and prevent people who had no right to have arms from getting arms, they would be able to do that by the power of regulating the importation of arms. Arms shops were always under the control of the police, who could inspect them at any time; but the Government wished to get everything in Ireland under their control, so that it might flourish or decay as they might think fit.

DR. COMMINS pointed out that the Act already in force gave the power of domiciliary search among the agricultural population; but the Bill under consideration applied that power to the entire trading population. If the Bill passed, every trader in arms or ammunition would be subject to disturbance, as he was not under the previous Act; and that would be an interference with trade such as would constitute a serious grievance among the shopkeepers. Shopkeepers did not put everything in their windows; and no shopkeeper who was in any way obnoxious to the police, whether he kept a beer-shop or a bread-shop, but would be liable to the allegation that he was dealing in something connected with arms. There was no necessity whatever for this restriction; and, in fact, it would do more harm than good. It would, indeed, do mischief, for it would lead to illicit trading in gunpowder, and perhaps also in guns. At present, traders in arms and ammunition were not subject to vexatious or troublesome regulations or to search, and their trade was carried on openly. Any person selling the slightest quantity of gunpowder, or any weapon, was obliged to make an entry with regard to the purchaser, in order to be able to give information afterwards if the purchaser had some improper purpose. That was quite enough, without further restrictions; but if the clause were adopted it would create illegal dealing in arms and gunpowder. If the Government did not wish to cause that, and to drive people from fair and legitimate trading, they would do well to adopt the Amendment.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I must call the attention of the hon. Member who has just spoken (Dr. Commins) to the law of England in regard to this matter. There is a limit as to the quantity of explosives that a man can keep. This is provided for by the Act of 1875. I wish the hon. Member to see what a down-trodden and oppressed people we must be in this country. Any man who has explosive substances on his premises is subject to this—that anybody, an inspector or anyone else with an inspector, may go into his premises and search them without a warrant. The terms of the Act are as follows:—

> "Any person who is an officer may enter at any time; and, if he cannot otherwise, by force, as well on Sundays as other days, and may search for explosives, take samples of any explosives found therein, or any substances which he reasonably supposes to be explosive. Any person who fails to admit into the place any officer in pursuance of this section, or obstructs him in the exercise of his duty is liable to a penalty of £50;"

and so forth.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): That is also the case in Ireland.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: My hon. and learned Friend says there are similar provisions in force in Ireland as regards explosives. Is there anything in the present Bill more oppressive or coercive than this? In this country the Bill was passed for the public safety. The object is to see that there are no explosives wrongly stored in any premises. The Bill now before us refers, of course, also to arms. It has been said that the present clause would injure trade; but does anybody believe that the object of the Lord Lieutenant can be to damage the trade of the country? Whatever prejudices may exist, it is impossible that he could have such an object as that. Surely hon. Gentlemen will admit that the Lord Lieutenant must wish to allow of such freedom of trade as is consistent with what he considers the necessities of the public safety. Therefore, the notion of injuring small traders is only an idea without any foundation. I must repeat to the Committee that what we are doing in this clause is only similar to what has been done under former Acts. Does anyone suppose that the gunmakers of Ireland have suffered from the working of those Acts? For my part, I am rather in favour of restrictive legislation as regards arms, and in this country, one of these days, I hope to see some measure provided for the registration of arms. It cannot be considered as tyranny at all. With respect to the storage of gunpowder and ammunition, surely it is the proper thing that there should be strict regulations. The present clause will not oppress in any way legitimate trade. I do not think that anyone can object to the clause in its present form.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, that he thought the right hon. Gentleman had given the most admirable reasons why the Amendment of his hon. Friend should be adopted. He had explained the Explosives Act, and had said that that Act applied to Ireland, and that stringent measures were provided under it both for this country and for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had said that no gunsmith had been injured by the powers given to the police under former Acts; but he was well aware that in the smaller towns a great deal of injury had been done to the small traders in arms. The right hon. Gentleman also said that he would be glad to have restrictive measures applied in England as well as in Ireland. As regarded the registration of arms, he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) agreed with him entirely. He was not particularly in favour of the unrestricted sale of arms in any civilized community; but he wished to point out that in this country they had simply a measure which had been passed for the public safety, and in order to provide against accidents and the blundering use of firearms. It was an Act passed by the majority of the English people for their protection and security; but, in the present case, they were passing an Act which was a distinct stigma upon the Irish people. The right hon. Gentleman had said that all the Irish Members were conspirators. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I specially exempted the hon. Member.] He was obliged for the compliment; but he did not want to be exempted. He begged to decline any exemption. He took it that if one was a conspirator, all were. The right hon. Gentleman said for that very reason the Government were justified in bringing in the Bill with its present provisions. If it were necessary to have stringent measures in order to suppress a political conspiracy it would be a different thing; but he did not think that the present Bill would have that effect. He would beg to remind the Committee that they had in Ireland two distinctly opposite and antagonistic classes engaged in a struggle which nearly approached civil war—a civil war, that is, of interests and passions, although not of arms. The Government had put all the power into the hands of one side, and had put all the oppression upon the other. That was a strong reason why they should object to unnecessary powers being conferred upon a class, and unnecessary hardship being inflicted on the Irish people. The Solicitor General for Ireland spoke of an honest trade in arms. There was nothing more likely to injure that honest trade than the present clause, because the effect would be that a secret and clandestine trade would be carried on in arms. If they prevented the open sale of, and the honest dealing in arms and ammunition, the effect would be that in the shops in the small towns, such as those of grocers and ironmongers, a secret sale of arms would be carried on, and one of the conditions of sale, would be that the arms were to be carried away secretly. The Government had already got all the power that they needed under that Bill. They had almost all the power that there would be in a state of siege. They had prevented the importation of arms, and that, from the Home Secretary's point of view, was, no doubt, a reasonable thing to do. Assuming it to be possible for an invasion to take place, that was a perfectly natural precaution. He did not know that it had been of much avail during the late Fenian conspiracy. Few seizures of arms had been made during that time. The only seizure that he had heard of was the capture of a sword belonging to a late hon. Member of that House. The hon. Member was going over to Ireland, and in his luggage he had his Court suit, which included, of course, a sword. His boxes were searched, and that dangerous weapon was impounded as a security against Fenian invasion. He did not complain much of the stopping of the importation; but what did the Government want more than that? They had not only prevented the carrying of arms and given power to arrest anyone who had arms in his possession—measures which seemed to be amply sufficient for the purpose which the Government must have in view—but now they wanted to add another restriction to the Bill. He thought it was totally unnecessary to do so, and for that reason he strongly hoped that his hon. Friend would proceed with his Amendment.

MR. DAWSON said, he should like to ask whether there was a difference between the proposed law and the one to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred? Was there a power given under the former law to imprison, or was the offence under that Act only perishable by fines? By that Act they had a power to imprison which, he believed, did not exist under the other. Therefore, he considered that the analogy which the right hon. Gentleman had drawn was not a true one. The cases seemed to be completely different.

MR. BIGGAR could not see why the Government objected to the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton). The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that there was an old Act which referred to explosives. The words of that

Act were well arranged with regard to arms, and there was a regulation that any person dealing in firearms must give the name of the purchaser. What regulation did they want more than that? What reason was there that they should give authority to the Government to make fresh regulations? No change was necessary, because the present system was sufficient. If the Government would point out in what respect the present regulations were defective, and then state what correction they thought to be necessary, the case would be different. But they had not told them the defect in the present system. The result of fresh regulations would be that persons would lay themselves open unwittingly to be brought within the meshes of the law. They would have a difficulty in finding out what the new regulations were, and perhaps after having carefully read the proclamations which had been issued they would render themselves liable to punishment without knowing that they had committed a breach of the law. He held that they ought not to alter the present law unless there was something materially wrong shown to exist in the present system. It had been stated that a good deal of time had been wasted in that House upon debating small questions; but he did not consider that the time occupied in such discussions as those was altogether wasted.

Mr. LALOR wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman of this fact. What was the good of giving permission to certain people to have arms if they did not give them any places where they could purchase them? How could those arms be procured? They would have to proceed to the nearest depôt; but that might be in a proclaimed district, so that they would not be able to obtain them at all, perhaps. Another point was this. If they prevented the sale of arms altogether, what could the present dealers in arms do with those which they already had in their possession? If they prevented them selling them they ought to pay for them. Would the Government say that they would take those arms at their present value? The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the great gunmakers; but they were not the people who would be affected. It was the small traders who never made arms, who lived entirely by the sale of them; these were the people who would suffer under the present clause.

Question put.

The CHAIRMAN stated that he thought the Ayes had it, and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Noes to stand up in their places, and Ten Members only having stood up, he declared that the Ayes had it.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. LEAMY said, that before the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was proposed, he had one to propose himself, which he hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would accept. It was, in page 2, line 9, after the word "arms," to leave out the words "and ammunition." His reason in moving that was as follows:—The Secretary of State for the Home Department had referred to the Explosives Act. He (Mr. Leamy) had looked at that Act, and he found that nearly everything that was contained in that Peace Preservation Bill was contained in that Act under the definition of the word "ammunition." Every description of explosive, as far as he could see, was included. They had been told by the Home Secretary that that was an Explosives Act, and that powers were given under it to regulate the quantity of ammunition and material kept by persons, and to search for such material. Under these circumstances, he submitted that the additional power asked for in the present Bill was totally unnecessary. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would accept his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, lines 9 and 10, to leave out the words "and ammunition."—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and ammunition' stand part of the Clause."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member will see that the Act does not refer to the importation of arms. I, therefore, cannot accept his Amendment.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he merely rose to a point of Order. He wished to know whether, if it were necessary for 20 Members to stand up in their places in support of an Amendment on one side, it was not also necessary that there should be 20 Members on the other side. At present there was not a quorum in the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not speaking to the point before the Committee.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR observed, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department was not acquainted with the Explosives Act to which he had alluded. That Act did refer to the keeping, selling, and importing of arms. As his hon. Friend had pointed out, the substances referred to included almost every kind of explosive. They were all covered by that Bill, and prohibited from importation. That being so, it was evidently entirely unnecessary that they should enact the clause of that Bill in its present form. The right hon. Gentleman wished to attach a penalty to the keeping of ammunition which was at present in Ireland, and he had stated that a prohibition and penalty had existed under former Acts. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had not the time to look through the Act beyond the point which referred to the importation; but, if he was not mistaken, the only penalty that could be inflicted under the Explosives Act was a fine. He did not think that there was anything in the Act which alluded to a penalty of imprisonment. There was a fine in the first instance, at least. It was not impossible that they would imprison for a second or third offence. He believed that, in all probability, imprisonment was only allowed where a fine remained unpaid. Ammunition being sufficiently covered by that Statute, he thought that the words should be left out of the present Bill.

MAJOR NOLAN hoped the Government would not insert any punishment for the keeping of ammunition, unless they promised to re-consider the definition of the word as it stood in that Bill. He thought that the definition in the present Bill was the wrong one. It might be taken to include crackers, which ladies pulled at parties. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but that was not so absurd as might be supposed. He thought the Government should keep to a fixed definition of "ammunition," and the definition in the present Act seemed to be considerably wider than ought to be the case. He did not mind telling a story a second time in the House, and it was a fact—as had been stated by an hon. Member opposite—that a monkey and his master had been apprehended in the streets of Dublin; and, in another case, that a gentleman wearing a sword had been arrested on the stage whilst declaring that "his name was Norval." Such things might occur again unless the Law Officers saw that proper definitions were inserted in the Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Will the hon. Member be satisfied with the assurance that crackers will not be considered ammunition in the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant?

MAJOR NOLAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman say that the possession of one percussion cap shall not bring a man under the provisions of the Bill?

MR. SEXTON was afraid that the observations of the right hon. Gentleman did not touch the Amendment of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy), which would leave the Lord Lieutenant and his advisers control over the sale and importation of arms, but take away from him the control of the sale and importation of ammunition. The hon. Member, in support of his Amendment, produced the Act which, both in England and Ireland, regulated the sale of ammunition. The trade was already sufficiently controlled, and as there were so many useful and harmless things which might come under the definition of "ammunition," he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment. The Committee should know exactly what was meant by "ammunition" if the Government were determined to retain the word. There were a great many things mentioned in the 6th clause; but still there ought to be a clearer definition.

MR. GILL said, such things as crackers and squibs, which the hon. Member for Galway County had mentioned, were hardly worth including in the Bill. The Home Secretary had replied to the hon. and gallant Member in a serio-comic vein, as though it was ridiculous to suppose that small fireworks would be touched by the measure; but he could mention a case in his own experience where they had been touched under a measure similar to the present. During the trouble of 1848, after a similar Bill to this had been passed, the police made a raid upon the little shop of a poor old woman who sold squibs and crackers, and "cocked hats"—as they were called —and other children's fireworks, and cleared out all her stock, so that she had to close up her small business. That was a practical illustration of what might happen—it was a thing which actually had happened; therefore, he thought it essential that what was meant by ammunition should be distinctly mentioned in the Act.

Mr. CALLAN said, that when the Secretary of State for the Home Department gave the reply—which he supposed was well intended—as to the care the Lord Lieutenant would take in his proclamation to exclude crackers, he (Mr. Callan) had been at a loss to see how the Lord Lieutenant, according to the terms of the Bill, could exclude them. Where was there in the Bill—which was perfectly clear—any power to exclude crackers? The 6th clause defined the word "ammunition;" but in no clause was the Lord Lieutenant empowered to define it. The first part of the measure said—

> "Any person carrying or having any arms or ammunition in contravention of this Act, may be arrested, without warrant, by any constable or peace officer, in order to his being dealt with according to law."

And in Clause 3 it said—

> "The Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, may, from time to time, make orders for prohibiting or regulating in Ireland the sale or importation of arms and ammunition."

But the Bill did not give power to the Lord Lieutenant to state what was or what was not ammunition; therefore, in giving the assurance he had referred to the Home Secretary had completely misled the Committee as to the powers of the Lord Lieutenant. There must have been some blunder committed by the draftsman, who, probably, was a person who had never fired a shot in his life, or had never conducted a prosecution against a man charged with using firearms. There had been a large number of murders in England and Ireland, accounts of which he had read in the newspapers, which had been committed with firearms and powder, but not with bullets, with what were called slugs and swan shot. So far as he was concerned, if he were to be fired at, he should infinitely prefer to be made a target for a single bullet than for half-a-dozen slugs. There was some chance of being missed by a single bullet fired by a would-be assassin, who, perhaps, naturally, or, perhaps, through fear and trepidation, might be a bad shot; but there would be very little chance of escaping a nasty, if not a deadly, wound where slugs were used, no matter how faulty the marksman might be. And yet slugs were omitted from the Act! They had a right to complain of this omission. The word "ammunition" was faulty here, and he would suggest that they should expunge it altogether from the Bill, and, by so doing, teach a lesson to the ignorant draftsman, who ought to have taken up a dictionary to find out what came under the definition, or, at any rate, might have taken up some War Office tender, where the different kinds of ammunition were mentioned. In common respect to the House the draftsman should have done this, for they were entitled to know exactly what was meant by the word. The fact that there were such a small number of Members present to take part in this discussion was, no doubt, to be accounted for by its being the dinner hour, and by Members being too busily engaged elsewhere, to come into the House until they heard the division bell rung. Under the circumstances, the discussion should be continued by such Members as were present until the number present had increased, and until there had been some expression of opinion from the Treasury Bench as to the definition of the word ammunition.

Mr. BIGGAR said, there was nothing about buckshot in the Bill, and no reference was made to slugs. It really seemed to him that the object of the draftsman had been to make the whole affair appear as ridiculous as possible. They all knew that it was an absurdity to pass an Arms Bill at all, although that was no reason why they should permit the absurdity to appear on the face of the document. It certainly looked as though the Committee were determined to make it appear so; but for this he would be in no way responsible, and would vote for the Amendment. So far as he knew nitro-glycerine and dynamite were not intended for firearms at all, but were used for blasting and other industrial purposes.

MR. DAWSON said, the Explosives Act had been referred to; and it might be well to remark that though the provisions of that measure were very stringent, as pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman, infringement of its provisions did not, as in the case of the present Bill, entail imprisonment, and there were exceptions made in the clauses in favour of gun-makers, cartridge-makers, and so forth. Surely in the Arms Bill there should be similar provisions, and also exceptions, in favour of manufacturers of, and dealers in, fireworks. There was no provision for protecting those classes who might be pursuing a legitimate trade. The right hon. Gentleman had drawn a comparison in this matter between the law applying to the people of England and this measure affecting Ireland, and had said—"You have in Ireland the same law that we have in England;" but it must be remembered, however plausible this sounded, that there was no imprisonment under the English law. He trusted that, as Her Majesty's Government had really brought this matter into court themselves, they would at least be consistent enough to make the same law apply to the two countries, and inflict in Ireland no more than the penalties inflicted in England.

MR. LALOR said, he wished to say a few words on this subject——

THE CHAIRMAN: Has not the hon. Member already spoken?

MR. LALOR said, he had not taken part in the discussion so far. He would take the liberty of reminding the Committee that there were thousands of people in Ireland who made their living by the use of explosives. In his neighbourhood there were a great many quarrymen, who would be thrown out of employment if they were not allowed to use gunpowder and dynamite; and, therefore, he thought it imperatively necessary that the clause should be amended.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 106; Noes 24: Majority 82.—(Div. List, No. 119.)

MR. SEXTON said, the next Amendment on the Paper was in his name. The second paragraph of the clause under notice said—

> "If any person sell or import, or attempt to sell or import, any arms or ammunition in contravention of any such order, such arms and ammunition shall be liable to be forfeited to Her Majesty, and the person so acting shall be guilty of an offence against this Act."

He proposed to leave out the latter part of the paragraph—namely, "and the person so acting shall be guilty of an offence against this Act." He considered that if any offence were committed in the ordinary course of trade the person committing it would be sufficiently punished by forfeiting the goods. The result of refusing his Amendment would be that a person convicted "before a court of summary jurisdiction," of an offence against the Act, would be liable

> "To be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, or, at the discretion of the court, to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds."

This punishment might be inflicted by a Divisional Justice in Dublin, or "one resident magistrate sitting alone in petty sessions." The Bill, therefore, gave one of Her Majesty's subjects very extraordinary powers over other of Her Majesty's subjects. In the case of the ordinary offender against the Act, the presumption would be that he carried arms or kept them in his house, instead of delivering them up, for the purpose of committing some offence by means of them. This would not be the presumption in the case of the dealer in arms and ammunition. The Lord Lieutenant, it was to be expected, would issue a complicated code for the regulation of the trade—such as they had heard of under other Acts; for instance, the trader might be obliged to keep a register of his stock and his sales, and of the names, addresses, and designations of his customers—of every person to whom he sold a rifle, a revolver, a packet of bullets, or even a dozen of percussion caps. The code might be so complicated that it might be very difficult for the trader to carry it out, or even to understand it; and what he (Mr. Sexton) feared was, that the trader, through inadvertence, or in consequence of a full knowledge of all the circumstances having failed to reach him, might contravene the Act. They might take it for granted that a contravention of the Act by a trader would arise, not from a wilful desire to break the law, but from ignorance or inadvertence; and that the ends of justice would be met by forfeiting to the State the matter of the illegal act—namely, the arms or ammunition, without inflicting further punishment.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 15, to leave out from "Majesty" to end of Clause.—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: If a person, acting through inadvertence, contravenes the law, and thereby renders himself liable to a money penalty or to imprisonment, the punishment in the discretion of the magistrates would probably be very slight, as the offence would not be of a malignant character. But it is necessary also to meet a more serious case, where the offending person has evidently been acting malignantly. It must be remembered that this measure introduces for the first time the option of a fine instead of imprisonment; and I may say I am also prepared to accept the Amendment which stands on the Paper in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) that—

> "If, upon the hearing of the charge, the magistrates shall be of opinion that there are circumstances in the case which render it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they shall have power to dismiss the person charged, without proceeding to a conviction."

The object of the Bill is to secure the safety of society; and what we desire is that persons shall be prohibited from selling arms to persons who may be considered dangerous and unfit to have arms. Such a case as this might happen. The police might take from a person who was considered a dangerous person a revolver, and yet on the next day a tradesman might deliberately and knowingly sell another revolver to the same man. There must be some means of dealing with such a case. You must inflict some heavy penalty on the man who has deliberately sold that arm to a person whom he knows to have been disarmed by the authorities. The mere forfeiture of the weapon would be no punishment; and it is necessary to make provision for such a case in the Bill. What the hon. Member has been doing has been to take the minimum offence and compare it with the maximum penalty, which leaves an unfair impression as to the nature of the punishment provided. We ought to take the maximum possible offence and compare it with the maximum penalty, and then, I think, it would be seen that the penalties provided by the Bill are really very small. No doubt the maximum penalty of three months' imprisonment with hard labour would be a very severe penalty; but, on the other hand, it is not too severe a penalty for such an offence as that which I have specified. That is really the state of the case; and, under the circumstances, I hope the hon. Member will not press the Amendment.

Mr. O'DONNELL rose to continue the debate, when

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. O'DONNELL, resuming, said, he thought that the illustration which the Secretary of State for the Home Department had used for the purpose of meeting the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was hardly an illustration at all. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out that where, for instance, a dangerous character was deprived of a revolver one day, the trader who to-morrow provided the same dangerous character with another revolver would deservedly incur the highest penalty imposed by the Act. But that was taking a very extreme case. A dangerous character detected by the police with a deadly weapon in his possession would not be in such a condition of liberty that he would be able to purchase another to-morrow. In fact, he would be in gaol, and, consequently, the illustration upon which the right hon. Gentleman relied for meeting the argument of the hon. Member for Sligo was an illustration which would never come into practice. A dangerous character found in possession of a revolver would not have an opportunity of going to a trader on the next day to purchase a fresh revolver, because he would be safely incarcerated. But there were a large number of other cases in which a trader would be liable to be very unjustly punished, if punished at all, under the Act. Take the case of a trader in a proclaimed district importing arms and ammunition. It must be remembered that although a district was proclaimed, it was not every person within a proclaimed district who was forbidden to have arms and ammunition, because, under the provisions of this very Act, licences could be granted to individuals in the proclaimed district to carry arms and possess ammunition. Consequently, within a proclaimed district there might be a considerable number of persons who would be entitled to purchase arms and ammunition, so that if a trader imported into the district a large quantity of arms and ammunition, and was accused of importing those arms and ammunition for the use of persons who had no right to carry arms, whereas he had imported them for the use of persons who had a right to carry arms, how was he to be protected under this Act from a miscarriage of justice? He imported arms in order to supply the legitimate wants of persons entitled to carry arms. It might happen that in the course of his business he might sell a few ounces of powder and shot to persons not entitled to have them, in consequence of which a search would be made of his premises, and a considerable quantity of arms, powder, and shot would be found. In this way the whole stock of arms and ammunition introduced for the most legitimate purposes would be liable to be forfeited, and in addition the unfortunate trader would be liable to imprisonment, and to a fine multiplied by as many cases as the Crown authorities chose to construct out of the total amount of arms and ammunition in his possession. It was quite evident, and he was sure the Home Secretary would agree with him that this provision as it stood required limitation. At present the most legitimate trader would be at the mercy of an indirect suspicion; and although he did not go so far as to suppose that all the Irish magistrates were malignant and unscrupulous persons, yet taking them as ordinary human beings, with different amounts of intelligence and morality distributed among them, there would be a sufficient number of magistrates open to the influence of groundless suspicions and prejudice, and although, as the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary said, they ought not to test a penal enactment by placing on one side the minimum offence, and on the other the maximum punishment, still, without going that length, they must take into consideration the great probability that when a clause was too loosely drawn, and gave too wide and too extensive a power to exercise private judgment, that private judgment would, in a number of cases, be exercised in a harsh and unjust manner. He trusted, therefore, that the Home Secretary would admit the propriety of limiting the clause. It ought, at least, to be incumbent upon the convicting authority to have it proved to his satisfaction that the alleged criminal was somehow or other voluntarily and deliberately rendering himself amenable to penal consequences. Some onus of proof should be thrown upon the accusing persons, and the onus of disproof should not be thrown too completely on the accused. Judging from the manner in which the Home Secretary had met the reasonable suggestions of the Irish Party, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would meet the reasonable suggestions now made in the same spirit. The safest, surest, and easiest way of facilitating the progress of Business, and of avoiding recourse to extreme measures of any kind, would be to persist, as the Home Secretary had been doing during the last two days, in treating the Irish Members as Representatives of the people of Ireland who had a right to speak on behalf of their constituents, and of having their suggestions properly considered. To reject all their representations after the manner of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was the very worst way of facilitating the Business of the House. He hoped they would continue to have their reasonable objections considered by the Home Secretary, who had shown that he had a mind capable of grasping the exigencies of the case, and that they would not again be troubled with the interference of the right hon. Gentleman who was nominally the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON suggested that some modification should be made in the direction of the Amendment. For instance, the word "wilfully" might be inserted before the word "so," in line 16.

MR. HEALY pointed out that if the word "wilfully" were added, it should be placed at an earlier part of the clause. They had no means of knowing what regulations the Lord Lieutenant would issue; and this was much to be regretted, because if the regulations were made known, the Act in its entirety might be assented to. Those regulations might be reasonable, or otherwise; but if the Lord Lieutenant were to lay down a number of harassing restrictions, the result would be very vexatious to *bonâ fide* traders. For instance, it might be required that a trader, before importing guns, should give notice to the Lord Lieutenant as to the persons from whom he was about to buy them, or furnish the name of the vessel they were shipped by, together with a copy of the invoice. He was told that the word "wilfully" would obviate the consequence of being supposed to be guilty under this Act; but it would not obviate the vexation that would be caused by such regulations. The clause, as it stood, was directed clearly at persons who made money by legitimate trade in arms. There had always been great delicacy in that House as regarded restriction of trades, and, apart from the political aspect of the question and clause of a Bill which tended in that direction, ought to be jealously guarded. He said, as they were ignorant as to the regulations that might be made with regard to the importation of arms if the clause passed in its then form, a trader wishing to push his trade properly might commit some perfectly innocent blunder, and still be liable, under the Act, to the confiscation of his goods. The Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), would only shelter him from imprisonment. He trusted, therefore, the word "wilfully" would be added on Report in the early part of the clause.

The CHAIRMAN: The word cannot be introduced here unless the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) withdraws his Amendment.

Dr. COMMINS agreed with the hon. Member for Wexford that the case of a person unwillingly acting in the importation of a commercial commodity would not be met by the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury. If the alteration were in this form, "a person wilfully acting shall be liable to the penalties provided by this Act," that would leave the innocent person free from penalty, forfeiture, fine, and imprisonment; whereas, if the word "wilfully" were introduced alone, it would leave the legitimate and honest trader liable to have his business interfered with and his goods confiscated.

Mr. BIGGAR wished to know whether the Government intended to oppose the Amendment suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury? With reference to the argument of the Home Secretary, that if the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo were adopted, a man might go and supply himself with another weapon immediately from the same tradesman, he must say it was very unlikely that so dangerous a character as that would be able to pay a full fine, nor would he make himself liable to a similar arrest directly afterwards. It would be utterly beyond his power to go to a dealer and buy arms in the way suggested; and, seeing that dealers in arms were very well known, and subject already to regulations with regard to the sale of their goods, there was no reason why they should be still further liable to the penalties under this Bill.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department proposed to bring up on Report the following words:—

> "If, on the hearing of the charge, such justices may be of opinion that there are circumstances in the case which will render it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they shall have power to dismiss the person charged, without fine or imprisonment."

The effect of that would be to allow a magistrate to discharge a person after a nominal conviction, if he thought such person had acted through inadvertence. He did not see how the Government could go further than that.

Mr. FINIGAN (who rose amidst great interruption and loud cries of "Divide!"): I do not mind the speeches of hon. Members opposite. I think it better they should open their mouths a little sometimes, instead of keeping them shut. I am glad to hear it, even though it is in bellowing——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must not address himself to any particular part of the House, and should not be discourteous in his observations.

MR. FINIGAN (amidst repeated cries of "Divide!"): That is a species of calling out which resembles beastly bellowing.

MR. CALLAN: I rise to Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must withdraw the two last words which he used—namely, "beastly bellowing."

MR. O'DONNELL—[*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name him!"]—It is to a point of Order that I wish to speak. Mr. O'Connell in this House, replying to Members of the Tory Party—[*Cries of* "Order!"]—I am speaking to Order. [*Cries of* "Name him!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already given my ruling that the hon. Member must withdraw the two words which he used.

MR. CALLAN: What were the words?

MR. FINIGAN: I want distinctly to understand what two words I have used which you now, Sir, call upon me to withdraw. I contend that the two words which I did use were not used in any personal sense.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member addressed Members of the House in a way which was discourteous to them. If the hon. Gentleman does not withdraw those words, there is only one course I have to submit to the Committee.

MR. CALLAN: What two words?

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Gentleman withdraw the discourteous expression which he used?

MR. FINIGAN: Would you, Mr. Playfair, be kind enough to point out the exact words?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certain words reached me which led me to call upon the hon. Gentleman not to use discourteous expressions to the Committee. Instead of withdrawing them, he used another discourteous expression; the words which reached my ear were "beastly bellowing."

MR. FINIGAN: If, in any sense, the words "beastly bellowing" could be applied personally, I should be very happy and willing to withdraw them. [*Loud cries of* "Name him!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member is not prepared to withdraw those words immediately, I must Name him.

MR. FINIGAN (amid great disturbance): I rose to withdraw them—["Name!"]—I have withdrawn them; but I wish to point out to you, Sir, that I am simply withdrawing them upon your order, rather than suffer the penalty with which you have threatened me.

MR. O'DONNELL: Now that this question is settled, I rise to Order, and on a point of Order—[*Uproar.*]—I wish to remind the Committee that the use of the words "beastly bellowing"——

THE CHAIRMAN: I have already decided as to those words.

MR. O'DONNELL [*Cries of* "Name him!"]: Precisely. I am not objecting to your ruling. I am speaking to a point of Order. ["Order, order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of Order on that subject has already been settled.

MR. O'DONNELL: But I wish to raise a new point of Order, Sir. ["Order, order!"] I am speaking to a new point of Order, and I will state that point in the smallest possible number of words. I will be entirely guided by your ruling; but until I state my point of Order there is nothing for the Chairman. With regard to the use of discourteous language, Mr. O'Connell in this House——[*Great uproar.*]

THE CHAIRMAN: That point of Order has been already settled.

MR. O'DONNELL: No, Sir. I have to speak to a point of Order. ["Name him!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I now Name the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvan, Mr. O'Donnell, as disregarding the authority of the Chair.

MR. O'DONNELL: I have not been allowed to speak.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

MR. O'DONNELL (remaining seated, with head covered): I beg to state that I shall only be removed from this House by the constituted authorities.

Question put.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the Ayes have it.

The decision being challenged, and while the House was being cleared for the Division—

MR. O'DONNELL (remaining seated, with head covered): I have not disobeyed your ruling, Mr. Chairman. I was not allowed to state my point of Order; and you are acting grossly against the trust reposed in you in trying to silence, unfairly and unjustly, an elected Member of this House having the same rights as yourself under the Constitution.

Question again put.

Mr. BIGGAR (remaining seated, with head covered): Mr. Playfair, might I ask, as a matter of Order, whether it is competent to move the suspension of a Member in Committee, or whether it should not be done in a full House, with Mr. Speaker in the Chair?

The CHAIRMAN: According to the Rule, as soon as the division is taken, I leave the Chair and report it to the Speaker.

Mr. O'DONNELL (remaining seated, with head covered): Mr. Playfair, am I to remain in the House, or am I qualified to go into the Lobbies? Will it be a breach of Order to remain in the House?—for I do not intend to vote on the question of my own exclusion.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman, if he did not intend to vote, should have withdrawn.

Mr. CALLAN: I beg to ask, Sir, whether, when Mr. Speaker is in the Chair, it will be in Order for us to impugn your decision?

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 127; Noes 27: Majority 100.—(Div. List, No. 120.)

The CHAIRMAN: In obedience to the Rule, it is now my duty to leave the Chair, and report this circumstance to the House.

House *resumed.*

Mr. Speaker having taken the Chair,

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR: I have to report to you, Sir, that Mr. O'Donnell, the Member for Dungarvan, having been Named by me as disregarding the authority of the Chair, a Motion was made and carried,

> "That Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That Mr. O'Donnell, the Member for Dungarvan, be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. PARNELL: I rise to a point of Order, Sir. I beg to say that the Chairman has not carefully stated the fact to you. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: If that is the statement which the hon. Member has to make, I cannot accept it.

Mr. PARNELL: My point is, that the Chairman of Committees did not Name the hon. Member for Dungarvan in pursuance of the Standing Order of the 28th February, 1880—

> "That, whenever any Member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the Rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the House,"

and so on. My point is this—that Mr. Playfair, the Chairman of Committees, did not Name the hon. Member for Dungarvan; but simply referred to him as the hon. Member for Dungarvan. The name of the hon. Member for Dungarvan was mentioned for the first time when the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary moved the Motion for his suspension; and I submit to you, Sir, that the suspension of the hon. Member is irregular and out of Order, the conditions prescribed by the Standing Order not having been fulfilled.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I rise to a point of Order. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was not in the House, and he has stated that which everyone who was in the House knows to be incorrect.

Mr. CALLAN: I was in the House, and, knowing what took place, I say that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman is incorrect.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I was sitting, Sir, on this side of the Table and I heard Mr. Playfair Name Mr. O'Donnell.

Mr. CALLAN: I heard Mr. Playfair; and Mr. Lyon Playfair did not Name Mr. O'Donnell.

Mr. SPEAKER: An official Report has been made by the Chairman of the Committee, and I am bound to accept that Report. I have no other course but to put the Question—

> "That Mr. O'Donnell, the Member for Dungarvan, be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's Sitting."

Captain AYLMER: I may also state that I did not hear the Chairman Name him.

Question put.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (remaining seated, with head covered) asked, what means there were of instituting an appeal from the decision of the Chairman of Committees?

MR. CALLAN (also remaining seated, with head covered) wished to know whether there were any means of instituting an inquiry to test the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, or of the hon. and gallant Member (Captain Aylmer)?

MR. O'DONNELL (also remaining seated, with head covered): As a point of Order, Sir, I have to ask you, what means are open to me to prove that I did not in the slightest degree disregard the authority of the Chair. [MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!] I was not allowed to state the point of Order to which I rose; and that was that I was not Named by Mr. Lyon Playfair from the beginning to the end of the performance. [MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!] Will it be in Order, Sir, to move that the proceedings, which cannot be interfered with to-day, shall be reviewed at a future meeting of this House?

MR. SPEAKER (remaining seated): No question on a point of Order can be raised now, except with reference to the division now about to be taken. The Question is—

"That Mr. O'Donnell, the Member for Dungarvan, be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 143; Noes 32: Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 121.)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. O'Donnell must now withdraw.

Mr. O'DONNELL accordingly withdrew from the House.

MR. CALLAN asked the Speaker whether he was now at liberty to move the adjournment of the House?

Bill again *considered* in Committee.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. FINIGAN said, before the untoward incident which had had just occurred, he was endeavouring to urge the Government to make the clause under consideration distinct; and he wished to state why he considered that the spirit of the Amendment should be considered, and why the word "wilful" should be adopted in the previous line of the Amendment on Report. He thought if the Bill read—

"If any person shall wilfully sell or import, or attempt to sell or import, any arms or ammunition," &c.

that would bring the clause within the meaning of the Amendment, and within the acceptance of the Government. He did not see that the clause was just as it stood, for the Lord Lieutenant was not compelled to make orders from time to time, the provision simply saying that he might from time to time make orders; and he thought that when that power was taken advantage of, as much legal formula should be maintained in that part of the clause as was consistent with law and reason. Therefore, he did not see why the Government could not accept the suggestion, and so avoid wasting the time of the Committee, and delaying the passage of the measure through Committee. He hoped the Government would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo; and as the spirit of the Amendment was quite in keeping with the statement made by the Government every end of justice would be attained.

MR. DAWSON desired to support the views of his hon. Friend (Mr. Finigan) upon the Amendment, and expressed the pleasure with which he saw the tendency on the part of the Government to consider with respect and with attention the propositions made from that side of the House. He regretted an occurrence which was not characterized with the dignity and deportment which ought to characterize Members of that House, and which tended to interrupt the good feeling with which the Government was giving attention to that important question. He pointed out that an English Member had made the suggestion which had originated the latter part of the discussion; the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) having proposed the insertion of one word into the clause which would materially affect it. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) had pointed out that it would not have been so vexatious in an earlier part of the clause; and the hon. Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins), finding that it would be impossible to go back and place the word "wilful" where they desired it, had proposed to introduce the words, "and liable to the penalties under this

Act," which would entirely alter the clause, and in the direction they desired. If the Government would adopt either of those suggestions, and give him (Mr. Dawson) and his hon. Friends to understand that on Report, when it would be possible to put the proposed words in any portion of the clause, they would do so, he had no doubt the Amendment would be withdrawn.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have already stated that I shall be happy to put in the word "wilful." I do not understand what hon. Members mean by putting it in earlier. If they mean any alteration in the position of the word, that might be done on Report. If there is no difficulty as to the part of the line, I think it will be a very proper thing, and may very well be considered.

Mr. SEXTON: On the understanding that the word "wilful" is inserted in line 13, I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY wished to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department again, whether some provision would be made for compensating traders in the possession of arms and gunpowder, which had hitherto been perfectly legal articles of commerce?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have already stated that I am going to bring up a clause on that subject.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: That will include traders?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: There will be no distinction between traders and other people.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided:* Ayes 181; Noes 31: Majority 150.—(Div. List, No. 122.)

Clause 4 (Supplemental provisions).

Mr. FINIGAN said, he did not think that the Amendment he was about to move would take any time for its consideration. The Bill stated that the notice of a proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant should be introduced into that House within 14 days. He wished to substitute the word "seven" for "fourteen." He did not see how there could be any valid objection to the Amendment; and therefore he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would agree to it at once.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 22, to omit the word "fourteen," and insert the word "seven."—(*Mr. Finigan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'fourteen' stand part of the Clause."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope the hon. Member will not make a point of this. The fact is that the terms of the Bill are a common form in Acts of this kind. Seven days is considered rather too short a time. I hope, therefore, that the hon. Member will not press the Amendment.

Mr. CALLAN said, that the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman reduced the matter to an absurdity. He (Mr. Callan) had not thought that any Member of that House, much less a responsible Minister of the Crown, would have the effrontery to get up and make, with so solemn a face, such an absurd statement. Such a grave and voluminous document might surely be produced in less than 14 days. Was it because some Irish Member had moved the Amendment that such an absurd and ridiculous reply was given? He wondered that the right hon. Gentleman was not ashamed to make such a statement in the presence of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister exercised a determined influence over the other occupants of the Treasury Bench. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members might say "Oh, oh;" but he remembered a summer evening some years ago when, from the Front Opposition Bench, the Prime Minister, on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, gave a severe castigation to the right hon. Gentleman. Therefore the Prime Minister did exercise a determined influence. He was surprised at the argument which the right hon. Gentleman had ventured to use in that House.

Mr. SEXTON said, that perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would not be unwilling to apply the same principle as that which was applied with such a soothing effect last night—namely, splitting the difference. Suppose they were to agree upon 10 days as the limit. He thought with his hon. Friend that 14 days was an unreasonably long time. Irish Members were anxious that these proclamations, which might be brought into operation very rapidly, should not be applied until the House had an opportunity of examining them.

Mr. HEALY thought the right hon. Gentleman might accept that Amendment. Almost every hon. Member, he believed, had a grievance against the Queen's printers. Why should not the screw be applied to them, so that the information might reach the House in less than 14 days?

Mr. FINIGAN said, that, with the permission of the Committee, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. SEXTON thought the next Amendment, which stood in his name, an important one. He proposed, in page 2, line 30, to leave out the words "or Under Secretary."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 30, leave out the words "or Under Secretary."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am willing to agree to that.

Amendment *agreed to;* words *struck out* accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN: With regard to the next two Amendments, the matter proposed in the first has already been dealt with in a sub-section of the 1st clause. It, therefore, cannot be put. The second is one in which the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Lalor) desires to make a condition that the proclamation shall be posted on the doors of every place of worship seven days before it comes into force. As the date of the proclamation has been already determined, that Amendment, also, cannot be put.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 198; Noes 30: Majority 168.—(Div. List, No. 123.)

Clause 5 (Penalties).

Mr. M'COAN begged to move the next Amendment. It was in line 1, page 3, after "exceeding," to leave out "three," and insert "one." The clause read thus—

"Any person acting in contravention of this Act, shall be liable to be summoned before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding *three months*, or at the discretion of the Court, to a fine not exceeding *twenty pounds.*"

His reason for moving the Amendment was this. The object of that Bill was avowedly not punitive, but preventive. He thought that object would be sufficiently and adequately met by imposing a penalty of one month s imprisonment for contravention of its terms. The offences under the Act were not strictly moral offences at all, and therefore the lesser penalty would be sufficient. He wished to remind the Committee that the offences under that Act were simply the possession of arms or ammunition, or the importation of those articles, as well as the selling of arms in the prescribed districts. They might be called disciplinary offences created for the purposes of peace preservation. They were not of an immoral character. It should be borne in mind also that one month's imprisonment was no small punishment to inflict on an Irish peasant or shopkeeper, involving, as it also did, a considerable money loss. He ventured, therefore, to think that the provision seemed to have been dictated by a feeling of vindictiveness, rather than of mere prevention. If the object of the Government was not vindictive, he hoped they would see that all disciplinary purposes of the Bill might be met by fixing the maximum punishment at one month instead of three, more especially as conviction would carry with it, not only the imprisonment of the offender, but the confiscation of the arms. The purposes of peace preservation would be fairly served by seizing the weapons with which it was believed that outrages would be committed. The right hon. Gentleman would, therefore, be doing a gracious as well as a merciful thing in accepting the Amendment. Probably his answer would be that this Bill was very much more merciful than that of 1875, and, no doubt, that was true, for he recognized the humanity and merciful sentiments of the right hon. Gentleman, although at the same time he thought that that spirit might be carried farther. The greater mercy of the present measure, as compared with that of 1875, was an argument which the right hon. Gentleman should hardly fall back upon, since the fact that an over severe penalty was provided in the old Bills furnished no sort of precedent for the present measure. They had to deal with things as they existed in 1881, not as they existed 10 or 15 years back; in short, for all purposes of peace preservation and substantial justice, a penalty of one month's imprisonment for being found in the possession of arms was, to his mind, quite sufficient.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 1, after "exceeding," leave out "three," and insert "one."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the clause.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member (Mr. M'Coan) has only done the Government justice when he says we have no desire to make the Bill vindictive; the punishments are not intended to be severe, nor do I think they will be under the Bill as it at present stands. We fix the term of imprisonment at three months, for the reason that it is the ordinary punishment awarded for venial offences under the Summary Jurisdiction Act. We have eliminated from the Bill the element of hard labour, so that really we stand here in this Bill on the lowest scale of punishment—I do not mean to say ever fixed, because that is asserting a negative in which one might be wrong—but I doubt if you could find any scale of punishment lower than that in the Bill. Again, I must remark that the three months' imprisonment is the maximum imprisonment. When you see "three months" in the Bill, it does not follow that every man convicted under this measure is sure to have three months' imprisonment. Everyone knows that that maximum punishment will hardly be given except in aggravated cases, and that the punishment will hardly ever be more than one month. The object of reserving the maximum is to provide for aggravated cases. That is why the proposition is drawn up in that way, and not because we wish, or intend, or expect, that the maximum punishment will be inflicted in every or even in many cases. I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that we have taken the lowest scale of punishment which is fixed for the punishment of offences much lighter than those dealt with by this Bill.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR trusted that the Amendment would be insisted upon, and contended that the whole course of the Government with regard to this punishment was grossly unfair to the Irish people, and he thought he could show the Committee why. They had allowed the people to purchase arms, without the slightest sign or intimation that they intended to interfere with their possession of those arms; and now, having got the people in possession of them in large numbers, they said—"We will give you three months' imprisonment if we find you in possession of those arms." The right hon. Gentleman said that three months was the maximum; but if he knew the magistrates of Ireland as well as he (Mr. O'Connor) knew them he would be aware of this, that the maximum, instead of being the exception, would prove to be the rule. They were giving the large powers of this measure to a magistracy that was determined to have vengeance upon the people; for even if the Government were not desirous of being vindictive, the magistrates were determined to be so. When they said "three months can be inflicted under this Act," they practically told the magistrates to inflict three months' imprisonment; and, whether they told the magistrates directly or not to inflict such a punishment, they might rest satisfied that they would do it. An hon. Friend had pointed out that when they took the arms away from the people they had really done as much as they had a right to do. The people had been allowed to obtain possession of the arms—he would not say whether or not it was good policy on the part of the Government to allow that, but they had done so—and now they wished to punish the people for availing themselves of their rights. For his own part, he should have been disposed to go even much farther than his hon. Friend, and to have moved that imprisonment be omitted from the Bill altogether, or only inflicted when an offender was unable to pay a small fine. But as the right hon. Gentleman would, no doubt, refuse to accede to such a proposal, he would suggest, as a compromise, that the Government should allow two months to be the maximum.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, he would rather see three months' imprisonment given to those who recommended the Irish people to get arms. At the same time, it must be recollected that the working of this Bill was not to be left to the ordinary magistrates, but was to be carried into operation by the stipendiaries. Although two justices of the peace could inflict the penalty, it was provided that one of them, at least, should be a stipendiary. The people, therefore, were not without a safeguard.

MR. BLAKE concurred in what had been said by hon. Gentlemen sitting on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and considered that the right hon. Gentleman ought to reduce the maximum punishment to one month for the first offenceable act. He had been engaged for nearly 10 years in connection with a Government Department in Ireland, and it had become his duty, in many cases, to advise that the sentences of magistrates should be mitigated, in consequence of memorials praying for reduction of penalties. In numerous cases that had come under his observation he had had to suggest to the Lord Lieutenant to mitigate the punishments inflicted by the magistrates, and his recommendation was hardly ever refused. He could say, from his experience, that in many instances, if the maximum penalty of three months' imprisonment was inflicted, it would lead to the positive ruin of those who had to endure it. He spoke in this matter as a magistrate and as a Government official of nearly 10 years' standing, and declared to the Committee that there was a strong tendency on the part of the magistracy of Ireland to give the maximum penalty in almost every case for certain offences of the character they were now dealing with. To men who were engaged in ordinary occupations, and who had wives and families depending upon them, one month's imprisonment was quite enough. It might be possible for such persons, after their imprisonment, to resume employment; but if they were compelled to absent themselves from work for three months, it might involve absolute ruin. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentlemant hat he should modify the clause, so as to provide that for the first offence not more than one month's imprisonment should be inflicted, and for the second or any other offence a term not exceeding two months; and he hoped his hon. Friend the Member for the county of Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) would be satisfied with that. With very few exceptions, the proposed changes would be likely to meet the necessities of the case, and he thought the Government might very well make the concession.

MR. HEALY considered the suggestion of the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Blake) a reasonable one, and that the Government should make the punishment cumulative, so that a man, who by inadvertence or otherwise, committed a first offence, would get a lighter punishment than if he had committed more than one offence. With regard to the Irish magistracy, he could speak from his own knowledge that if this Bill passed in its present form, they would consider the maximum penalty the penalty to be inflicted; that was the natural tendency of the magisterial mind in Ireland. If they saw a certain term of imprisonment fixed in an Act of Parliament, they at once jumped to the conclusion that was the penalty which Parliament had in its mind when it passed the measure. The magistrates, or, at any rate, many of them, were opposed to the people in sympathy, and were inclined to inflict vindictive penalties. He should have no difficulty in agreeing to the proposition of the Government if the measure were to be put in operation by a magistracy such as they had in England; but those who drew up such Acts as this did it in ignorance of the kind of magistracy they had in Ireland. It was amusing to read in Irish newspapers the statements of those Irish Pashas on the Bench. Each one looked upon himself almost as a Pope; and on any occasion, however trivial, gave the people warnings and gave them advice, and described the crimes that were brought before them as very heinous and deserving of serious punishment. No matter what the offence might be, the magistrates read out to the people those excellent lessons which, when they were young, they were in the habit of hearing in Sunday-schools. That was the class of men on the Bench in Ireland; therefore, he thought the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman behind him a reasonable one, that for the first offence the penalty should be less than for any subsequent one. As yet they knew nothing of the kind of punishment that would be inflicted as a rule by the Irish magistrates; therefore, they were discussing the matter under a disadvantage, and could only speculate upon their knowledge and experience of the justices.

Mr. PLUNKET thought the penalty proposed in the Bill was as light a punishment as could be stated as a maximum for an offence so serious as that dealt with by the Bill. The penalty was far lighter than any hitherto proposed or enacted for the purpose of meeting the evil the Bill was levelled against; nevertheless, if the Government were prepared to retain the provision as it stood, he was prepared to support them. He had abstained, hitherto, from saying a word as to what they had heard to-night, and during many nights, in condemnation of officials who administered the law in Ireland, from Members who put themselves forward as being the Members for that country, though they seldom could muster as many as 30 in a division. Those hon. Members who professed to know all about the Irish magistracy— [Mr. Healy: Who know more than you.]—those hon. Members had said that if English Representatives only knew how the Irish magistrates performed their duties—[*Cries of* "Question!"] He was perfectly in Order. Those statements had been made from time to time all through that evening, on Motion after Motion. The English Members had been told that they knew nothing about Ireland or about the Irish magistrates, and that Irish magistrates were wholly unreliable. It had been said that the full penalty would be inflicted under the Bill by the bad Irish magistrates; and he had heard the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Blake) lending himself to those statements and quoting his official experience in condemning the magistrates. If the hon. Member had had complaints of that kind to make, why did he not make them when he was himself an official in Ireland? He (Mr. Plunket) had heard with extreme regret those statements from the hon. Member for Waterford; and against them he must declare that he himself had had considerable experience of life in Ireland, both officially and from daily contact with the magistrates, and he had scarcely ever heard of a single case to support the general accusations thus recklessly brought against the magistracy. If he had heard of any cases they had been wonderfully few, considering the number of magistrates who had to deal with important matters in Ireland. No considerable number of charges had been brought against individual magistrates, so as to give their friends a chance of meeting and contradicting them; and those which had been, as far as he was aware, had never, in a single instance, been substantiated. He must deprecate the practice of wholesale condemning and treating with contempt a body of gentlemen who had to discharge most onerous duties under serious and difficult circumstances.

Mr. BLAKE said, he wished to make a personal explanation. The right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Plunket) had asked why he, when he occupied an official position, had never complained of the conduct of magistrates. In reply, he had to state that he had done so, by availing himself of the only means open to him as an official, by condemning their sentences as excessive in scores of instances by recommending a mitigation of punishment to successive Lord Lieutenants when he held office under the Irish Government, which was usually attended to.

Mr. DAWSON very much regretted that the first person in that debate to get up and endeavour to interfere with the course of mercy the Irish Members were advocating, was the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin. As the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made it his business to take part in the discussion, it was a pity he did not seek to mitigate the punishment his countrymen were to receive, rather than the reverse. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had got such a complete answer from the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Blake), that he (Mr. Dawson) would not go into that matter. He would not leave it to the Irish magistrates to fix the amount of punishment, because he agreed with his hon. Friends that those gentlemen would only look at the maximum and inflict that penalty. He would remind the Committee of a case that he himself was cognizant of. Magistrates were led in most of their decisions by petty sessions clerks and officials, and he remembered an instance in which a book was handed up to the magistrate on the Bench and examined into by that dignitary. The book was a dictionary; but the magistrate, who had received it from the clerk as though it were a volume of statutes, seemed to examine a page of it very carefully, and then announced a fine as though he had got it from the book. Well, when they had such people as that to deal with, and knew that it would be in their power to take away a man from his wife and children for three precious months, he thought it was not too much to ask of the Committee to put down the punishment for the first and other offences in black and white.

MR. LALOR said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had spoken of the magistracy in Ireland in complimentary terms, and he (Mr. Lalor) was sorry to be unable to agree with the right hon. and learned Gentleman, after a life-long residence in the country. He did not, however, stand up for the purpose of censuring the magistrates, although he had for the last few months seen a number of cases where harshness had been practised on the people of Ireland by them. Questions had been put in that House, by three or four different Members within the last few days, with regard to the practice of magistrates of sending country people to gaol without bail; 200 or 300 of those cases had occurred altogether—cases in which it was quite optional for the magistrates to admit the people to bail whilst awaiting trial for the offences they were accused of. But it was well known in Ireland that the people were sent to gaol by the magistrates, merely as a vindictive punishment. He did not, however, wish to trouble the Committee on that matter, as, to his mind, it had nothing to do with the question before them. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department appeared to look upon the possession of arms by the people of Ireland as a crime, and seemed to think that they should be punished as guilty of crime, when found in possession of arms. But whatever arms the people of Ireland had were property, and what the Committee were going to do by that Bill was to deprive them of property. It was probable that men endowed with just minds in Ireland would not be able to see the justice of that enactment; they might not be able to agree to give up property which they had purchased with their own money, and which the Government had allowed them to purchase. Would it, therefore, be just to send them to gaol for three months—not alone to deprive them of their property, but also of their liberty? For his own part, he could not conceive anything more unfair.

MR. LEAMY said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had stated that three months was a very small penalty for the great and serious offence with which the measure dealt; but he would remind the Committee that the Bill itself created the offence. The measure made it an offence in Ireland to do what was the Constitutional right of every Englishman; and they were told that while it was right for an Englishman to carry arms, if an Irishman did it he should have three months imprisonment, and consider that he had got off very lightly. The right hon. and learned Gentleman complained that attacks had been made upon the Irish magistrates, but he (Mr. Leamy) had not been a party to those attacks. He should like, however, to say a word about the two classes of magistrates they had in Ireland—the paid and unpaid magistrates. He declared, if he were charged with a political offence, or a colourable political offence, he would much rather be brought before one of the paid magistrates than before one of the unpaid. At a time of public excitement, when the public mind was agitated, the unpaid magistrates thought only of vindicating the law, and consequently were apt to inflict the greatest amount of punishment upon the offenders brought before them. No doubt, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin would agree with him in this, that the paid magistrates were much more likely to be lenient at such times as the present than the unpaid. The proposition of the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Blake) was a reasonable one, and for no first offence should more than one month's imprisonment be inflicted; it would be time to give a man the three months when charged with a second, or subsequent offence.

DR. COMMINS was of opinion that hon. Gentlemen in that House were in the habit of looking at Irish matters through English spectacles; and it certainly appeared to him that the persons who had drawn up that measure had done so. Everyone who knew anything of the administration of law in England, was aware that the magistrates, whether paid or unpaid, were inclined to keep as far away as possible from the maximum penalty, and that it was a very rare thing to find a magistrate inflicting that penalty when acting in a summary manner; they only did it when there was something aggravating in the offence. Anyone, however, who knew anything of Ireland, knew that exactly the opposite occurred, and that instead of keeping as far away as possible from the maximum penalty, they got as near to it as they could. On this matter, the testimony of the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Blake) was amply sufficient; and he told them that in scores of cases that had come under his observation he had had to request the Chief Secretary for Ireland to mitigate the punishments inflicted by the magistrates, and that in no case was his recommendation refused. He did not think a stronger case could be given. He certainly must complain of the spirit shown by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), who had occupied the position of Solicitor General for Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had declared himself ignorant of the improper conduct that had been charged against the Irish magistrates—of their being so imbued with the spirit of animosity and vindictiveness against the people, that they would inflict the highest penalty they could upon them; and he would ask hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite to show a different spirit to that of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin; he would ask them to take example from what they had seen, and to look at the spirit of the right hon. and learned Gentleman as a thing to avoid. There was one further observation he should like to make, and it was this. The penalty imposed by the Bill was three months imprisonment, or a fine not exceeding £20, at the discretion of a bench of magistrates. He had nothing to say with regard to the term of imprisonment, although he certainly thought that one month's imprisonment would be amply sufficient; but with regard to the penalty of £20——

The CHAIRMAN: That question is raised in the next Amendment.

Dr. COMMINS thought that, having regard to the words of the clause, he was entitled to deal with both descriptions of punishment together. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman who had charge of the Bill would see that one month was sufficient for a first offence, with a maximum punishment of three months for repeated offences. An intermediate penalty between one and three months would also considerably improve the Bill, and render the measure, which, under any circumstances, must be very unpalateable to the people of Ireland, less disagreeable. What was of still more importance, it would make the people think that the object of the Government was not so oppressive towards them or so vindictive as they might be led to suppose. If such a feeling were produced in the country, it would have far more value and effect than to insist upon heavy punishment.

Mr. FINIGAN thought the Committee might very easily accept that Amendment, because the Bill dealt, if he might so say, with a secondary class of people who might break the law. He wished to point out to the Committee that under the previous Coercion Act, passed by the present Government, power was given to arrest any man whom the Government or their officers suspected of committing any agrarian crime, or inciting to treason, treason-felony, or other treasonable practices. Now, he took it that there would be very few people arrested under this particular Act, and those who would be arrested under it would, he thought, be shown to have been guilty of negligence in performing their duty rather than of any desire to break the law. For instance, the proclamation of a district might be promulgated and the Act put in force at one or two days' notice, and a dealer in arms, or a farmer, or a townsman possessing arms, might not have had time to give up such arms, or the fact that he he was required to do so might have escaped his memory. He did not think that such people ought to be punished as severely as persons who committed any ordinary crime were liable to be punished under the Summary Jurisdiction Act. He certainly thought it would be quite sufficient, as proposed by the Amendment, to reduce the punishment to one month for a first offence. This would really cover all the ground

Her Majesty's Government proposed to cover by this measure. Even one month's imprisonment would be a very extreme penalty for a mere mistake or some error in judgment, or for not exercising sufficient care, or for some inattention arising from not having had sufficient notice of the Act. Viewed from a correct point of view, he thought that one month's imprisonment ought to be the maximum punishment. He, therefore, hoped the Government would accept the Amendment, and prescribe one month's imprisonment, reserving the higher punishment for a second offence. In the case of a second offence, there would be evidence afforded that the person offending was wilfully contravening the Act; but, as the case now stood, there would be no evidence of the wilful contravention of the Act. His own opinion was that the Government should carry out the Act with as much mercy as possible.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should be glad if I could accept the Amendment; but I must remind the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Finigan) that it is necessary to keep a maximum penalty for a maximum offence. We may have the case of a man running a cargo of arms contrary to law. He may be running a whole cargo of rifles or revolvers, and for such an offence surely three months' imprisonment without hard labour would only be a very small penalty. I may also remind the hon. Gentleman that in this Bill we have introduced for the first time the alternative of a money fine. This, I think, is a very great mitigation of the severity of former Acts, which gave nothing but imprisonment. Here we give the alternative of a moderate money fine. This is a great concession; and looking at the whole matter, and having regard to the possible maximum offence, I do not think that the possible maximum penalty is too high. As far as possible every opportunity will be given for mitigating the penalty where it ought to be mitigated. I am also prepared to accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), which provides that—

> "If, upon the hearing of a charge, such justices shall be of opinion that there are circumstances in the case which render it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they shall have power to dismiss the person charged without proceeding to a conviction."

MR. M'COAN wished to explain, shortly, that he accepted the compromise offered by the right hon. Gentleman. [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What compromise?] The compromise referred to was the intimation conveyed by the right hon. Gentleman that he would accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan). On that understanding, he (Mr. M'Coan) would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. M'COAN said, the next Amendment was one upon somewhat similar lines, and was intended to reduce the money penalty of £20 to £5. He did not think the observation of the right hon. Gentleman, with which he concluded his last remarks, would tell in favour of the necessity of retaining the maximum amount of the penalty. In the case of the maximum offence of a person attempting to run a whole cargo of arms, the Committee had settled that it would be in the power of the magistrates to inflict an imprisonment of three months. This, however, would be an exceedingly rare offence, and one one in 100 such cases would become amenable under the Act. He, therefore, proposed that where it became a question of an alternative between imprisonment and a fine for the possession of arms, the maximum money penalty should be reduced to £5. In the case of a tenant farmer, or a farmer's son, or a peasant, or any of the numerous class of persons whom they were told now carried rifles or revolvers in Ireland, a penalty of £5, even supposing the magistrate might not award the graver punishment of imprisonment, would be a very substantial punishment; £5 to a poor Irish peasant, or a farm labourer, who had been able to save 10*s.* or 15*s.* to buy a revolver, would be a heavy penalty indeed; and he ventured to think that the magistrate would be armed with quite sufficient power in regard to money punishment if the maximum were reduced from £20 to £5. He would still retain the alternative power of inflicting a term of imprisonment, and where he thought it was not a case for imprisonment, he might impose a fine. Under such circumstances, it would be quite sufficient if it were provided that the fine imposed should not exceed £5.

The right hon. Gentleman had made some important concessions in the course of the discussion of these Amendments, and he (Mr. M'Coan) hoped he would carry his concessions still further by accepting this proposal, which would not touch the essence of the Bill nor weaken the power of the Executive. The magistrate would still be able to preserve the peace and to carry out the objects of the Bill, if the money penalty were reduced as he now proposed.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 2, after "exceeding," leave out "twenty," and insert "five."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty' stand part of the Clause."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would ask the Committee to consider that in the present Bill we are inflicting a money penalty instead of imprisonment and that that will necessarily amount to a mitigation of punishment. But if we were to reduce the maximum money penalty to £5, the magistrates, in many cases, would pass a sentence of imprisonment rather than impose a fine. Therefore, if you keep the penalty at £20, the magistrates will be much more likely to inflict a money penalty than sentence a man to imprisonment. Let us look at this penalty of £20, and see what it is. It is the penalty given in the Game Act for shooting without a licence. Surely, this is an offence of the same character. It is quite true that some persons inadvertently shoot without a licence. I hope that no hon. Member of this House has ever done so; but, if he has, the law has provided for such a case by subjecting him to a money penalty of £20. Whether, if you fix the maximum penalty at £20, the magistrates would be likely to inflict it to the full extent or not, I do not know. According to my observation, I should say not. Then, having regard to the fact that the maximum penalty would not often be imposed, and that a lower maximum penalty would increase rather than diminish the chance of imprisonment, I do not think I ought to accept the Amendment.

Dr. COMMINS wished to point out that the penalty for shooting without a licence went to the Crown. It was a penalty, in fact, for not paying £3 for a licence to shoot, which was a different thing altogether. Here the penalty imposed was not for contravening the Excise Laws and defrauding the Revenue, but for an entirely different offence. In the same way, in the case of a dog licence, although the licence was only 5*s.* the penalty was £5. There, again, the penalty was heavy, in order that persons might be compelled to take out licences in order to put money into the Treasury, and not for the mere purpose of punishing any offence, whether criminal or *quasi*-criminal. Here it was a punishment for a criminal offence, and had nothing to do with defrauding the Revenue. It should also be taken into consideration that the magistrates would have the power, if they were of opinion that the money penalty was not sufficient, to sentence the offender to imprisonment. Consequently there were adequate means of punishing offences according to their criminality. In cases, however, where the offence did not partake of any criminal malignity, it seemed somewhat hard, and the power was likely to be abused if it were left to the magistrates to inflict a penalty of £20; £20 was a very considerable sum, indeed, to a very large class of the people who were likely to come under the purview of the Act. There were many farmers in Ireland whose occupations did not exceed 15 acres, and there were some 200,000 in the country whose farms were only to the extent of 15 acres or so. To such a man a penalty of £20 would be complete ruin. It would inevitably make him a bankrupt, if such a man could be a bankrupt. It was, therefore, most desirable to make the penalty somewhat more proportionate to the means of paying which the person liable to the penalty might have. A person fined £20 for sporting without a licence was not liable to be deprived of all his worldly possessions in case of non-payment; whereas the Irish peasant tenant, with a farm of 15 or 20 acres, would be liable to have everything he possessed in the world swept away at the option of the magistrates, and would thus be made even a more malignant criminal than any whom the Act proposed to deal with.

Mr. WARTON rose for the purpose of expressing an earnest hope that the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who was at present in charge of the Bill, would not make any more concessions. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had, upon pressure, yielded upon so many points. It seemed to him that some sort of fatality possessed any person who addressed the Government upon the question.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN rose to Order. He wished to know whether the remarks of the hon. and learned Member were at all applicable to the Amendment before the Committee?

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. and learned Member is about to apply them.

Mr. WARTON said, he simply wished to express a hope that, in a Shakesperian sense, the "native hue" of the right hon. Gentleman's "resolution" would not be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" and feebleness of the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The CHAIRMAN: The observations of the hon. and learned Member have certainly no bearing upon the Amendment.

Mr. WARTON said, that with regard to the penalty of £20, it was a very moderate one for the offence. If a man imported 1,200 stand of arms, the penalty would only amount to 4*d.* each; and if the proposal of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) were accepted, it would only be 1*d.*

Mr. LEAMY did not think the Secretary of State for the Home Department anticipated that anyone would import 1,200 rifles; and if such a thing were done, even a fine of £20 would be an insufficient penalty. But in such a case the magistrate would not impose a money penalty at all, but would pass a sentence of imprisonment. The right hon. Gentleman said that if the maximum penalty were reduced from £20 to £5, it would have the effect of sending a larger number of persons to gaol, because if the magistrates could not impose a heavy money penalty, they would pass a sentence of imprisonment. That observation would seem to imply that the magistrates should inflict the heaviest penalty they could. He (Mr. Leamy) believed it would be found that out of every 10 persons charged under the Act, and sentenced to pay a fine of £5, nine would be compelled to go to gaol for want of the £5; £5 would be a very serious penalty indeed in Ireland.

Mr. GILL thought the Amendment before the Committee was a very reasonable one, because he believed that it would only be necessary to enforce a fine in minor cases. In most of the more important cases it was likely that imprisonment would be what the magistrates would decide upon; and although the Home Secretary said that if the fine was too low, the magistrates might imprison a person whom otherwise they would have fined, he certainly thought that such a proceeding would show a vindictive spirit on the part of the magistrates, which the Government altogether disclaimed in bringing in the Bill. With regard to the observations of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who said that £20 would be much too small a fine to inflict upon a man who was convicted of importing 1,200 rifles, the hon. Member seemed to forget that, instead of paying at the rate of 4*d.* each, the offender would have to pay a penalty of £3,000 or £4,000, seeing that the rifles, worth, at least, £3 apiece, would be confiscated.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 247; Noes 37: Majority 210.—(Div. List, No. 124.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 2, after the word "pounds," to insert "but, if, upon the hearing of the charge, such justices shall be of opinion that there are circumstances in the case which render it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they shall have power to dismiss the person charged without proceeding to a conviction."—(*Major Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope I shall not incur the further displeasure of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) in agreeing to this Amendment. Perhaps, however, the hon. and learned Member will be reconciled to my feebleness in so doing, because a similar Amendment was agreed to by the late Government in the Act of 1875.

Mr. WARTON said, the right hon. Gentleman need not fear his displeasure for having kept his word. As the right hon. Gentleman had already promised to include a provision of the kind in the Bill, he (Mr. Warton) certainly did not think there was any feebleness in accepting the Amendment. His remarks had applied to any future weakness the right hon. Gentleman might be guilty of.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would remind the Committee that the Amendment referred to of the Act of 1875 was very much objected to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite the present Attorney General at the time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

Mr. HEALY pointed out that a magistrate might inflict a fine upon a prisoner, knowing that he would have no chance of paying it, simply for the purpose of sending him to prison. He, therefore, proposed to insert words to the effect that the maximum fine inflicted in any case should not exceed the prisoner's means of paying it.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee having already fixed the maximum penalty at £20, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford, proposing another maximum penalty, would be inconsistent with what has been passed by the Committee.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the only word upon which the Committee had not yet decided was the word "twenty."

The CHAIRMAN: The Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Major Nolan) has been introduced after the word "pounds;" and, therefore, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) cannot be put.

Mr. LEAMY, in moving an Amendment providing that no person sentenced to imprisonment under the Act should be required to sleep on a plank bed, said, one of the prison regulations under the Act of 1875 was that a prisoner, during one month of his sentence, should be required to sleep on a plank bed. It was only fair that a distinction should be drawn between prisoners convicted under this Bill and those who were found guilty of ordinary offences against the law. Whatever might be the opinion as to this Act, he submitted that persons sentenced under it would be guilty of a political offence, and not of an ordinary offence; and, for that reason, he thought the harsh regulation to which he referred should not take effect upon them.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 2, after the word "pounds," to insert "but no person who is sentenced to any term of imprisonment under this Act shall be required during any part of his sentence to sleep on a plank bed."—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. SEXTON thought the argument of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) deserved attention. The persons imprisoned under this Bill would not belong to the criminal classes, and, therefore, would not be habituated to crime. It was perfectly well known that the reason why the ordinary criminal was made to sleep on a plank bed, put upon the treadmill, and so forth, was that he was a man of such indurated moral nature that he could not be deterred from crime unless by extreme penalties. But, taking the case of an imprisoned farmer from any part of Ireland, he would be found to be a person leading an honest life, except so far as he might have broken the provisions of this Bill; and, therefore, it would not be right to subject him to the penalty of harsh treatment as well as detention.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot agree that this Bill is to be treated as a Bill for dealing with political offences. On the contrary, I always understood from hon. Members opposite that they altogether discarded revolvers as having nothing to do with politics at all. Again, this is not a Bill to regulate prison rules with regard to particular offences. I will also point out to the hon. Member that his Amendment, although it condemns plank beds, does not say what sort of beds are to be used—whether a man found in the possession of a rifle should have a feather bed, and the man having a revolver a spring bed. But all this is going into detail. We have taken care that this shall not be a severe imprisonment by excluding hard labour; but the Amendment of the hon. Member is quite incompatible with any just principles of the Bill.

Mr. DAWSON hoped the Amendment would be pressed to a division. He thought the punishment of a plank bed was a very serious thing indeed. He would remind the Committee that on the question of disarming the Basutos, the sympathy of the Prime Minister was elicited for those people, and he said he hoped that the just, humane, and wise anxieties which existed might be mitigated by the facts to which he had alluded. Was it possible that less anxiety was to be felt in the sufferings of the people of Ireland than was felt in the Basutos? He could not believe that would be so, and therefore he trusted the Government would re-consider the matter. With regard to the plank bed, there could be no doubt it should be exclusively used to deter men from the commission of crime, and not inflicted for the political offence of the possession of arms.

MR. CALLAN pointed out for the information of hon. Members who might not be acquainted with the nature of a plank bed, that it was simply a plank raised at one end some three inches higher than at the other. Its breadth was about 18 inches; it was placed on the floor, and had a wooden pallet, on which the head rested, with nothing between it and the wood. [*Laughter.*] This matter was by no means one to be treated with levity, and he hoped the hon. Member who was so impatient would never have occasion to experience a plank bed himself. Take the case of a respectable farmer, who, having a licence only to keep arms in his house, sees the destruction of his crops by crows and vermin, and is tempted to take his gun into the fields. He is arrested, brought before game-preserving magistrates—who were just as bad in Ireland as they were in England—and gets, as part of his sentence of imprisonment, a month on a plank bed, for acting in contravention of the Statute. He said this infliction should only be used to deter evil-doers, and not imposed upon respectable farmers who might come accidentally under the operation of the Act. Why, he asked, should not the magistrates have at least a discretionary power in this matter?

MR. MITCHELL HENRY thought the Amendment ought to be accepted. For his part, he should never cease to protest against the use of planks—they were not beds—as a means of discipline in prisons; and he regretted to say that this discussion had shown how, what he could not help calling the brutality of the punishment, had become so familiar that hon. Members thought nothing of its horrors. When the late Government, in an Act which in his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) opinion would ever stain their memory, introduced this punishment, they included women and children. [*Laughter.*] The merriment of hon. Members only showed how quickly, when an Englishman was scratched, the brute appeared—for it was brutality to inflict such cruelty, and he believed their forefathers would have shrunk from making unfortunate persons pass the night upon a plank. It was only by a most persistent fight that some relaxation of the rules was effected on behalf of women and children. One of the concessions agreed to was that a hollow should be made in the planks; and it was not till after a great fight, a few days ago, that the Government agreed that prisoners under the new Act should not be confined in rooms without wooden floors. The Amendment was opposed by a right hon. Gentleman who claimed, and probably justly claimed, credit for great humanity; and it was not till the last moment that he accepted it. He trusted that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would consent to the Amendment, and not inflict plank beds upon prisoners under the Act.

MR. PARNELL regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had made up his mind to refuse to accept the Amendment; but he trusted that, on re-consideration, he would see that it was not an unreasonable one. The right hon. Gentleman should recollect that, after all, he was not responsible for the introduction of plank beds. They were introduced by his Predecessor; they were in use in comparatively few prisons in England and Scotland, and, he believed, they were not at all in use in Ireland. But when they were extensively adopted by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the last Government, they were also adopted in Ireland—he supposed for the sake of uniformity. It was argued that it was proper to subject the criminal classes to some such discipline as the plank bed for the first month or so; but the classes likely to be imprisoned under this Act were not criminal classes. He doubted whether many people would be imprisoned for having rifles or revolvers, for he did not believe there were many rifles or revolvers in Ireland. The Government had produced no Statistics on that point, although they must have had information as to the number of those arms which had been imported into the country. He felt equally confident that those people who did possess arms would not allow themselves to be convicted and subjected to three months' imprisonment. In all probability the persons who would be convicted would be farmers who would either forget that the Act was in operation, and so would not give up their guns, or would keep them by stealth in order to gratify their desire to shoot ground game and birds on their own lands. [An hon. MEMBER: Landlords.] The hon. Member must recollect that there had never been so few landlords shot as during the last year. What would happen would be that many farmers would be tempted by the natural desire to shoot game and birds, not to give up their arms, and if that was not a moral offence, it could not be denied that the offences created by the Act were political offences. In fact, it was the political condition of the country that had compelled the Government to set aside the natural right of men to carry arms for their own protection under the Constitution. Under the Prisons Act of 1877, misdemeanants were divided into two classes, one class being treated as first-class misdemeanants. The offence created by the new Act was lower in degree than that of misdemeanour, for which special prison treatment of a very lenient character had been provided; and he claimed the right to special treatment of the persons to be imprisoned. The Act suspending the Habeas Corpus gave ample power for dealing with the criminal classes; but the people likely to be arrested under the new measure were respectable farmers, and he asked the Government whether they wished to turn every farmer or farmer's son into a rebel or a landlords' assassin? It seemed to him that the very way to do that would be to send them to prison for three months, and put them on plank beds. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to re-consider the matter, and also to consider the desirability of annexing to the Bill a similar provision to that attached to the Coercion Act, giving the Lord Lieutenant power to make such rules as he might think fit as to the treatment of the prisoners. He observed that the dietary for prisoners sentenced to three months' imprisonment was a very low one; that might be right for the criminal classes, but it could scarcely be right to provide such a dietary for persons who had not really committed any offence against the ordinary law, but only against this special Act. He would also ask him to give some assurance that he would consider the point before Report, with a view to enabling the Lord Lieutenant to make special rules when he came to ascertain the class of persons arrested.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The question of plank beds is extremely deserving of consideration; but I must point out that it was considered in reference to prison discipline, and not in reference to any particular Act or particular offence. It is quite true that there are a great number of different offences varying very much in their gravity. In this case, there is an Act referred to of a character not very dissimilar—namely, the Explosives Act, under which a person guilty of an offence causing injury by explosives, is liable to be imprisoned with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months. That is double the penalty inflicted under this Act, and in that case no special provisions were made. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) has appealed to what was done in the last Act we have passed for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; but that was an utterly dissimilar Act. It was an Act——

MR. CALLAN rose to Order, and asked whether the Rules laid down by the Speaker were to be carried out or not?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the right hon. Gentleman is going beyond the point of explanation to which he is entitled to go.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he remembered exceedingly well being associated with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) in opposition to the Prisons Act; but he had been compelled to tell that hon. Member that he conducted that opposition in so factious a manner that he was obliged to abandon him.

MAJOR NOLAN rose to Order. Had this anything to do with the subject before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The observation of the hon. Member did not reach me.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he was strictly following the hon. Member. He fully concurred in the argument of the Secretary of State, that offences under this Act could not be classed strictly with the offences under the Act for the Protection of Person and Property; and he considered it absurd to suppose that all the offences under this Act could be dignified with the name of political offences. If all the offences under this Act were to be considered political, the plank bed would be a political punishment; and he was tempted to ask whether it would not be appropriate, looking at the condition of discipline in the House, to have plank beds in the Clock Tower?

Mr. Serjeant SIMON regarded this as a matter deserving of grave consideration. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had himself said so; and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to re-consider what appeared to be his determination, and to bring up on Report some provision to meet the case. The object of punishment, where punishment was intended, was to reform, not to torture prisoners. Who were to be the offenders under this Act? Not the criminal classes, but people of a totally different class. The right hon. Gentleman had said that great consideration had been shown to the persons likely to be arrested under the Act recently passed, because they were to be treated as first-class misdemeanants; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to introduce a similar provision into this Bill. He admitted that it was very inconvenient in a Bill of this kind to go into the details of prison discipline; but at the same time they must not lose sight of the fact that this Bill, whether it was a political measure or not, was an exceptional measure. It would restrict the liberty of the subject, and subject men to punishment and forfeiture of their property for certain acts or omissions. That being so, it seemed to him by no means inconsistent, but in point of fact a necessary result, that they should make such provision that the persons imprisoned should not be placed in the position of the criminal classes. Therefore, if the right hon. Gentleman was not able to bring up some such provision on Report, he would suggest that the hon. Member who proposed the Amendment should withdraw it, seeing that it was objected to as going into the details of prison discipline, and then he himself would propose to insert after the word "but" the words "persons imprisoned under this Act shall be treated as first-class misdemeanants." That did not go into prison discipline, or prescribe the kind of bed to be used; it simply placed the persons arrested among a particular class for whom under the Prisons Act a particular course of treatment was provided.

Mr. TOTTENHAM observed, that a great deal had been said about the brutality of using plank beds, but it was forgotten that every soldier on guard slept on a plank bed. If the feelings of persons who had committed political or criminal offences were to be considered, he thought the feelings of soldiers should be also considered.

Major NOLAN said, the hon. Member seemed to have forgotten that every Commission that had reported on the subject had reported that nothing wore soldiers out so much as going on guard, and a General Order had been issued that whenever a soldier had to go on guard more than one night in seven a special report must be made. What was now proposed was that prisoners should sleep on plank beds every night.

Mr. SEXTON observed, that the hon. Member had also forgotten that a soldier joined the Army of his own free will, which was a very material difference. He would, however, counsel his hon. Friend to withdraw his Amendment in favour of that of the hon. Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon.) With regard to this question of punishment, he was not altogether of the opinion of his hon. Colleagues. He did not see that there was much advantage in lenient treatment, because it worked two ways. A magistrate might sentence a man to three months' imprisonment, if he was going to have a good time; but if the man was to be worked hard, he might give him a shorter sentence. A magistrate would be like to consider whether the man was likely to be treated hardly or not, and, therefore, he did not attach the same importance to the point under this Bill as under the Coercion Act.

Mr. LEAMY, on the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury, would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after the last Amendment, to insert the words "Persons imprisoned under this Act should be treated as first-class misdemeanants."—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not wish to prolong this discussion. I have already stated the reasons why we think there is no ground whatever for distinguishing these offences from those tried by summary jurisdiction. Therefore, I cannot accept the Amendment.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN regretted the right hon. Gentleman's announcement, and assured the Committee that the Bill would strike not the class aimed at—for they would elude it—but the young countrymen whom the right hon. Gentleman would not wish to strike hard. As an instance of this, he would inform the Committee that under the last Arms Act, when some members of the Catholic Young Men's Association were playing private theatricals at Tullamore, the police jumped on the stage because some of them carried swords as part of their characters, and carried them off to prison. That was the action of the magistates and the police, and not of the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle acting on reasonable suspicion. It was the local Pashas who would have the administration of the Act. This was a Bill for disarming the country on political considerations; but the Committee should take into account that, after all, the offences that might have to be punished would not involve that moral criminality which had to be stamped out by severe discipline. With regard to plank beds, he protested against their being used in any prison. It was a system of torture, and he put it to the Committee and to the Treasury whether it ought to be inflicted upon young countrymen. The accomplished rogue and prison criminal was up to all the artifices by which to accustom himself to prison discipline, and even to the plank bed. The case-hardened criminal had means of eluding all those things that were so cruelly hard on the man who went to prison for the first time. There was a story of a man who had been in prison frequently, and who advised a gentleman of whom he was begging, if ever he was sent to the treadmill to tread "slantwise," and then it would not hurt him so much.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY pointed out that although the Secretary of State for the Home Department said he saw no reason for distinguishing offences under this Bill from those dealt with by summary jurisdiction, the Bill did make a distinction, for it carefully provided against the infliction of hard labour on the men who might be imprisoned. Why was that distinction made? Because everyone felt that there was a real distinction between this offence and a criminal offence. The Bill provided that people who contravened the Act should be subjected to a short term of imprisonment, and the Irish Members asked the Government to go a step further, and prevent the use of these beds as an instrument of torture which might be applicable to criminals, but was certainly not applicable to persons whom they protected from the ordinary prison discipline. It was, therefore, proposed that prisoners under the Bill should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. He asked the Committee to look how this matter grew. The plank bed was introduced for the first time into Irish prisons by the late Administration, and its introduction provoked remonstrances from the most respected Judges in the country. It caused barbarities that he had no doubt had greatly intensified the hatred which had existed in Ireland within the last few years against the British Government. One reason why that hatred had become intensified was because of the harsh manner in which the Prisons Bill was carried through the House of Commons, and, as he had said, the introduction into the prison discipline of Ireland of the plank bed. The Home Secretary now told them that because they had done this evil thing, because they had introduced a thing which was not known to the law before, they were precluded from providing safeguards as to the penalties that were to be inflicted for contravention of the Act. Well, he would address one word of warning to the right hon. Gentleman and to the Radical Members. They knew perfectly well that these Coercion Acts were not popular in the country; and if there was one thing that would strike a deadly blow at Radicalism and a Liberal Government, it was the belief throughout the country that those professing extreme Liberal principles were silent when questions affecting the torture of prisoners were being discussed in this

House. If the Radical Members could bring themselves to give prisoners plank beds, he would say to them—"Why do not you give them spiked beds at once?". He would not, however, discuss this question of plank beds, for he was inclined to believe, from what fell from the right hon. Gentleman, that he was in favour of mitigating the horrible prison discipline introduced by the last Government. He must warn the Radical Members on that side of the House that if they would not have the courage of their convictions and support the Amendment, as they had protested against the introduction of plank beds by the late Government, they would justly lose the respect of the people of England. He trusted that even right hon. Gentlemen who were now ensconced on the Treasury Bench would be consistent, and on this occasion would support a principle of humanity in prison discipline, as they had so rightly done when in Opposition.

Mr. CALLAN remembered the discussion on the Prisons Bill, and recollected the indignant speeches made by hon. Members sitting on that side, not against the introduction of the measure, but against the prison discipline which now prevailed; and these protests were made not on behalf of men of high character, such as those who would be affected by this Bill, but on behalf of felons. The Radicals of that day—when in Opposition—objected to the application of plank beds to felons. Would they now have the courage of their convictions, and object to the application of plank beds to gentlemen who were probably as respectable and as good citizens as they were themselves?

Mr. PARNELL said, that, before the division, he wished to say a word with reference to the statement that had been made, that this was not a convenient time to bring forward this question of prison discipline; but when the Prisons Bill was passing through the House in 1877, they had raised the question of the treatment of prisoners who might be arrested for offences under a Coercion Act in Ireland, and they were told by the then Home Secretary and the Government that the time for raising the question of the treatment of prisoners under an exceptional measure of that kind would be when that measure was brought forward. An Amendment that he had himself moved in Committee on the Prisons Act of 1877, with reference to the treatment of prisoners arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, was, on a division, rejected by the Committee, on the ground that the time had not arrived to consider the question.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 47; Noes 194: Majority 147.—(Div. List, No. 125.)

Mr. PARNELL trusted the Government would now agree to report Progress. The Committee had made very satisfactory progress, and it could not be denied that a sufficient portion of the day had been devoted to the measure.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope the Committee will not consent to this proposal, but that they will make an attempt to get through with the Bill. There is very little of it left, and having carefully examined into the questions remaining to be discussed, I can answer for it that there is only one—that there are certainly not more than two—questions of any importance left upon the Paper. We have Clause 5 to finish, then the Definition Clause, then the short title, and then the last clause as to the duration of the Bill. The Government have endeavoured fairly to meet hon. Gentlemen opposite, and have discussed every point they have raised, and we should not be called upon to leave a small fragment of the Bill to occupy a Wednesday Sitting, when we have been informed by the Prime Minister that there is hardly time to obtain those Votes in Supply which are absolutely necessary. We have not been able to give our assent to all the Amendments which have been proposed; but we have dealt with them, as I think hon. Members will admit, fairly, and I therefore trust hon. Members will endeavour to meet us, and will, in the interest of Public Business, allow us to make further progress with the Bill. I do think, if the Committee is inclined, it can dispose of every question remaining in the course of an hour, and surely it is worth while sitting that short time for the sake of saving a day.

Mr. SEXTON had no doubt the Irish Members would be willing to go on for another hour; but he must say that anyone who carefully looked at the Paper would see that there were several very important questions remaining which could not be disposed of in that time. There was a proposal for giving a right of appeal against the decision of the Court of First Instance, and there was another question which of itself might take several hours to discuss; in fact, he believed that if they proceeded to debate it now they would not have finished by the time daylight arrived—he referred to the question of the duration of the Bill, as to whether the people of Ireland should be deprived of their arms for five years. In addition to several Amendments of the Irish Members on this point, there was one put down by an eminent Supporter of Her Majesty's Government to limit the duration of the Bill. Anyone who fairly considered the matter must see that the 8th clause could not be got rid of in an hour. So far as he was concerned, he had not the slightest desire to shirk work; but he considered it illusory to suppose that the discussion of the measure in Committee could be finished to-night.

Mr. CALLAN said, that the Home Secretary appealed to them for another hour, and his appeal should be attended to—["Agreed!"]—but there were a number of unruly Members opposite who interrupted just as a proposal was being made. As the suggestion was being made that they should sit another hour, these unruly Members cried out, "No, finish!" At 1 o'clock in the morning these hon. Gentlemen told them that they must sit until 5 or 6. That was not the way to get hon. Members on that side to fall in with the proposition of the Home Secretary. He had no doubt Members would agree to exercise their staying-up powers if the Government would agree to report Progress—say, at 2 o'clock; but they should not be expected to finish, because that might necessitate their sitting up until mid-day to-morrow.

Mr. PARNELL said, he did not wish the Committee to waste time in discussing this question of reporting Progress. He thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman should be accepted, that they should go on for another hour; and then, at the expiration of that time, reconsider their position.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. LEAMY said, he had an Amendment to the effect that a person convicted under the Act might appeal according to the provisions prescribed by Section 24 of the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1851. When the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) pointed out the other day that there was no provision in the Bill for appeals, as there was in the Act of 1875, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland stated, in reply, that no such provision was necessary, inasmuch as under the Summary Jurisdiction Act the right of appeal was given in certain cases. But he (Mr. Leamy) believed that under the Summary Jurisdiction Act there was only a right of appeal when the amount of imprisonment exceeded a month, or the amount of a fine 20*s*. He proposed by this Amendment that a person should have a right of appeal against any conviction under the Act. He would point out that under the Summary Jurisdiction Act a right of appeal in England was given when there was imprisonment without the option of a fine; and the Home Secretary, when he brought in that measure, had stated that the Attorney General for Ireland would introduce a similar Bill, dealing with the Irish Law. That Bill, however, had never been brought in; therefore, before a man in Ireland could appeal, he must have been sentenced to something more than a month's imprisonment. Under the present Bill a right of appeal should be given in every case. Of course, people would not avail themselves of it where the evidence was clear against them; but he thought it only right, when they were constituting a political offence which did not exist in England, and did not now exist in Ireland, to give every facility for appeal.

Amendment proposed, after the last Amendment,

To insert the words "Every person who is convicted under this Act and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, or to pay any fine or penalty, may appeal against such conviction; every such appeal shall be brought in the manner and shall be subject to the provisions prescribed by and contained in Section 24 of the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1851, with respect to appeals in the cases therein stated."—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: This Amendment is open to the objection I have stated more than once—namely, that it is treating the offence as a special one, to which the summary law applies. That is exactly what I object to. The law prohibits certain things to be done, and if those things are done, when they are not of a very grave and heinous character, they are judged summarily. In cases of summary conviction, an appeal is given whenever the penalty is considered a severe one. The appeal in Ireland is under the 24th section of the Act of 1851—an appeal, as the hon. Member has stated, whenever the punishment exceeds one month's imprisonment, or a fine of 20*s*. That rule is applied to all summary convictions in Ireland, and I can only repeat—and I shall be wasting the time of the Committee if I go into the matter at greater length—that I see no reason why this offence should be treated on a different footing from any other breach of the law of the Crown. It has been said—"Why do not you make special provision in this Act, as you would in the case of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act?" But under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act the cases are cases of suspicion, not cases of proved offences against the law. Where you have got certain proved offences against the law, there you have got certain penalties to follow. Where you make an exceptional offence, and where you exercise exceptional powers, you should have exceptional treatment.

Dr. COMMINS said, there was one matter which should never be forgotten in imposing punishment, and that was, the effect which that punishment might have not only upon the offender himself, but upon others besides the offender. Of course, the only object of punishment was to prevent the commission of crime. But if, under this Bill, there was to be a conviction without an appeal, the person who was convicted would have a large number of sympathizers; and by this means, in creating sympathy for the offender, a conviction without an appeal would to some extent frustrate the object of the Bill. In an ordinary case, when a man was convicted of some offence against society or order, he received no sympathy. A man convicted of being drunk, or of poaching, or of any of the hundred and one offences in which a magistrate could impose a summary penalty, there was no body to sympathize with him, and no one felt hurt because he had no means of revising the decision of the magistrate and of rehabilitating his character. But under this Bill the money penalty would not be all. The convicted person would lose his character and status, and a stigma would attach to him that would always remain. Therefore, having regard to the possibility of convicting an innocent person, there were several things of an evil character which ought to be considered. This was an offence which really was no offence at all, but was created a political offence under an exceptional Act of Parliament. People would not recognize the offence dealt with by the Bill as any offence at all; and therefore everything should be done, in the case of secondary offences of this kind, not to produce dissatisfaction with the Government. Under these circumstances he pressed upon the Government the necessity of allowing an appeal. Judging from experience of ordinary cases of summary conviction, both in England and Ireland, the number of appeals would not be very great, probably not more than one in 4,000 or 5,000 convictions. This he believed was about the proportion now, and he did not think the proportion would be increased in regard to convictions under this Act. There would be very little extra labour thrown upon the Public Prosecutor, who would have to defend the decision of the magistrates, and the amount of trouble thrown upon the Executive would be so exceedingly small that it was scarcely worth considering, compared with the large amount of satisfaction which would be given by this concession to the feeling and just claims of the Irish people.

Mr. MARUM pressed upon the Government the importance of making this concession. A great deal had been said about the constitution of the magistracy. It was not necessary to impute corruption to anyone; but the sectarian and political character of the appointments were important elements in the consideration of the matter, and had at various times engaged the attention of the House. In a country where a kind of social line was drawn between the landlords and tenants, it would be found that the magistrates were almost solely composed of the landlord class, and there was a feeling abroad in Ireland—whether true or false he would not pause to inquire—that these Coercion Acts were intended to be used for the recovery of rent. There was a strong impression throughout the country that these Coercion Acts partook of that character, and that this was their ultimate design and object. Looking at the matter in this light, he thought it was very objectionable that there should be no appeal against the decision of the magistrates. He had no desire to impute any want of impartiality to the magistrates; but, nevertheless, taking all the circumstances into consideration, he thought the Government might reasonably make the concession in deference to the feeling of the Irish people. His hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) said that appeals would not be very frequent. That was quite true; but, nevertheless, it was right that the opportunity for appeal should be given, so that questionable decisions might be reviewed in the Superior Court. Such a provision would have a most salutary influence, and he was bound to say that if there were to be summary convictions, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, where the antagonism between the landlords and tenants was so strong, and where there was such a large amount of social feeling in the country, it would be unfair to leave the conviction by the magistrates without an appeal. It must be borne in mind that the appeal would not only be heard before the Chairman of the county, but before all the magistrates belonging to the county, except the magistrate who decided in the first instance. Therefore, he trusted if Her Majesty's Government had not made up their minds definitely upon the point that they would give way to the general voice of the country. He would not have intruded himself in the debate if he had not thought that this was very important—in fact, was one of the most important Amendments that had been submitted during the whole consideration of this Coercion Bill. He was strongly of opinion that they ought not to allow summary conviction without an appeal.

Mr. CALLAN said, the Secretary of State for the Home Department had characterized the offence dealt with by the Bill as one of a simple character, analogous to those which were dealt with by a summary conviction under the ordinary law. He wished to point out what had been the course of procedure in other Bills. The Bill of 1875 stated that it should be lawful for the justices, if they thought fit, and if the prisoner so charged should desire, to adjudicate summarily. This Bill gave the prisoner no option; but he was bound to submit to the jurisdiction of the magistrate, and if convicted he had no appeal. It would consequently be seen that by the Act of a Conservative Government the case could not be specially dealt with except at the desire of the prisoner; and even in that case the person specially convicted could not be sentenced to a term of imprisonment exceeding one month. When that Coercion Bill was before the House in 1875, the late Member for the County of Cork (Mr. M'Carthy Downing) moved that an appeal should be given in the matter. He (Mr. Callan) was glad to see the Chief Secretary for Ireland in his place, for the right hon. Gentleman spoke on that occasion; and what did he say? The Bill of 1875 only dealt with a prisoner who desired to be tried by a magistrate, and the argument used against giving the power of appeal was, that if he had not so consented to be tried by the justices they would not have been able to deal with the case, and he would have to go before a jury. The Chief Secretary pointed out that the legislation altogether was of an exceptional character. So was this; but the right hon. Gentleman thought, if an appeal was given where a man was sentenced to imprisonment for one month and a day, it ought not to be refused where the term of imprisonment was only one day less. The right hon. Gentleman could not see why, where a man elected one of two modes to be tried, he should be deprived of the right of appeal. And how was that speech upheld by the votes of right hon. and hon. Members who were Members of Her Majesty's present Government? Going back to the Division List of 1875, and not speaking of the rank and file, but only of the Government, he found the first name among those who voted in favour of giving the power of appeal, was that of the Hon. Evelyn Ashley;

then came that of Mr. Campbell Bannerman, followed by the two Liberal Whips, Captain A. D. Hayter and Mr. C. Cotes. Then came the Right Hon. W. E. Forster. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would go into the Lobby with them on this occasion, and that he would not vote, now that he was in power, differently from the way in which he voted when in Opposition. Amongst the other names were those of the present Attorney General for England, Sir Henry James, and the popular Member for Chelsea, Sir Charles Dilke. Those were all Members of the present Government, who, in 1875, not only denounced the Conservative Government who were then sitting on the Treasury Benches, but were against them for presuming to exclude the power of appeal. It must be remembered that, in 1875, the Bill proposed that no man should be subjected to summary jurisdiction, except with his own consent. Here, in 1881, the consent was not asked for. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland desired to be trusted or respected in Ireland, he ought to follow up the vote which he conscientiously gave, in 1875, in favour of not taking away the power of appeal. The right hon. Gentleman ought not to allow it to be said that he held a different principle when out of Office from that which he held as a salaried officer of a tyrannical Government.

Mr. HEALY thought it would be necessary to report Progress if the Government declined to accede to the Amendment. The discussion was certainly being carried on with the House in a state of extreme lassitude, and with the Chief Secretary for Ireland unable, owing to his sleepiness, to give much attention to the matter. The proposal to give the person convicted under the Act the power of appeal was a most important one. The Bill obliterated trial by jury in Ireland for this particular offence. It was specially stated that the proceedings would be by summary jurisdiction. Therefore, trial by jury was abolished, and the only person before whom those unfortunate men would have to disprove the charge made against them was a landlord magistrate. Yet the Government were now going to deprive the accused of any chance of appeal from the decision of the magistrate. It ought to be remembered that an ample check was already imposed on the right of appeal by the expense which attended the exercise of it; and there was no reason, therefore, why the Government should shrink back in horror from the proposal to allow a man to have his case revised. A poor man could not appeal, simply because he would not have the money; and what was now proposed was also to deprive the man of the opportunity who had the money, and who wished to appeal. Nor should it be forgotten that the only tribunal by whom the accused had the chance of being tried was composed of the persons most opposed to him—namely, the local magistrates of the county. Seeing that the right of trial by jury was abolished, it was not too much to ask that the right of appeal should be conceded, especially when it was shown that in 1875 they had the Attorney and Solicitor General and all the Whigs going into the Lobby against the Tories in favour of an Amendment expressed in these very terms. Surely the Government were not going to swallow all their previous professions, and to give up their convictions because they happened to be in power. He would again impress upon the Committee that, as trial by jury was abolished, and as the landlords, who were the enemies of the people who were to be tried under the Act, and would also be the Judges to try them, the right of appeal ought to be granted.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: As the Act of 1875 has been alluded to, I wish to remind the Committee that there is a difference between that Act and the present Bill. According to that Act a justice, if he thought fit, might send a prisoner for trial, and he would then be liable to be imprisoned for one year. The punishment under the present Bill cannot be more than three months' imprisonment. This, I think, makes a very material difference, and the proposal now made to bring these cases under the Summary Jurisdiction Act is to the advantage of the prisoners themselves.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had had the courage at last to break his long silence. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) presumed that the right hon. Gentleman appreciated the shame by the silence he had been observing after the dirty work in which he had been engaged.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is using an expression which is not courteous to another hon. Member of this House, and it must be withdrawn.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR would withdraw the expression at once. The right hon. Gentleman said there were differences between the Act of 1875 and the present Bill. No doubt, there were differences; but they were not differences that helped the right hon. Gentleman in the distinction he was endeavouring to draw. What was it that the Act of 1875 said? It said that it should be lawful for such justices, if they thought fit, and if the prisoner in charge should himself desire it, to deal with the case summarily. [Mr. W. E. Forster: If the justices thought fit.] The right hon. Gentleman would have heard that he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had read those words if he had paid any attention to him; but the right hon. Gentleman seemed to be too busily engaged in other matters. ["Order!"] He had certainly read "that it should be lawful for the justices, if they thought fit and if the prisoner desired it, to deal with the case summarily." The right hon. Gentleman, however, was too much immersed in his reminiscences to hear what was read. According to the Act of 1875, the prisoner could himself take part in the decision whether or not the magistrate could summarily deal with the case. This was pointed out by the Government at the time. He certainly wished that, so far as Ireland was concerned, they had as good a Government now. It was pointed out by the Government of that day that the prisoner had this right of himself taking part in the question whether or not there should be summary jurisdiction; and the Government then said—"Under those circumstances, what necessity is there for giving the right of appeal when you have given the prisoner the right of appeal already. You have said to the prisoner, 'Will you be summarily tried or not?' and if the prisoner says that he will be summarily tried, then you are bound by his decision." That was the argument put by the late Government; but up got the right hon. Gentleman who was now Chief Secretary and chief gaoler of Ireland. The education of the right hon. Gentleman was not completed by April 30, 1875, and he could see nothing in the argument of the right hon. Gentleman who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the senior Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucester (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, had reminded the Committee that the prisoner had the option of being tried at the Assizes, and that he could not be tried summarily by the magistrate unless with his own consent. The Government had followed the provisions of the Irish Petty Sessions Act; and, under the circumstances, he could not see the hardship complained of—that was to say, if the prisoner elected to be tried summarily rather than be sent to the Assizes, he had his choice. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in defending the refusalto give an appeal, said "it ought to be remembered that the cases referred to were those in which the prisoners accused consented to be tried before a magistrate, and if they so consented they must take the consequences. What was now proposed was a general exemption from the law, and he did not see any reason for the exemption, and he hoped the clause, therefore, would be left as it stood." Then up rose the champion of freedom, the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, who pointed out that "the legislation was altogether of an exceptional character, and that if an appeal were given when a man was sentenced to be imprisoned for a month and a day, it ought not to be refused where the imprisonment was only one day less." The right hon. Gentleman could see that it was right to grant an appeal when such an appeal was refused by a Tory Government, even in a case where the imprisonment was only for one month; but he did not see that it should be given now when the sentence of imprisonment was to be three months. The right hon. Gentleman thus answered the reasonable objections of the Tories of that day. They said that if a man was tried by a magistrate instead of being tried at the Assizes, it was by his own consent; but the present Chief Secretary for Ireland could see nothing in that. "He could not see," said the right hon. Gentleman, "that because a man elected one of two modes of being tried, that he should be deprived of his right of appeal." The right hon. Gentleman had not swallowed enough of buckshot at that time, and hence these arguments. [*Loud cries of* "Order!"] He really must appeal to the Chair for protection. He was not at all astonished that his observations should not be altogether satisfactory to the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends below the Gangway. Who were the hon. Members who voted in 1875 in favour of an appeal? The first name was that of the right hon. W. Patrick Adam, the right hon. Gentleman they had just sent to Madras. Then came the name of Mr. George Anderson. [*Cries of* "Question!"]

MR. CALLAN: I really must call upon you, Sir, to preserve Order. There are hon. Members here who are interrupting the speaker.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are certainly interruptions; but I think they proceed from impatience of the great detail entered into by the hon. Member for Galway.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR thought that he was perfectly within his right in referring to the conduct of hon. Members in that House on a former occasion; and he asked for encouragement, rather than discouragement, when attention was called to the persistent and wilful obstruction that was being placed in his way. Among other names were those of Mr. Evelyn Ashley and Mr. G. O. Trevelyan; indeed, the Division List included the names of all of the most distinguished Members of the Liberal Party. Probably those hon. Members had since been stilled and lulled by the magic eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman the present chief gaoler of Ireland.

MR. PULLEY: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, if the language of the hon. Member is respectful towards a right hon. Member of this House?

THE CHAIRMAN: This Assembly is an Assembly composed of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen, and the illustrations given by an hon. Member, in the course of his speech, should be of such a nature as to be courteous, and not to hurt the feelings of any hon. Member.

MR. HEALY did not think that the language of his hon. Friend (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was more calculated to hurt the feelings of any hon. Member than it was to charge an hon. Member, as had been done, with encouraging treason and assassination.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, who rose amid cries of "Withdraw!" said, he did not intend to withdraw any observation he might have made; and he should, therefore, proceed at once with his observations. He found that the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman proved to be convincing to many of his Colleagues. The present Bill was exceptional in every respect, and treated as a crime an act which had hitherto been declared to be perfectly innocent. From that auspicious day when, for the light of mankind and the humiliation of Home Rulers, the present Government came into Office, up to that night, they had declared the carrying of arms to be a perfectly innocent and safe transaction in Ireland. This offence was, therefore, novel, and was, moreover, to be brought before the tribunals in Ireland in the midst of the novel and abnormal state of feeling which existed there. He would not go into the feelings which divided classes in Ireland at the present moment; but everybody must acknowledge that this had been brought about by some cause which had left a chasm of hate behind. It was, then, in this feverish state of feeling that Her Majesty's Government denied to tenants brought before magistrates the right of appeal, on which the right hon. Gentleman was so convincingly eloquent when he sat in the cold shade of Opposition. If this Bill had been brought in by a Conservative Home Secretary, the right hon. Gentleman, in his opposition to it, would either have startled the House by the magnificence of his eloquence, or melted it into tears by the force of those appeals which he was in the habit of addressing to that Assembly. In the right hon. Gentleman they had either a Fouché or a Tartuffe.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not addressing himself to the Amendment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: He would again impress on the Committee, in the interests of the magistrates in Ireland, quite apart from that of the tenants, the advisability of not giving them this enormous power unchecked by the Bill in the present excited state of feeling. The arguments quoted from the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland were convincing upon this subject, and ought to be more convincing than anything else with hon. Members opposite if they had not already departed from their principles.

Mr. PARNELL said, he thought the Government should, at all events, agree to make the law of appeal, in case of conviction under this Bill, similar to what it was in England. He found that, under the English law of summary jurisdiction, in cases of imprisonment without the option of fine, there was an appeal to the Quarter Sessions against such convictions. But the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Leamy) went a little further than that, and asked that there should be an appeal whether the sentence was one of imprisonment without the option of a fine or not. What objection could the Government have to making the law of appeal, under this Bill, similar to the law of appeal under the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England? By right, the whole law of summary jurisdiction in Ireland should be assimilated to that in England. During the last Parliament he had given Notice of opposition to the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, on the ground that he wished to have its provisions extended to Ireland. His wish, however, was resisted, and he was told that it was impossible to include Ireland in that Act. But the Government promised that, at some future time, the law of summary jurisdiction in Ireland should be assimilated to that of England, and, upon that condition, and seeing that the Act included several provisions of a merciful and humane character with regard to summary jurisdiction in England, his opposition was withdrawn. But no attempt had since been made to assimilate the law as between England and Ireland. Therefore, he now asked the Government to give to Ireland the same power of appeal that existed in England from the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in cases where a person might be sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine. If Her Majesty's Government would give this right as a compromise between the proposal of his hon. Friend and the position taken up by them, he suggested that the Amendment might be withdrawn, part of its substance having been obtained. But if the Government refused, he said they stood doubly convicted of the inconsistency charged against them by his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor).

Mr. DAWSON said, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had declared, upon a recent occasion, that nobody was more willing than himself to see justice done as between the two countries. He (Mr. Dawson), therefore, asked him to accede to the request now made for equal laws with regard to appeal. As had been pointed out by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), Irish Members, so far from opposing the English Summary Jurisdiction Act, had heartily assented to it, on the promise that the law of the two countries should be assimilated. Were Irishmen always to listen to speculative language that promised everything to Ireland only to be afterwards repudiated? He trusted the Government would take the view of the case suggested by the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY was surprised to find that no Member of the Government rose to answer the very moderate appeal made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Seeing there was so much disposition to enter upon the path of compromise and conciliation, he could not help thinking that it would rather conduce to the passage of the Bill in a reasonable time, and with reasonable Amendments, if the Chief Secretary for Ireland would find some sphere of duty for the present away from the House, and would trust the Bill entirely to the hands of his right hon. Colleague the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was afraid, however, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland rather prided himself upon that kind of firmness which consisted in refusing all concessions when once a particular measure had been introduced. It was strange that during the discussion of the Amendment he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had heard no arguments in its favour so strong as those which had been drawn from the speeches delivered by the right hon. Gentleman himself a few years ago. There could be no reason why a man about to be sent to prison for three months should not have the same right of appeal as if he were to be imprisoned for 12 months. He asked hon. Members to reflect on the great difference between the magistracy of the two countries. He believed it was a fact that in some places in Ireland where the population was entirely Roman Catholic there was not a single Roman Catholic magistrate; and he asked, was not that fact alone ample reason why an appeal should be granted to a higher class of Judges? The Secretary of State for the Home Department more than once that evening had endeavoured to lean upon the statement that there was nothing exceptional in this Bill; but he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) could imagine with what effect the right hon. Gentleman, were he inclined to do so, could show the absurdity of that argument. The Bill was exceptional in its object, in its mode of introduction, and in the rate at which it was being passed through the House. It did, in effect, create a new set of offences, and made many things crimes which were perfectly innocent up to the passing of the Bill. Everyone would admit that it was a moral offence, even if the law did not say so, to keep a great mass of explosive substance in some place where it might be destructive to human life. But it was not a moral offence for a man to carry a pistol, or a bullet, or a percussion cap in his pocket. Those things were, however, made, for the first time, offences under this Act. If the reason for this was that the Government believed the political condition of Ireland to be so dangerous as to render exceptional measures necessary, was not that an additional reason why appeal should be given from the decision of a class of magistrates who were, for the most part, in antagonism with the people in both interest and feeling, and who were liable to act in many cases in the spirit of partizanship? He thought if the Committee would consider the Amendment in this light they would see that it was most reasonable and just, and that the compromise suggested by the hon. Member for Cork City was one which the Government should not only be willing, but glad to accept.

MR. SEXTON said, that considering the value of time, especially to the Government, he was surprised at their hesitation to give some indication of their state of mind with reference to the compromise offered by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. So far as he (Mr. Sexton) could follow the line of argument of the right hon. Gentleman, he had urged upon Irish Members the propriety of allowing trials and convictions under the Act to follow the general rule of law. It would appear, therefore, that the suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork should have commanded the sympathy of the right hon. Gentleman. His hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) would give the right of appeal existing in England to persons convicted in Ireland, and sentenced, on conviction, to imprisonment without the option of a fine. In cases where the option of a fine was allowed, he did not insist on the right of appeal; but when the liberty of a person was taken away, the accused would, if the proposal were accepted, have the right of being brought before a tribunal for appeal. If there were any case in which the right of appeal should be conceded, he said it was in those which would be created by this Act. The present agitation had arisen out of a great social and political movement in Ireland which had excited dangerous feelings between classes in that country; and it must be borne in mind that the application of this Act would fall generally into the hands of landlords, who were, to a certain extent, in a state of alarm and irritation. It would be before them, that under this Act tenants and labourers would be placed in the dock. He asked the Committee to consider the case of, say, two persons supposed to be members of a local branch of the Land League, brought before two landlords as magistrates; and he asked how those two magistrates could approach the case in a judicial frame of mind? It was, at least, extremely unlikely that they would do so. Therefore, because of the passions existing between these two classes of persons, the one administering the law, and the other being brought to the bar, it was necessary that the prisoner accused and convicted under such circumstances should have the right of bringing his case before a higher Court, which might be supposed to be elevated above the passions likely to interfere with the administration of justice. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had made a most useful reference to what had taken place upon the Act of 1875. Right hon. Gentlemen who now opposed were found to have been at that time most doughty defenders of the principles advocated by himself and his hon. Friends. It was surprising to find how much more tender was the interest shown in caring for the liberty of an accused person under the Act of 1875 than in that now proposed by a Radical Ministry. The prosecution by indictment under the former Act would, at any rate, have given the prisoner the advantage of going before a Judge and jury, where the prejudice which would now be excited against him did not exist. Again, with regard to the procedure under the Act of 1875, it was provided that, if the justices thought fit, and if the person charged desired it, the charge should be determined summarily. That, he was entitled to say, rendered the wish of the accused a decisive element, from which it followed that unless a person desired it the charge could not be determined in a summary way. He thought he was also entitled to observe that if the accused person had expressed a desire to appeal, any justice would have been very slow in refusing it. The Acts, therefore, of 1875, passed by a Conservative Administration, displayed a liberal regard for the rights of accused persons, which was entirely and shamefully absent from the Act about to be passed by the most advanced champions of the liberties of the people. It was of the most extreme importance that the rights of prisoners should be defended in the present crisis. If the occupants of the Treasury Bench hoped to rule in Ireland by the affection and confidence of the general body of the people, how, he asked, could they expect to maintain their rule by passing such an Act as this? He could understand a Bill of the kind being brought in by the Tory Party, but that it should have been introduced by a Liberal Government was, to him, a matter of surprise. The people of Ireland did not think it any crime for a man to carry arms. The crime was entirely artificial. It had no moral attached to it; it was created for political purposes, and carried with it no stigma in the eyes of the people. The result of this legislation would be that they would watch with keen suspicion every case of a tenant brought before an Irish magistrate; and there could be no doubt that the refusal of every appeal would add fresh fuel to the fire now burning in Ireland.

Mr. PUGH suggested that the Government should agree to the Amendment, if the hon. Member (Mr. Leamy) would leave out the words "or to pay any fine or penalty," so that the Amendment should relate only to convictions without the option of a fine, and then, on Report, provide for giving a prisoner the option of having his case tried before a jury. He did not see how hon. Members on that side of the House could vote for a provision which, without creating any new offence, was subjecting people to conviction without any appeal, no matter what the sentence might be.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN, in accordance with what the last speaker (Mr. Pugh) had said, would refer hon. Members to Clause 19 of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, which enabled a prisoner who was imprisoned without the option of a fine to appeal to the Court of General or Quarter Sessions against such conviction; and he put it to the Committee whether, in the face of that section, they could refuse to give persons imprisoned under the new Act the right of appeal?

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 35; Noes 123: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 126.)

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY moved to report Progress, observing that the Committee had discussed the Bill at very considerable length.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I feel it is no use prolonging this discussion any further now, and I quite agree with the hon. Member that we have discussed the Bill at considerable length.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) [COMPENSATION].

COMMITTEE.

Matter *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation for arms and ammunition voluntarily surrendered, in pursuance of the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the Preservation of the Peace in Ireland.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

NOTICE OF MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (URGENCY)—PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL — COMMITTEE.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg leave to give Notice, on behalf of the First Lord of the Treasury, or some other Minister of the Crown, to move to-morrow, that in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, this day at 3 o'clock, the remaining Clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments or new Clauses then standing on the Notice Paper, be put forthwith.

MR. HEALY asked whether, in the event of there being a sufficient number of Divisions to occupy the time of the House up to the time during which Opposed Business was taken, the Divisions would be continued on Thursday; or, whether, at a quarter to 6 o'clock to-morrow all Divisions and everything else would then cease?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member asks me for instruction on a point of Order which has not arisen. When the question arises I shall be happy to instruct him.

MR. CALLAN asked whether, if, in consequence of the untoward event that had occurred that day, it was the intention of hon. Members of the House to draw attention to certain matters to which he need not specifically refer, it would be pertinent to them to bring those matters forward as matters affecting the rights and privileges of Members at the Sitting of the House to-morrow, or on Friday, on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply? This was a question of great importance, affecting the rights and privileges and characters of more than one Member of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is not a question of Privilege; it is a question of Order; and if any hon. Member thinks proper to raise a question on the decision of the Chair, or of the Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, he is at liberty to do so in the ordinary way.

MR. CALLAN said, that what he wanted to know was what, under the new Rules, would be the ordinary way?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can proceed in the ordinary way by Motion.

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 9th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—*Resolution* [March 8] *reported*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation], *further proceeding adjourned.*

PUBLIC BILL—*Committee—Report*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) [98-105].

QUESTION.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT—ARRESTS.

MR. PARNELL asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, What offences the warrant discloses on which Mr. Boyton was arrested on Tuesday under the Protection of Person and Property Act, and if he can give the number of persons arrested under it up to the present, and their names?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): In answer to the Question of the hon. Gentleman, I would beg to refer him to the 2nd sub-section of the 1st clause of the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act just passed, by which he will observe that a copy of the warrant must be delivered, and has, of course, been delivered, to the gentleman to whom he refers. I would also refer the hon. Member to the 4th sub-section of the same clause, by which it is required that a list of the persons arrested, with the place of their detention and the ground of their arrest, shall be laid upon the Table of the House within the first seven days of each month during the Session of Parliament. Those are the sources of information to which I must refer the hon. Member. I desire to add that I have only just received the letter which the hon. Member was so courteous as to write to me last night, giving me Notice of the Question.

MOTION.

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PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL —VOTE OF URGENCY.—RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That, in Committee upon the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, this day, at Three o'clock, the remaining Clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments and New Clauses then standing upon the Notice Paper, be put forthwith." —(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 253; Noes 17: Majority 236.—(Div. List, No. 127.)

Resolved, That, in Committee upon the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, this day, at Three o'clock, the remaining Clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments and New Clauses then standing upon the Notice Paper, be put forthwith.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 98.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 8th March.*]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 5 (Penalties).

MR. SEXTON moved, in page 3, line 4, to leave out "a divisional justice," and insert "two divisional justices." The Amendment referred to the second sentence of the clause. That sentence recited that—

> "For the purposes of this Act, the court of summary jurisdiction shall, in the police districts of Dublin metropolis, be constituted of a divisional justice acting for the said district, and elsewhere in Ireland, shall be constituted of two or more justices of the peace sitting in petty sessions, of whom one shall be a resident magistrate, or of one resident magistrate sitting alone in petty session."

He proposed to leave out the words "a divisonal justice," and to substitute "two divisional justices." In the cases that were likely to occur under the Act, difficulties and delicate questions would often arise, as there might, for instance, be questions connected with the hearing of cases under the Act which would involve compensation to persons for the seizure of arms. There might also be cases where persons would be brought up on the charge of having illegally imported arms, or ammunition, and the question might arise whether they had bought or sold the arms wilfully. That question might involve considerations of a somewhat difficult nature. The Government last night accepted the Amendment moved by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), which provided that if, upon the hearing of the charge, the justices should be of opinion that there were circumstances in the case which rendered it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they should have power to dismiss the person charged without proceeding to a conviction. The word "inexpedient" might involve considerations requiring in their settlement a large amount of discrimination; and he thought that cases of that kind could not be properly tried before one magistrate, no matter how able that magistrate might be. He did not intend to say, nor was he aware that it could be justly said, that the Divisional Justices of Dublin were wanting in competency or judicial ability. But the tendency was, in cases of this kind, involving not only the purses but the liberties of individuals, that there would be questions of delicacy and difficulty concerning matters in which the public might be largely concerned and affected in which it might be desirable that an opportunity should be afforded for a consultation between various magistrates. Undoubtedly the cases that would come before the Court would involve political feeling in a large degree, and would be watched with keen interest by the general public. In the City of Dublin there were five Divisional Justices, and the two Courts having jurisdiction to sit were situated within a few yards of each other. He therefore submitted that without dislocating the machinery by which those Courts were at present worked, it would be very easy to secure the services of two Divisional Justices whenever a case came on for hearing under the provisions of this Act. By this means there would be no danger of committing an act of injustice, or of engendering the feeling that owing to the fact that the case was decided by one magistrate only a certain amount of oppression, together with a want of temper, of tact, and of judicial spirit had been displayed.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 4, to leave out the words "a divisional justice," and insert the words "two divisional justices."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This Amendment would only effect the City of Dublin. It would have no effect whatever throughout the rest of Ireland. The proposal in the Bill is that—

"For the purposes of this Act, the court of summary jurisdiction shall, in the police district of Dublin metropolis, be constituted of a divisional justice acting for the said district."

The Divisional Justice in Dublin represents the police magistrate in Dublin. My hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland tells me that in Dublin there are only three Divisional Justices at present; and the hon. Member for Sligo proposes that two of these should be required to sit in order to adjudicate in the cases that may arise under this Bill. Now, matters of much more importance than those which can arise under this measure are adjudicated upon every day by a London police magistrate; and I do not see why the same thing should not be done by a Divisional Justice in Dublin. It is altogether unnecessary to require that two should sit. That is a proposal that would be full of inconvenience to the administration of police justice in that country. It seems to me entirely uncalled for; and I venture to say that there is not a single day in which the Divisional Justices of Dublin are not called upon to adjudicate upon far more serious matters than are likely to arise under this Bill. Then, again, the rule in England always is that one stipendiary magistrate should be authorized to do that which any two justices can do in petty sessions. Small offences may be decided by one justice. There are many cases of a graver character that can only be dealt with by two justices; but the same cases could be dealt with by one stipendiary magistrate in England, because he is considered equal to two justices. That is the general law. By the Statute of 1842 it is lawful for any one such Divisional Justice in Dublin to do what can be done by two justices in other parts of the country. That is the principle upon which the police law is administered; and I see no possible reason why one police magistrate should not be sufficient to act under the provisions of this Bill.

MR. DAWSON wished to pay his tribute, such as it was, to the satisfactory manner in which the Dublin magistrates performed their duties in Dublin; but, at the same time, he thought that in critical times like these it was necessary that two magistrates should act, and not one. There might be an important seizure of arms in Dublin, or of a case brought from the Provinces to Dublin, seeing that Dublin might be regarded as the emporium of arms. Now, the magistrates themselves were chosen by the Government who happened to be in power from among the prominent individuals who were members of the different political Parties in Ireland; and if it should so happen that one of the magistrates selected from a particular Party was not considered popular, his decision might be looked upon with something like suspicion, and it might be contended that he had been induced to give his decision from Party motives. He candidly admitted that that would be a most flimsy ground of objection; but in order to have the decision of the magistrate received with respect, and every possible confidence, he thought, in justice to themselves, in dealing with cases of this sort, one magistrate should not be left to give a decision alone, but that two magistrates should sit together. Personally, he had great confidence in the decision of a Dublin Bench of magistrates; but it would increase his confidence if he knew there would be two magistrates instead of having the entire responsibility intrusted to one.

DR. COMMINS regretted that he was compelled to differ from what had fallen from the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). A Dublin magistrate sitting in Dublin was on a level with the stipendiary magistrate in England, and was a man who must have had seven years' experience at the Bar before he was qualified for the appointment. He believed that a Dublin magistrate was a man of as great ability and of as high a character as any stipendiary magistrate in England. The theory was that a stipendiary magistrate was equal to two ordinary justices rolled into one. It was proposed, in this case, to leave all matters that would arise under this Bill to the discretion of one of these magistrates; and he thought there was an additional ground for arguing that the decision of the magistrate would be given in an impartial and proper manner. In Dublin there was a daily Press, which was not the case in other parts of Ireland; and divisional magistrates, acting under the surveillance of the daily Press, would be unlikely to do anything that was not strictly just and proper. He would therefore ask his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo not to press the Amendment, because he felt that one Divisional Justice in Dublin was often much better even than two justices in any other part of Ireland, and better able to deal with any cases that might arise under the measure.

Mr. FINIGAN wished to bear out what had been stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who, he was afraid, had been a little misunderstood by his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins). His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo cast no aspersion whatever upon the Magisterial Bench of Dublin. On the contrary, he rather bore testimony to their judicial spirit and their general fair dealing; but his hon. Friend urged —and he (Mr. Finigan) took it to be a very sound argument—that this Act, not being within the ordinary law, but being quite beyond the ordinary law, and the measure one which partook somewhat of a political character, it would be much better, because it was out of the ordinary law, that the conduct of the business which would arise under the Act should also be beyond the ordinary course of procedure. In that sense he fully supported his hon. Friend. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo that, although the Magisterial Bench of Dublin would compare favourably with that of London, or any great City throughout the Empire, at the same time, it was only wise to take as many precautions as possible without interfering with the judicial and magisterial arrangements of the Courts in Dublin. He did not believe there would be very many cases under the Act; but if there were two justices instead of one, the public would have greater confidence in the law, and in its administration. He therefore trusted that the Government would either accept the Amendment, or give some intimation that its spirit would be really carried out, when the Act came into operation.

Mr. BIGGAR wished to make one or two observations in reference to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman very properly said that these Divisional Justices were persons who knew their business perfectly well under a normal condition of affairs; but the right hon. Gentleman did not take into account that there was to be no appeal from the decision of the magistrate, and if there was any animosity in giving an incorrect judgment there would be no remedy for the party arrested. Now, in the case of Election Petitions, when they were placed under a special Act of Parliament, it was held that it was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, to have two Judges; that it was not desirable that a person should be convicted simply upon the decision of one Judge, but that there should be at least two; and it was a further maxim of law that every accused person should have the benefit of the doubt. He thought the same doctrine should apply to the case of persons who were brought up under the provisions of this measure, especially when there was to be no appeal from the decision. Another point raised by the right hon. Gentleman was that it would be inconvenient for the Divisional Justices to act together in deciding these cases. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) thought, on the contrary, it would be a great convenience. These gentlemen had not a great deal to do. They received liberal salaries, and he did not think it was at all unreasonable that two of them should be required to sit together when cases came on for decision under a special Act of this sort. The work was not likely to be heavy, for, in all probability, there would not be more than half-a-dozen decisions in the course of the year; and he failed to see that any substantial objection had been raised to the Amendment.

Mr. LEAMY submitted that if the Amendment he had moved last night had been accepted by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, there would have been no necessity for the present one. But, as that Amendment was not accepted, and seeing that the person sentenced under this Act would not have the right of appeal, it was only fair that he should be tried by two justices. He certainly saw no sufficient argument against the Amendment in the question of inconvenience. The Divisional Justices in Dublin were by no means overburdened with work at present.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 203; Noes 23: Majority 180.—(Div. List, No. 128.)

MR. SEXTON moved, in page 3, line 7, to leave out from "or," inclusive, to end of Clause. The hon. Member remarked that this Amendment applied to the proceedings of the rural Courts, the principle of which the Government refused to apply the Courts in the Metropolis of Dublin. The clause said that—

> "In the police district of Dublin metropolis, the court of summary jurisdiction shall be constituted of a divisional justice, and that elsewhere in Ireland it shall be constituted of two or more justices of the peace sitting in petty sessions, one of whom shall be a resident magistrate."

The clause then went on to say—"or of one resident magistrate sitting alone in petty sessions." He proposed to leave out the final clause, so that it would be necessary to have every case decided by two or more justices, one of whom should be a resident magistrate. The clause, as it stood, appeared to involve a contradiction, because, having laid down that the Court should consist of two justices, of whom one should be a resident magistrate, it then went on to say that one alone should constitute a Court. Surely that involved a serious contradiction. The right hon. Gentleman said that to require two Divisional Justices to sit in Dublin would create great inconvenience, because there were so few of them. This would not be the case here. There were several unpaid magistrates in each Petty Sessional Division, and three or four score in every county, so that there would be no difficulty, where they had a resident magistrate, in getting an unpaid magistrate to sit with him. Nevertheless, the proposition of the Government was that a resident magistrate, sitting in petty sessions, should constitute a Court. He presumed that that meant sitting in a regular petty session court, on a regular day, and on such an occasion as that he imagined that an unpaid magistrate could easily be found to sit with him. If a regular magistrate were to constitute a petty sessions, it would be an exceedingly petty sessions indeed. He objected to the jurisdiction of one man, however able and impartial he might be; and he said nothing against the impartiality or ability of the resident magistrates in Ireland; but he objected, and thought it was exceedingly adverse to the public interest and tended to excite injury and danger to the public, that any one man should assume despotic power and jurisdiction in cases of this sort. He might have to decide, for instance, whether a man was wilfully in the possession of arms, or whether he was acting in ignorance. The Government would be required to pay compensation in money to particular persons, and, in all probability, this fact would be kept in view by the resident magistrate when any case came before him of a person charged with wilfully keeping arms. It would certainly be much more safe that two or three persons should consider the point than one. One man was liable to err, and the homely maxim that "two heads were better than one" was certainly correct in this instance, even though the second head might be that of an unpaid magistrate of Ireland. Then, again, it would be necessary to consider the question whether the person engaged in the sale of arms had any knowledge of the proclamation, or was acting wilfully. That was a very important consideration. The Court would also have to consider whether it was expedient that punishment should be inflicted, and in considering the question of expediency other questions would be involved. Large questions of public interest were involved, such, for instance, as whether it would not conduce to the peace and harmony of the locality that a man, although technically guilty, should be let off without punishment. Surely that question was not one that a resident magistrate in Ireland was competent to deal with alone. A resident magistrate in Ireland was only a sort of upper police official; and the tendency of police officials of every grade was to trust, with too ready credence, the evidence of police officers, from every grade, down to the lowest. In these cases, the evidence would be that of the police. It would be the police who would make the search. It would be the resident magistrate, sitting on the Bench, who would authorize the search; and it would be the resident magistrate who would sit as the sole and final Judge. The resident magistrate might be the very man who had issued the warrant of the Lord Lieutenant; and he would, consequently, include a startling combination of the office of witness and executioner. The resident magistrate might be the man who went, in the first place, to the house of the accused and found the arms. The police officer would give evidence of the finding; but the resident magistrate, who was present when the arms were found, would sit on the Bench, and, of course, would find the man guilty, and sentence him to imprisonment. This might be a very convenient combination of offices; but it was certainly neither a fair nor a Constitutional one. It was, therefore, most desirable that they should associate with the resident magistrates some other magistrates, who, though necessarily landlords, and therefore likely to be prejudiced against the accused, would, at any rate, be to some extent independent, and would not be paid salaried officials of the police force. A resident magistrate, however just in his original notions, by mere force of habit, in the course of years, came almost to regard the oath of a policeman as sacred, and as a thing that ought not to be disputed. He solemnly appealed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary not to cast the fortunes of poor men in Ireland into the hands of this class of officials. It was most desirable that the resident magistrate should have with him upon the Bench some other man who would not have the same official disposition to believe the evidence of the police whatever it might be. If the Government refused to give them the slight security of associating one other magistrate with the resident magistrate, of course the general public opinion in Ireland with regard to the resident magistrate who would be required to act would be that the inquiry was simply a farce, and a foregone conclusion. In the first instance, the magistrate would go with the police and find the arms; then, by a startling transformation, he would change the character of searcher into that of Judge. He (Mr. Sexton) protested against such a proceeding, not only as unjust, but as a direct violation of the Constitution.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 7, to leave out from "or," inclusive, to end of Clause.—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is impossible to accept this Amendment. The speech of the hon. Member affords conclusive proof that he has entirely misunderstood the object of this clause. He finds it convenient to suggest that it is even likely that the man who is to sit in trial upon the case will be the man who would execute the search warrant. I perfectly agree with him that if such a thing were likely to occur the Irish people would believe the trial to be a farce. But the hon. Member must know perfectly well that under no circumstances could such a thing occur, and it is to be regretted that he should occupy the time of the House of Commons by gravely putting forward such a proposition. If the person appointed to execute the warrant were the police magistrate everyone knows that that police magistrate would not sit upon the Bench to try the case. I do not wish to say anything that may be considered offensive; but I must say that to advance an argument of this kind is a sheer and simple waste of time. The provisions of the Bill are exactly the same as those contained in the Act of 1870; and the Act of 1870, in regard to the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates, proceeds on the same lines, both in Ireland and in England. One justice is sufficient to adjudicate in cases where the offences are slight. In graver offences, two justices are required; but in Ireland, as in England, one police magistrate is considered equivalent to two justices. That is exactly the course that is followed here. In Ireland, so far as class interests are concerned, there is more security than in this country. In cases connected with the "Game Preservation Act," two justices who have generally an interest in the land are sufficient to constitute a Court; but, in the cases dealt with by the Bill, we give security that there shall always be a resident police magistrate, who is supposed to be free from all class interests. The hon. Member says that a police magistrate is connected with the police, and, therefore, one who will readily believe the police. If he knew as much of the police magistrates as I do he would never have made a statement of that character. I say that, on the whole, police magistrates are always suspicious of police evidence. The police magistrate is a man of much more experience than a local justice in the administration of the Criminal Law, and it is for that reason that he has the jurisdiction given to him of two local justices. This clause has been carefully framed for the protection of the interests of those people who are likely to be affected by it. It provides that all cases shall be heard at the petty sessions. Well, the justices will be there, there may be a dozen justices in attendance; but still it is required that there should be present the experience and authority of a resident police magistrate. But by the Act of 1870 any magistrate appointed to act in the Police Courts of Dublin Metropolis, or any stipendiary magistrate sitting in petty sessions, may do alone all the Act authorizes to be done by two justices of the peace at petty sessions. That is the law—namely, that one police magistrate can do alone what two justices in petty session may do. I do not see that there is any plausible reason for departing from this arrangement.

MR. BIGGAR said, the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to know what sort of men the Irish magistrates were. He was not going to bring any charge against the resident magistrates in Ireland, because, to speak candidly, he certainly preferred one resident magistrate to two justices; but, at the same time, there was no harm in pointing out to the right hon. Gentleman that a large portion of the present resident magistrates of Ireland were gentlemen who had been sub-inspectors of police, and during all their official lives had been in connection with the police force. They were, therefore, very likely to look upon all prisoners that came before them very much from a policeman's point of view. He knew, personally, one resident magistrate who was previously at the head of the detective department, and a sub-inspector. He was, therefore, closely connected with the police force, and it was only likely that his prejudices would be in favour of police evidence. There was also another description of resident magistrates — namely, gentlemen who had been in the Army. Of course these gentlemen would have no real or substantial knowledge of law beyond that possessed by an ordinary justice. Indeed, they would not be as competent to express an opinion upon a legal question as an ordinary justice who had been for a long time upon the Bench; so that, in point of fact, the resident magistrates of Ireland had not a high standard of qualification for the position they occupied. The right hon. Gentleman had strongly objected to the argument of the hon. Member for Sligo as to the execution of the warrants. Now, he thought he was correct in saying that, considering the resident magistrates were in very close official communication with the Government from time to time, although practically they might not themselves execute the warrants, yet in all probability the warrants would go officially to them from Dublin Castle, and they would be as directly concerned in the execution of them, and in the sending out of the police to make the search, as if they were actually present during the time the search was taking place. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman against associating a second magistrate with the resident magistrate was by no means conclusive. No doubt when the case came on in petty sessions there would be various magistrates belonging to the neighbourhood present; but it seemed very likely, from the fact that one resident magistrate was taken to be sufficient, that he would form a special Court of his own, simply for the purpose of considering these cases. It would, therefore, not be a petty sessions on the ordinary Court day in a petty sessions district. He hoped the Government would agree to the Amendment, and thus afford an opportunity for the cooperation of some gentlemen of local knowledge with the resident magistrate.

MR. CALLAN thought the Home Secretary had been guilty of a confusion of terms. In arguing against this case, he spoke of "police magistrates," as if the reference was to a police magistrate. Now, there was no such person known in Ireland as a police magistrate. There was the Divisional Justice, who administered law and justice in the Police Courts of Dublin; and he, as was well known, had no connection with the police. But there was another class of magistrates, known as resident magistrates, and described in that way in Acts of Parliament. He thought it would save a great deal of confusion in the English mind if they were called what they really were—namely, stipendiary magistrates. They were paid from £5 to £10 per week, the same as an artizan in the higher branches of trade, and they ought to be called stipendiary, and not resident magistrates. It was considered a great thing to be known by a high-sounding title, and therefore a "resident magistrate" tacked on R.M. to his name. Not long ago he saw attached to a man's name "E.O.S.B.," and out of curiosity he asked what those letters meant. He found it was a man who was paid £15 a-year as Inspector of Nuisances, and who was called "Executive Officer of the Sanitary Board of Ireland. On the same principle the stipendiary magistrates in Ireland were called "resident magistrates;" but hé believed they objected to the title of stipendiary. He would have no objection to give them the name of resident magistrate, providing that they did not draw their salary. But he thought when they continued to draw their stipends—and they were very liberal stipends too—that they should be called, as they were in England, and as they were really in fact, stipendiary magistrates. The Home Secretary had exhibited a want of knowledge of the state of affairs in Ireland which was lamentable in anyone who undertook to rule Ireland. He thought it was one of the greatest mistakes ever made not to appoint an Irishman as Chief Secretary, or, at any rate, to recruit some Irish Members below the Gangway, and constitute them advisers to the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary spoke of "police magistrates," which was an absurdity, because nobody ever heard of such an authority in Ireland. The magistrate in question was the resident magistrate, and it was he who would instruct the police to execute the warrants, and it was he, also, who would then have to sit in judgment upon the different cases. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the Act of 1870. If the right hon. Gentleman would cause inquiry to be made among the permanent officers of Ireland, he would find that in the half dozen cases which had occurred under the Act of 1870 and 1871 the operations of the police in searching for arms were superintended in person by the resident magistrate, who afterwards adjudicated upon the case. This was a matter within his (Mr. Callan's) own knowledge. Under the Act of 1870 and 1871 when in operation the resident magistrate superintended the search authorized by the warrant, and when the whole was completed the trial was presided over by the same man—namely, the resident magistrate; consequently the charge of the right hon. and learned Gentleman against the hon. Member for Sligo of using an absurd and improper argument recoiled upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself. The resident magistrates were generally broken-down gentlemen, retired military officers, men who had been unsuccessful in their first attempts to get on in life, and as a *dernier resort* they were pitchforked into the position of resident magistrate as the only thing they were fit for. This was certainly the case with a large number of them. He would, however, remind the Committee that in 1879, when they had the question of intrusting Election Petitions to one Judge before them, the feeling of the House was so strongly against the continuance of that system that it was agreed at once to appoint two Judges. Surely, if it was undesirable to place one Judge in supreme authority on such a question it was desirable and essential, seeing that in this case the liberty of the subject was involved, that they should at least associate two resident magistrates together if they had an objection to associate a local justice with the ordinary residential magistrate. There must be cases in which they could not get two resident magistrates, and in that case he could not see what objection there could be to the assistance of a local magistrate, except that which showed the utter distrust of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the local magistracy. It was evident that they considered the local magistrates were not fit to be intrusted with the exercise of such a power. It was not unfrequently the case that the one resident magistrate was a broken-down gentleman, often of advanced age; and he could not conceive why such an individual should be considered a sufficient authority to send a man to prison for three months without the power of appeal; while the local magistrates, who knew the people, and were acquainted with their character, were not to be trusted. He did not think his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo had much chance of inducing the Government to accept his Amendment as it stood. He would, therefore, ask his hon. Friend to withdraw it in order to qualify it by inserting instead of the words "resident magistrate" the words "stipendiary magistrate," so that it might be known what the real character of these men was, and the Government should no longer give them a title which did not belong to them. They were stipendiary magistrates in reality, and by that name they ought to be called. It might be said that "a rose by any name would smell as sweet;" but he believed that the title of stipendiary magistrate was not one that would smell at all sweet in the nostrils of the Irish people.

MR. DAWSON thought he ought to add to what had been said by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo that a great deal of the distinction he had drawn in the matter was fully borne out by an eminent Judge of Constitutional Law—the late Chief Justice Whiteside, who complained in open Court of the way in which the local justices were daily required to surrender important functions into the hands of the resident magistrate, and who regarded this practice as a breach of the Constitution. The Chief Justice had more than once complained of the way in which supreme power was placed in the hands of particular individuals, because they happened to be Government officials. He maintained his hon. Friend was quite right in asking for two magistrates—one of them paid and the other independent of Government influence, which a paid magistrate was not. This number was necessary to a just and fair decision, especially in Ireland, the state of which was peculiar and abnormal in everything affecting the administration of justice.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, a resident magistrate in Ireland was, to all intents and purposes, a police officer. He was under the impression that his hon. Friend, by his Amendment, was endeavouring to prevent a person acting both as prosecutor and Judge. If he had been correctly informed with regard to the functions of resident magistrates in Ireland, they acted in cases of a complicated character as detectives of persons engaged in crime. They would, therefore, first act as detectors, and then as Judges of the criminal. Supposing his information were incorrect, the fact remained that the resident magistrate was far more directly the agent of the Government than a justice of the peace. If the choice lay between an ordinary justice of the peace and a Government official, he thought his hon. Friend would prefer the latter. But the question was not whether the agent of the Government was a more responsible and trustworthy Judge than a class partizan, but whether a single agent of the Government should be allowed to adjudicate in these cases. No doubt, the agent of the Government was, to a large extent, a deeply committed partizan. It was also the misfortune of Irish Members to be engaged in a contest with the Treasury Bench. Every agent of the Government, too, was at present an agent of one political Party which fought against another; and it was under such circumstances as these that Irish Members were asked to intrust the liberties of their constituents to the agent and representative of the political Party to whom both were hostile. The proposal had only to be mentioned to meet with condemnation. In his opinion, there had not been a single Amendment laid before the Committee in the course of the debates which had taken place on this Bill with greater justice and reason than the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo.

MR. SEXTON begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CALLAN moved to leave out, in line 7, the word "resident," in order to insert the word "stipendiary." The latter word was common in English Acts, and if it were used in the present Act it would remove the inaccuracy of calling a man resident who was not resident. For instance, the magistrate of Dundalk lived 18 Irish miles away from Dundalk, which was equal to 23 or 24 English miles away from Dundalk; yet he was called a resident magistrate, and that gentleman received a stipend of £600 or

£700 a-year. He was in no sense a better man than the stipendiary magistrates in England; and he did not see why he should not be called a stipendiary magistrate because he lived in Ireland. The word "resident" appeared in the foregoing portions of the Bill; but upon Report it was his intention to alter them to stipendiary.

Amendment *negatived.*

Mr. HEALY said, the Bill would appear to have been drafted so as to preclude all amendment on the subject of the proposal he was about to make in reference to trial by jury under this Act. It was his desire, and that of his hon. Friends, that trial by jury should not be abolished in Ireland by the Bill, as was clearly intended by the Government in providing that—

> "Any person acting in contravention of this Act shall be liable, if convicted before a court of summary jurisdiction, to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months."

The Amendment was taken from the Act of 1875; and was it to be said that less was given to Ireland by the Liberals in 1881 than by the Tories in 1875? It was nothing to the point to say that the sentences under the former Act were longer. The question was one of principle, and in that respect it mattered nothing whether a man got three months unjustly on trial by jury or more—the principle was the same. His point was that, as the clause stood, the cases arising under the Act would be tried by the landlord magistrates of the district, who would not form an impartial tribunal. Therefore, it was desirable that the prisoners should be brought before a tribunal that was impartial. No person would be likely to claim this right of going before a jury unless his case was so good as to make him quite certain of justice, and unless he thought the Bench before which he was tried would give him no chance of justice.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 9, at end of Clause, to add the words "Provided always, That nothing in this Act shall prevent the person charged, if he himself desire it, from having the option of being returned for trial before a jury."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. Callan

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is quite true that under the Act of 1875 there was the option given to the person charged to decline summary jurisdiction and appeal to a higher tribunal, where he would be tried before a jury. There is no concealment of the fact that the Government do not consider that, under the present circumstances in Ireland, it is possible to admit the same clause into this Bill. The Bill for the suspension of the Act of Habeas Corpus has been passed upon the very ground that, in the present state of Ireland, there is no reasonable probability of obtaining the evidence of witnesses, or juries who would give a verdict against any person charged with an agrarian crime. Therefore, to have introduced a Bill of this kind, with the alternative which would allow persons to escape from it by appealing to juries who they knew would not convict, in spite of the clearest and most conclusive evidence, would have been for the Government to stultify themselves. For this reason, we have followed, not the precedent of 1875, but that of the Act of 1870, upon the principle contained in the 26th clause of which this Bill has been framed, because the circumstances of Ireland at the present time are similar to what they were in 1870, and not to the circumstances of the year 1875. In 1875, the condition of Ireland was one of normal tranquillity—it was as tranquil as it ever was. We were in hope that, in 1880, Ireland was so tranquil that a Peace Preservation Act and an Arms Act might have been dispensed with; we tried the experiment, and I deeply regret to say that the experiment was a total failure. We waited to see what would be the condition of Ireland without coercive legislation, and the condition of Ireland is what we have seen in the last six months. Therefore I say that the condition of Ireland now—and I say it knowing what I speak—is what it was at the height of the Fenian conspiracy in 1870. ["No, no!"] I do not accept the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite, because they say that there is no Fenianism now. My case is that the present movement is nothing else than Fenianism. We have evidence abundant and complete that it is nothing but Fenianism under another name. Its objects are precisely those of the Fenian conspiracy. The reason why we adopt summary jurisdiction without reference to juries is that we consider, in the present state of Ireland, summary jurisdiction should be exercised, as it was, under the Act of 1870, without the alternative of trial by jury, as under the Act of 1875.

MR. HERMON hoped the Amendment would not be pressed to a division, which would shorten the time for discussing the important question of the limitation of the Act.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had made one really important admission in his speech when he acknowledged that the main object of the Bill was to abolish trial by jury. This candid admission was now made for the first time; and, the right hon. Gentleman having made it, it would considerably alter the character of the present discussion. Much had been said of the difficulty of getting witnesses to come forward under the alleged terrorism. But they had been many times told, in the course of these discussions, that it was not the intention of the Government to abolish trial by jury in Ireland. He ventured to think that some, at least, of the Liberals below the Gangway, had they been told that this Bill was meant to abolish trial by jury, would not have given such a faithful adherence to the Government policy. The right hon. Gentleman now told the Committee that the object of the Bill was to abolish trial by jury for certain offences for the space of five years; and that, of course, entirely altered the complexion of the case. One reason given for this was that the right hon. Gentleman declared that the condition of Ireland now was the same as it was in 1870, when the Fenian conspiracy was in operation. The right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten the state of Ireland in 1870. The existence of the Fenian conspiracy in that year had never been suggested. It was in 1867 and 1868 that it existed. Every trace of it had vanished in the year 1870, and the Habeas Corpus Act had been restored in 1869. In 1870, the House was engaged in passing the Irish Land Act, and no one thought of the Fenian conspiracy. If the condition of things was the same then as in 1870, the Bill ought to be withdrawn, for there was no occasion for it.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR had been under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman had somewhat amended his manners—["Oh, oh!"]—his rhetorical manners—and that the Committee would be spared the excursions into the realms of fancy and vituperation which had characterized his speeches on former stages of the Bill. Indeed, the depression on his features had seemed to indicate that he had learnt there was danger in the rhetorical gifts with which he was so largely endowed, and that he was about to continue the discussion of the Bill in a sensible manner. But the speech to which the Committee had just listened had dispelled the illusion. The right hon. Gentleman said, with regard to Fenianism, that Ireland was in exactly the same position as it was in 1870, and that in that year Fenianism was at its height.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What I said a moment ago, and what I say now, is that Fenianism has never been extinct in Ireland any more than a volcano is extinct; and there are times when its eruptions are more active than at others.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that general proposition did not affect the comparison of the present time with the year 1870, when, as the right hon. Gentleman alleged, the Fenian conspiracy was at its height; but when, in reality, the volcano had spent itself, and its smouldering fires were awaiting the time when such language as that of the right hon. Gentleman should fan them into a flame. If Ireland were in the condition now that she was in during the year 1870, so far as Fenianism was concerned, then he thought all cause for abolishing trial by jury was gone. He was glad his hon. Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had pinned the right hon. Gentleman to the declaration which he had made. Why, he remembered the air of surprise with which the organs of the right hon. Gentleman and his Party declared that no such idea had ever occurred to the Ministry as to suspend trial by jury in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman waited until the last 60 minutes arrived at the end of which he could, by the exercise of his autocratic power, suspend the debate, in order to startle the people by his extraordinary statement. The right hon. Gentleman having had the enterprize to refer to the Act of 1875 as inappreciable to the present condition of Ireland, he reminded him that the Act in question, which had been passed by a Conservative Administration, allowed the principle of trial by jury refused by the present Liberal Government. The right hon. Gentleman said they must look to the year 1870 for a precedent, and that the circumstances of 1875 were quite different to those of the present year. But he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) pointed out that all the difference was more than accounted for by the fact omitted to be mentioned by the Home Secretary that in 1875 the right hon. Gentleman was sitting upon the Opposition Benches. What were the circumstances of the year 1875? The Liberal Party were then in Opposition, and a proposal was made to the House similar in effect to that under consideration, but stronger in operation, because it gave the accused person, not only the right to demand a public trial, but a right of appeal to a Court of Assize. But, said the right hon. Gentleman, the circumstances of 1881 were different from those of 1875. Of course they were different, inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman was then in Opposition, and because the Liberal Party did not want now the Irish votes which they wanted then.

Mr. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had displayed, not only with regard to Fenianism, but also with regard to Irish juries, an easy and graceful superiority to the facts of the case.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is only entitled to make an explanation if he has already spoken.

Mr. SEXTON said, he had not spoken on that Amendment before. If the right hon. Gentleman would take the trouble to refer to the authorities, he would find that Dr. Hancock, in 1869, congratulated the country on its complete restoration and tranquillity. One might have expected from a Gentleman in such a position that he would endeavour to obtain some slight acquaintance with the facts before he stood up and made such statements. He ventured to say that, in all the long series of mistakes and errors which had distinguished the career of the present Administration, there had been none more flagrant or ridiculous than the mistake of virtually abolishing trial by jury in a large number of cases. Further, he (Mr. Sexton) protested against the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that Irish juries had not performed their duties. The statistics showed that in 215 cases laid before juries last year 83 verdicts of guilty were returned. The convictions amounted to 40 per cent of the charges, a proportion not far removed from the convictions in all civilized countries in ordinary times. The difference was so trifling that it could not justify the course taken by the Government with regard to the Amendment. He held that the right hon. Gentleman had once more proved that there was no necessary or permanent relation between metaphor and fact, and that such vulgar things as addition and substraction, good enough as they were for school boys and shopkeepers, ought not to be allowed to fetter the intellect of a Secretary of State.

Mr. GILL wished to protest against the statement that the present agitation in Ireland was Fenianism under another name. The right hon. Gentleman ought to know that the clergy of Ireland had opposed Fenianism in every way they could, and that they actively assisted the present agitation as a means of keeping the people out of secret organizations. He was sure there were thousands of persons in Ireland who would never have joined in the present agitation if they had had the slightest idea that it was in any way connected with Fenianism.

Major NOLAN had just received a telegram from Galway which showed how the law worked without trial by jury. Portions of the telegram related to the arrest of tenants on certain estates, the owners of which he would not mention, for refusing to pay rents which had been called, but which he would not say were excessive—100 per cent above the Government valuation. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government look into the facts of the cases, and would allow them to be the subject of judicial investigation. He knew some of the parties, and believed them to be incapable of any offence, except, perhaps, foolish speech. He hoped from this proof of the injustice of imprisoning persons without trial by jury would not be afforded by the introduction of the system in the present Act.

Dr. COMMINS said, it had been the object of the Government from the first, surreptitiously, to do away with trial by jury in Ireland, though no Member of the Cabinet had the candour to avow the fact but the Home Secretary, who now admitted that such was the object of the clause, and that his opposition to the Amendment was caused by its tending to restore the right of trial by jury which it was the policy of the right hon. Gentleman to do away with. The utility of trial by jury was once shown in an epigram, by an authority which the Committee would listen to with respect. "Trial by jury," said Bentham, "was worthless as a *régime,* but invaluable as a remedy." As a *régime,* undoubtedly, it was worthless; and if passion and private interest did not enter into the case, then a single Judge would be better than a jury. Trial by jury was an invaluable protection against despotic government; it was the only protection the people of Ireland had; and now it was the openly avowed intention of the Government to take that away. On what ground? The Home Secretary had given as the strongest reason against the Amendment the argument that Fenianism was as rampant now as it was in 1870; but he would refer to what was, probably, the most conclusive authority in the House on that point. When Parliament was opened in 1870, the Queen's Speech, though not mentioning Fenianism by name, had alluded to the collapse of Fenianism in the phrase—"the loyalty and affection of my Irish subjects." That showed complete reliance on the affection of the Irish people in 1870; yet the Home Secretary now said Fenianism was at its height in 1870. Which authority was to be believed? He believed the Queen's Speech, together with other evidence as to what occurred in 1870. The Home Secretary had compared Fenianism in 1870 to a volcano; but they in that House had heard of certain hon. Members being alluded to as "extinct volcanoes;" and he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that there were some volcanoes called mud volcanoes, which bespattered and covered the country with their explosive sputterings. With regard to juries, he had known juries in England give verdicts which were contrary to the decision arrived at by the Judge and by every other person in Court; and the difference between England and Ireland in this respect was not such as to require so stringent an Act as that now proposed. Then, with regard to Fenianism, the Home Secretary had said that the present agitation had the same object as that. He (Dr. Commins) could not say what were the objects, or purposes, or means of Fenianism; but he did know something of the present agitation in Ireland, and he knew that it had a Constitutional, a loyal, and a proper object—the amelioration of the state of the law. If that was the object of the Fenians, they were not such bad fellows after all. He hoped the Committee would not take away the last remnant of protection in Ireland—trial by jury—upon such arguments as the Home Secretary had advanced.

Mr. T. C. THOMPSON thought that, before the Committee rejected the Amendment, they should have as accurate information as possible. He understood the Home Secretary to say that trial by jury had failed in Ireland; and he wished to know upon what information that had been laid before the House that charge was founded. He had examined the Charges delivered by the Judges in Ireland last year; and he found from the Charges in August last that trial by jury had not failed, for the number of persons convicted was equal to the usual proportion. The number of acquittals in England was about one in four; and in Ireland, from causes which he believed it was easy to understand, the proportion was something between one-half and one-third. If there was anything upon which Englishmen should always depend, it was trial by jury. The case of those who were acting against the Government was that the cases brought before juries in Ireland had not failed; but the cases which the police had said they could bring forward had failed. They had not brought those cases to investigation; and he held that in cases which had been investigated the juries had done their duty, and convicted people when necessary. Could the Government give the Committee any information which they had not yet had in support of the charge against Irish juries?

Mr. DAWSON said, he had shown from the Blue Books that in an overwhelming number of cases of agrarian crimes verdicts had been returned. In many cases which were put down as murder they had been altered to manslaughter, and in five out of eight there were convictions and sentences. In the same way, with intangible offences such as firing at person, where there was real crime, he was prepared to prove that verdicts were given; and he contended that in every agrarian crime of a tangible and proveable character trials had taken place and convictions been made. There was, therefore, no ground whatever for saying that Irish juries had failed when there was any evidence before them. If there was one thing remarkable in Ireland, it was that, amidst terrible temptations, Juries had been most courageous in giving verdicts when there was anything like a case before them. That was a state of things that could not be equalled in England; and he warned the Committee, in the name of the law and in the name of British liberty, against taking away trial by jury, and outraging every feeling most precious and most dear to the Irish people.

MR. FINIGAN said, the Home Secretary had startled the Irish Members with some statements of fact which he had educed from his imagination, and with some witticisms which he had borrowed from his memory. The Home Secretary's statement that the object of the Government was to suspend trial by jury in Ireland was unworthy of the Committee and doubly unworthy of a Government which proclaimed its liberality. He was inclined to think that Liberalism out of Office was a loud-mouthed apology for principle; but when in Office it proved to be, so far as Ireland was concerned, tyranny, misrepresentation, and fraud, for experience showed that what Ministers said there they did not carry out in Ireland. The House was told that under the previous Act village ruffians and *mauvais sujets* were to be arrested. Evidence was now at hand proving that it was not the *mauvais sujets*, or the village ruffians, who were to be arrested, but the good men and true, who had been true to Constitutional principles and to the Liberal system of agitation. Buckshot and good intentions had marked the progress of the last Bill; buckshot had followed, and good intentions had been forgotten, and good intentions would be forgotten if the Irish Members did not stand up and fight to the last for that last remnant of liberty in Ireland, the right of a man to be tried by his peers. The Government asked not only for arbitrary powers, but for powers which they would denounce if they were asked for in Hungary, or in Germany, or in any civilized State in Europe. But when it was a Liberal Ministry in England, that Ministry could do whatever it liked—not by its arguments, not by its justice, not by its law, but by its overwhelming and tyrannous majority in the House. The Liberal Government had not the courage to follow in the truly Liberal footsteps of the old Conservative Ministry. The Conservative Ministry had that spirit of justice and English manliness of which Englishmen boasted, and which true Englishmen alone carried out. They told the Irish that they would put them down, but would give them trial, and that if their officers in Ireland acted tyrannously and against the spirit of the law, they would provide the means of inquiring into the matter fairly and fully. But it was reserved for a so-called Liberal Government—a Whig institution—to impose on Ireland this measure of coercion and tyranny. They were going to abolish trial by jury for deeds committed under this new Act. Why? Not a single reason had been adduced; not a single argument had been alleged. He did not believe they were able to adduce any arguments. He believed there were Members of the Government who would not support them with their voices, although they would be base enough to support them with their votes. The Government were setting up in Ireland officials who would state anything to carry their cause, because they were the State-paid persecutors of Ireland. He did not trust either the arguments or the policy of the Government; and if this Amendment was not passed they who were going over to Ireland shortly would be able to tell the people that it was not the slightest use trusting the British Parliament, or hoping for justice so long as the present Whig Ministry retained Office. They would devote themselves to relieving the Government of their easy position, to enable them once more to proclaim their glorious principles of liberty and freedom—political rubbish so characteristic of many right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. He protested against the policy of buckshot, good intentions, and bad practices; he protested against the spirit which animated the Government in opposing this fair and just Amendment; and he hoped the present Government would last for the whole five years of the Bill, in order to give Ireland, if Ireland wanted it, a last proof of the base character of measures introduced by self-styled Liberal, but well-known Whig Governments and Whig followers.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) said, he was sure it would be interesting to the Committee to know what were the intentions of the hon. Member and his Friends as soon as the House should rise at Easter; and he hoped that during that time the hon. Member would take an opportunity to make himself acquainted with Ireland—a country of which he appeared to have but an imperfect knowledge at present. The jurisdiction proposed by this Bill was summary jurisdiction only; and there was no case in Ireland in which a matter which was the subject of summary jurisdiction was also subject, at the option of the person charged, to trial by jury, except a person charged with an offence under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, which was common to both countries. Of course, hon. Members who had urged this Amendment were aware of that, and they asked—"Why not establish in Ireland the principle adopted in England, by which a person charged may elect to have himself tried by jury?" That was another illustration of the principle that it was well to investigate facts before they founded arguments upon them. It had been said that the English Summary Jurisdiction Act enabled a person to elect to be tried by a jury. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: That has not been said once.]—The maximum penalty in this case was three months' imprisonment, or a fine of £20; and the English Summary Jurisdiction Act, which had been referred to——[Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: It has not been referred to once.] He had understood the hon. Member to say —"Why not give to Ireland what you have given to England?" What, therefore, was the use of saying the Summary Jurisdiction Act had not been referred to? Now, he prayed the attention of the Committee to this. The maximum penalty under the Bill was three months' imprisonment, or £20 fine. The imprisonment might be three months, it might be a day, or, under the clause to be brought in, it might be nothing at all; and the fine might be £20, or not one farthing. In England, it was said, an offender who might otherwise be convicted summarily could elect to be tried by a jury; and it was with refusing to grant an equal right to Ireland that the Government were now charged. But a person charged in England with the commission of an offence which might be disposed of summarily must have laid himself open to imprisonment for a term exceeding three months before he could elect, under the 42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 49 s. 17, to be tried by a jury. What, therefore, was there exceptional in the proposed legislation? Under the Bill, where an offence had been committed, and established to the satisfaction of the Court, there must be a conviction, even though the punishment might only be of a trifling character; but the Home Secretary had told the Committee that on Report a clause would be brought up to provide that though a statutable offence had been committed, yet, if the Court should be of opinion that it was what might be called a venial one, they need not proceed to a formal conviction, but might dismiss the offender, as if he were innocent. This would be an exception to the Law of Great Britain; and Irish Members must not tell him that "they had not in Ireland what we had in England," because this legislation was in favour of liberty in Ireland.

MR. LEAMY said, the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had made no reference to the Summary Jurisdiction Act; but what he had mentioned was the Act of 1875, an exceptional Act, passed by a Conservative Government; and he had suggested that the option allowed to a man under that Act to be dealt with summarily or tried by a jury should be given in the present measure. He would point out that this legislation they now proposed did not, and would not, apply to England. They were creating an offence for Ireland which did not exist in England; therefore, when they passed this exceptional legislation, the least they could do would be to give exceptional protection to the people to be subjected to it. But Ministers got up and said—"You say we want to abolish trial by jury." No hon. Member had said anything of the kind until the Home Secretary had made the remark. When he had first seen the Amendment on the Paper he had said he should be inclined to allow it to pass by in order that they might come to the important question of the duration of the Act; but what had the Home Secretary said? Why, that Irish juries were not to be trusted; and he did not think there could be a more conclusive proof that it was the deliberate intention of the framers of the Bill to take away the right of trial by jury than this statement and the refusal of the Government to allow a person accused of an offence under the Bill to be tried by his countrymen. What were the two Coercion Acts they had got from this ultra-Liberal Government? One was a measure enabling the Lord Lieutenant to imprison people for 18 months without any trial at all, and the other, a Supplementary Act to the first, was a measure abolishing trial by jury. The Solicitor General for Ireland had wound up by saying that because this was exceptional legislation for Ireland the magistrates, where they found it expedient, even when satisfied that a case had been made out, might not proceed to a conviction. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had called it "exceptional legislation." Yes; "exceptional legislation" coming from a Liberal Government. Was the right hon. and learned Gentleman not aware that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Major Nolan) had copied his Amendment, word for word, from the Act of 1875? The Irish Members had no occasion to offer any thanks to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He would not compete with him in knowledge as to the summary jurisdiction in Ireland; but he was very strongly of opinion that under existing Acts similar powers as those about to be conferred were already possessed by the magistracy; therefore the favours they were getting from the Government were not so great as some hon. Members might be disposed to think.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the Solicitor General for Ireland, in the few minutes remaining, might yet make a great concession, but he shook his head; therefore it was to be feared nothing could be expected. The Solicitor General had pointed out that in England there was an appeal from the magistrates——

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): There is no appeal to a jury.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Not to a jury?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): No.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he wished to point out that the magistrates in Ireland were not like the magistrates of England. There was, and he suspected very rightly, the greatest distrust of the magistrates on the part of a great many Irishmen—not distrust of the stipendiary but of the ordinary magistrates. That being so, it seemed to him very reasonable that if a man said—"I will risk going to prison for a year, if the jury say I am guilty," he should have the chance of taking the risk.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson): There is no risk of that kind. There is no imprisonment for a year contemplated.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that was precisely what he complained of. When the Government had been pushed hard in these matters they had always appealed to former Disarmament Acts; but when the Irish Members did the same thing, and said—"this right of appeal should be given, because it was granted in a former Act," the Government answered—"Not at all—the power is not given in the English Summary Jurisdiction Acts." The only real argument he had heard against the request of the Irish Members was that probably the juries would not convict; but he would point out that when the Coercion Act was before the House they were told that when it became law the juries would no longer be terrorized, and that they would be enabled to give verdicts honestly. They had passed that Act, and now they could no longer say that the juries would not convict, however good the evidence laid before them of an offence being committed. Under the circumstances, he should vote for the Irish Members, and he was sorry the Government would not give in.

Mr. BIGGAR considered the contention of the Government extremely weak. All the proceedings under the measure were likely to take place on the evidence of police constables. It could not be pretended that Irish juries had abused their position when there had been real *bonâ fide* evidence against a man brought before them. If a policeman swore that he had found arms upon a person, it could not be supposed that any jury would refuse to find a verdict of guilty;

but they knew from long experience—and this had really given rise to the controversy about the juries—that the old custom of the Crown was to invariably pack the juries, and thus make conviction certain. What the Crown lawyers were hankering after was a return to the old system which was exploded by the Act of Lord O'Hagan. Lord O'Hagan had had considerable practice at the Bar, had a sense of justice, and saw the thorough iniquity of the old practice, and he was fortunately able to convince the Government of the day, who had not made such professions of liberality as the present Government, that it was necessary to reform the jury laws. The result had been that juries now decided according to evidence and Constitutional principle, and it was because of this—because the juries would not convict unless the evidence was sufficient—that the Government wished to abolish the new and revert to the old system. Looking at the proportion of convictions to prosecutions in Ireland, it was unfair to bring these charges against the Irish juries.

Mr. PARNELL said, when this Bill was introduced with a great flourish of trumpets, they were told that the Government intended to be more merciful than their Predecessors, and to inflict only three months' imprisonment instead of the larger punishment of 12 months provided by the Act of 1875. They now saw that the real reason of the Government was not humanitarian—that it was not a desire to render the punishment less; but a desire to do away with historic trial by jury in Ireland in regard to political offences. They had cast about to see how they could best do this, and they had discovered that the most satisfactory method would be to give the magistrates exclusive jurisdiction over these offences. He regretted that the Government in this, as in many other matters since the commencement of this Session, had made themselves the obedient tools of the Irish landlord class. What were the Irish magistrates? In almost every case they were landlords, the class to whose assistance the Government had come in this struggle. On the one side was the Irish people, and on the other Her Majesty's most Liberal Government and the Irish landlords. He would undertake to say that strong as the Government was, Liberal as it was, powerful as was its position when it assumed power last year, it would be impossible for it to survive the contamination and degradation which would be the consequence of this most unholy alliance. If they had maintained their position of neutrality things would have gone on well. There would, probably, have been some chance of settling the Irish Land Question; but they had now lent themselves to the maintenance, to the upholding of the most infamous territorial system which had ever disgraced a civilized country. This country was responsible for the landlord system in Ireland——

The CHAIRMAN: I must call the hon. Member's attention to the fact that the Question is whether there is to be an appeal to a jury.

Mr. PARNELL said, that was so, and he proposed to show that the Government, in preventing an appeal to a jury, and in providing that the landlord class should have absolute power of inflicting three months' imprisonment on any person who might be accused of this new-fangled crime of being possessed of arms had pledged itself to the landlord conspiracy in Ireland against the well-being of the Irish people. His argument was that if they had desired to terminate the unjust state of things which had obtained in Ireland ever since England first acquired dominion there, they would not have given to the landlords power of adjudicating in these cases. Why did not the English Government bring in a Bill to abolish trial by jury altogether? Why could they not be honest for once in their lives, and admit that Ireland was unfit for their Constitutional system of government? Why, if they thought so, did they not frankly admit it in black and white? All their acts tended to show that they thought so. For his own part, he thought that Mr. Froude was right when he said—"You must either govern Ireland as a Crown Colony, or give her complete independence." They would find, before many more years had gone by, that they themselves must yield to the opinion of Mr. Froude, and would have to confess that they must either give Ireland independence, or deprive her of sham Constitutional forms which they boasted from time to time of having given her; but which they never scrupled to take away—not in a direct fashion, but in a one-sided and disgraceful fashion, and treat her as a Crown Colony

—come openly to Parliament and say—"We have permitted Ireland to come within our Constitution; it is a dangerous experiment that was made 80 years ago; we find that the Irish people, either from ignorance, or from some other cause, are not fitted to remain in our Constitutional system, and nothing now remains for us but to govern them as one of our Crown Colonies." If they would do that, and introduce a Bill for the purpose, he would promise them his most hearty support. The five years' experience he had had of coming over to Westminster had convinced him of the utter hopelessness of expecting any justice for Ireland from a British Parliament; and he would entreat them, once for all, to give up the sham of Constitutional government, and to show the naked sword, to show their true principles—to carry out that which it was evident, from every Act of this kind they introduced, they felt—and at last, for the first time in the history of their connection with Ireland, show some little honesty.

It being Three of the clock,

The CHAIRMAN said: In accordance with the Resolution of the House, I have now to put the Amendments without discussion.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 273: Majority 238. (Div. List, No. 129.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment is in the name of the hon. Member for Sligo County (Mr. Sexton); but as it is substantially the same as that the Committee has just negatived it cannot be put. The next Amendment is in the name of the hon. Member for Wicklow County (Mr. Corbet). The hon. Member proposes to exempt from the operation of the Bill all persons having licences under the Game Certificates and Gun Licences Acts. But Clause 2 has already given power to the Lord Lieutenant to name the persons who alone shall have the power in proclaimed districts to authorize persons to carry arms and ammunition. The Commissioners of Inland Revenue, who are empowered by the cited Acts to issue licences, are nowhere referred to in this Bill, and have no authority under it to enable persons to purchase themselves out of the operation of the Bill. The Amendment, being inconsistent with the powers already given to the Lord Lieutenant, cannot be put.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 271; Noes 35: Majority 236.—(Div. List, No. 130.)

Clause 6 (Definitions).

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) proposes an Amendment to limit the power of the Lord Lieutenant, as regards a proclaimed district, to certain areas, which he defines in the Amendment. This is inconsistent with Clause 2, which determines that a proclaimed district shall be "any specified part" of Ireland which the Lord Lieutenant may by proclamation declare to be brought under the operation of the Bill. The Amendment, therefore, cannot be put.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 13, to leave out the words "also any sword, cutlass, pike, and bayonet, also any part of any arms as so defined."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 278; Noes 30: Majority 248.—(Div. List, No. 131.)

The CHAIRMAN: The next Amendment is in the name of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Lalor)—page 3, line 14, after "bayonet," leave out "also any part of any arms as so defined"—but these words have been substantially dealt with by the Committee.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 14, after the word "defined," to insert the words "unless it can be shown that such sort of weapons are unserviceable and useless."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 34; Noes 260: Majority 226.—(Div. List, No. 132.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 15, to leave out all the words from the word "gunpowder," to the end of the Clause.—(*Mr Healy.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 261; Noes 30: Majority 231.—(Div. List, No. 133.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 6 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 254; Noes 37: Majority 217.—(Div. List, No. 134.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 7 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 252; Noes 32: Majority 220.—(Div. List, No. 135.)

Clause 8 (Continuance of Act).

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 20, to leave out all the words after the word "the," and insert the words "thirtieth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two."—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 222; Noes 58: Majority 164.—(Div. List, No. 136.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 8 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 244; Noes 41: Majority 203.—(Div. List, No. 137.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The first new clause offered is offered by the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan). The hon. and learned Member proposes by this clause to make it the duty of the police to shoot magpies, crows, hawks, or rabbits, &c., if they are injurious on farms when a tenant has been refused a licence to carry arms. I was inclined to view this proposal, when it was in the form of an Amendment, as a pleasantry, but as the hon. and learned Member assures me that he offers it in all seriousness, I rule that it is beyond the scope of the Bill to impose on the constabulary of Ireland certain duties connected with agriculture, and which might interfere with the performance of their other duties, as determined by existing statutes. The next clause offered is in the name of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan). This is substantially the same as what was ruled out of Order when proposed as an Amendment by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan).

New Clause (Register of licences to be kept and filed,)—(*Mr. Callan,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 35; Noes 256: Majority 221.—(Div. List, No. 138.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next clause proposed is also in the name of the hon. Member for Louth. It proposes that prisoners under this Act shall be treated as first-class misdemeanants; but that has been already negatived as an Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon). The same remark applies to a further clause proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), with regard to the treatment of prisoners. The last clause offered is in the name of the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. Thomasson). The hon. Member proposes to prevent any ejectments from agricultural holdings rated at an annual value of less than £30, before the 1st of September next. The Bill under consideration is one solely limited to the particular offences named in it, and has nothing to do with civil processes which may result upon civil contracts. The Amendment, being beyond the scope of the Bill, cannot be put.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do Report the Bill, as amended, to the House."

MR. PARNELL wished to know whether he was at liberty to address the Chair on the Motion before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: My instructions from the House are to put every Question forthwith.

MR. CALLAN rose to Order, and said, the new Rule which governed the proceedings stated that on a Motion being made after Notice, by a Minister of the Crown, that in Committee upon any Bill declared urgent, or upon the consideration of any such Bill, the remaining clauses of the Bill, and any new Amendments or new Clauses then standing on the Paper, should be put forthwith; but there was nothing in that Rule referring to the matter then before the Committee. He, therefore, as a matter of right, should ask that hon. Members should be at liberty to discuss this matter, no Rule affecting the privileges of Members having been laid on the Table by the Speaker; and he held that the hon. Member for the City of Cork was perfectly in Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will have an opportunity of asking the Speaker from the Chair what is the intention of the Rule. As I understand the spirit of the Rule, it is that I shall put the Question forthwith.

MR. CALLAN: Send for the Speaker.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question is that I report this Bill, as amended, to the House.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 267; Noes 31: Majority 236.—(Div. List, No. 139.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."

MR. CALLAN rose to Order, to move that the Chairman should report Progress, in order that Mr. Speaker in the Chair might give his decision as to the interpretation to be placed on the Rule that on a Motion being made, after Notice by a Minister of the Crown, that in Committee any Bill declared urgent, the remaining clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments and new Clauses then standing on the Paper, should be put forthwith—whether that embraced also the Motion upon which the Committee had just divided.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman will have an opportunity of consulting the Speaker when he is in the Chair. By the Orders of the House, all Motions are barred except those on the Notice Paper and the two formal Motions at the end. The Question is, that I do leave the Chair.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 277; Noes 22: Majority 255.—(Div. List, No. 140.)

MR. SPEAKER then took the Chair, and called upon the Minister in charge of the Bill to name a day for Consideration.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: To-morrow.

MR. CALLAN said, he desired to inform the Speaker that on the Question that the Bill be reported, he wished to discuss the Question, and he rose to a point of Order with regard to the Rule placed by the Speaker on the Table of the House on the 18th of February, regulating the proceedings in Committee. The question he wished to submit was, all the Notices then on the Paper having been put forthwith, whether the Rule applied to the two last Motions which the Chairman had put, under protest from the Irish Members, without permitting any discussion. He desired the Speaker's decision as to whether the Rule referred to matters which did not appear on the Notice Paper.

MR. SPEAKER: Before the Report is made from the Committee to the House by the Chairman, two formal Motions are put from the Chair. These two Motions usually have been put without division; and the question put to me now is whether, according to the Rule to which reference has been made, it is open to the Chairman to put these two Motions to the House forthwith without any debate. I have no hesitation in saying that the Chairman has correctly interpreted the Rule. The spirit and intention of the Rule no doubt were, that after a certain hour there should be no further debate.

MR. CALLAN wished to move an Amendment to the Motion that had been made.

MR. SPEAKER: The matter is now at an end. The Consideration of this Bill has been fixed for to-morrow, and there can be no further discussion upon it.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow,* and to be *printed.* [Bill 105.]

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) [COMPENSATION].

Resolution [March 8] *reported.*

Resolution read a second time.

MR. FINIGAN objected to the Resolution being reported, now that it was past the hour for opposed Business.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must be aware that this is simply a Resolution brought up to the House to give effect to what has already been agreed to by the Committee.

MR. FINIGAN objected to it.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member's objection is too late.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: I object.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, rising to a point of Order, said, the Resolution had not yet been put to the House.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN wished to know whether it would be in Order for any hon. Member to propose an Amendment until the Motion had been put from the Chair?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have now to put the Question that this House do agree with the Committee in the said Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. SEXTON: I object to it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then it will have to stand over until to-morrow.

And Further Proceeding thereupon stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (URGENCY)—PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I beg to give Notice, on behalf of the First Lord of the Treasury, that to-morrow, at half-past 4, he will move—

> "That, upon the Consideration of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, as amended, at Ten o'clock, any New Clauses and Amendments then standing upon the Notice Paper be put forthwith."

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 10*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bill—*Committee*—Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention (39-44).

COURT OF SESSION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: My Lords, I wish to put a Question to the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, of which I have given him private Notice. It is with regard to the Court of Session (Scotland) Bill; and it is to ask him, Whether he will be prepared to give your Lordships an opportunity for discussing the principles of the Bill? The circumstances of the case, as I understand them, are these. The noble Lord introduced the Bill last Friday; but it was printed and circulated last Monday, and read a second time last Tuesday. Well, that strikes me as a somewhat precipitate course of action with regard to a Bill as to which public opinion is by no means unanimous. That it should be read a second time the day after it is printed does seem to me, perhaps, rather a more speedy course than might be recommended. Since the Bill has been printed, the Faculty of Advocates have made a protest almost unanimously against its provisions; and without expressing my own opinion—which would be worth nothing—as to the value of that protest, I wish to ask the noble and learned Lord, Whether, on going into Committee, or at some other time, he will make a statement which will enable your Lordships to discuss the principle of the Bill?

The LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, in reply to the noble Earl, I have to say that not only am I fully prepared to make a statement, and give your Lordships an opportunity of discussing the measure, but it is my duty to do it. I certainly should not have put down the Bill for second reading on such an early day had it not been for the conviction I had—after communication with some eminent persons who I had reason to believe might be taken as expressing a trustworthy opinion on the subject—that the general principles of the Bill, at all events, were likely to be accepted, and that any discussions which might arise would be as to detail rather than principle. I should have liked to make a statement on the second reading, and I intended to do so; but the Bill stood last on the Orders for the Day, and by the time it was reached there were scarcely any noble Lords in the House to whom I could address that statement. It now stands for Committee on Tuesday. As the noble Earl has mentioned the subject, I have to say that I should like to make one explanation. The question, if this Bill passes, whether advantage should be taken of the opportunity of increasing the salaries of the Judges of the Court of Session, has been under the consideration of the Government, who have not yet arrived at any conclusion upon that subject. It is one for the House of Commons, and not for your Lordships; and no doubt the Government will be prepared to state the view which they may take of it at the proper time, in the event of this measure reaching the House of Commons.

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION BILL.—(No. 39.)

(*The Lord President.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord President.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) desired to know, before the House went into Committee, why uplands were to be taxed, while obstructions in the river, such as weirs, dams, and other things were to be left out of consideration? If the reason for taxing uplands was that there were sometimes drainage works under them, there could be no excuse for taxing those lands under which there were no such works. Where arterial and other drainage was undertaken for the benefit of particular properties, he could not understand why it should be liable to public taxation.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to*, with an Amendment.

Clause 4 (Duty of the Local Government Board).

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that where there were no drainage works on the uplands, those lands ought to be altogether excluded from the operation of the Bill. As the Bill stood, the downs of Sussex might be taxed, and the mountains of Wales might be taxed, because there were floods in the Severn. He wished to know whether, under the Bill as proposed to be amended, the Local Government Board would have power to exclude certain districts altogether?

EARL SPENCER, in reply to the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, said, that uplands had been included in a Bill which his noble Friend opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) introduced on a former occasion, and the principle was adopted by their Lordships. There could be no doubt that uplands were in a different position from other lands. Scientific drainage caused a great addition to the water which various streams carried off; and there were works not of an agricultural nature which had the same effect. In many cases, on uplands, and certainly on midlands, there were places where large numbers of houses had been erected, and the water, instead of sinking gradually into the soil, collected on roofs, pavements, &c., and was shot down into the beds of the rivers. He could refer to instances where water was brought to large towns from long distances, and introduced into watersheds with which it had no natural connection whatever. In reply to the Question of the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset), he begged to state that power was most distinctly given to the Local Government Board, and the Inspector who was sent down under the Act of Parliament, to exclude whole districts from the operation of the Bill. He would move the introduction of words in the clause which would make it the duty of the Inspector to inquire whether any special works had been erected on the land, so that the Local Government Board might decide whether, upon the Inspector's report, any lands should be wholly or partially excluded. Other words would be introduced later on, and there were two subsections which bore on this subject. With regard to the hills of Wales, to which reference had been made by the noble Duke, the question would be left to the Local Government Board. It was thought better to leave it to their discretion than to tie them down to mere words, which might, in some cases, have the effect of bringing the operation of the Bill to a deadlock. He proposed the Amendment to which he had referred mainly to meet the contention of his noble Friend (Lord Carrington), that on the report of the Inspector it should be imperative upon the Local Government Board to exempt certain lands. He further proposed, in case any protection was omitted as to lands of this class under the Provisional

Orders, to add words in Clause 22, giving power to make it imperative on the Conservancy Board to exempt such lands, and, in case their decision was unsatisfactory, giving a right of appeal to the Local Government Board. The noble Earl concluded by moving, in page 2, line 9, after ("Act") insert ("and what works, if any, have been executed for the protection of any such lowlands or midlands from floods"); in page 3, line 7, after ("rating") insert ("or partial exemption from rating"), and after ("of") insert ("all or any of the lands in.")

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, he thought the explanation of the Lord President was satisfactory. He should like to know, however, on what principle lands were to be excluded, either by the Inspector or the Local Government Board? A principle for exclusion ought to be laid down; for, unless that was done, there would be a risk that different principles would be acted upon in different districts.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON thought that the only safe course was to leave the question of exclusion to the Inspectors.

THE EARL OF MALMESBURY asked, was the New Forest, as belonging to the Crown, to be exempted from the provisions of the Act? Riparian owners had been much injured by the waters flowing from it.

EARL SPENCER replied, that he would deal with the subject of exemptions later on. As to the distinction between uplands and midlands, he would be sorry to introduce any definition into the Bill, as definitions always gave rise to great difficulty.

Amendments *agreed to.*

LORD CARRINGTON, in rising to propose the following Amendment:—

> "Provided also, that the inspector shall also inquire whether any lowlands or midlands have been protected from floods by works executed within the district prior to such inquiry, and in case the inspector shall find such lowlands or midlands have been so protected, the Local Government Board shall exempt such lands from the payment of the whole or such portion of the rates payable under this Act as may appear to them to be just, having regard to any benefit they may derive therefrom,"

said, he thought it right to state that he had not put this Amendment on the Paper in any spirit of hostility to a Bill which attempted to remove an intolerable evil. His reason was that in the Bill one portion of England had been entirely overlooked. He meant the Fens, including the 1,300 square miles—that was, 900,000 acres—through which run the four rivers, the Nene, the Ouse, the Witham, and the Welland, which emptied themselves into the estuary of the Wash. Those marshes were drained in 1649 by William, Earl of Bedford, and in protecting themselves proprietors had spent more than the value of the fee simple of the land. These lands were not uplands, midlands, or lowlands. If their Lordships treated them as lowlands, what did they propose? Were they to pay five-sixths of the expenses, in addition to the tax already incurred? The noble Duke (the Duke of Bedford) paid 11*s.* an acre on 20,000 acres of land, and in some instances the tax went as high as £1. To take one solitary example:—If in order to improve the river Welland at Market Deeping—which was subject to flooding and which, lying above the Fen district, contributed nothing to Fen taxation—£600, a very moderate estimate, were required, the Fens must contribute £500, Market Deeping itself £100; and if an outlay of £600 were required in the Fens to obviate the damage which would otherwise arise to the Fens in consequence of such improvement, the contributions towards it would again be in the same proportion. The consequence would be that Market Deeping, for the sole benefit of which all the works were constructed, and which would derive all the benefit acquired, would contribute £200 only, as against the Fens, which contributed £1,000, and remained as they were. Perhaps their Lordships would be told that the Fens were protected by Clause 22. That only put them at the mercy of a Conservancy Board. Did the Government in this Bill intend to keep up the banks of the drains, which would have to be strengthened in proportion to the increased volume of water sent down, at the expense and at the risk of the Conservancy Board? He could not believe that the Government meant to do an act of injustice full of danger to some of the best farmers in England; and, trusting that this exceptional case would meet with due consideration, he confidently hoped that the Lord President would be able to accept his Amendment.

EARL SPENCER said, he was unable to accept his noble Friend's Amendment. He fully admitted that there were cases of the kind to which the noble Lord had referred in respect of which there ought to be no further taxation; but thought that the objects sought by his noble Friend would be secured by the Amendments already inserted in the Clause and by Amendments which he would propose in subsequent parts of the Bill.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clauses 5 to 9, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

EARL SPENCER proposed, in page 5, after Clause 9, to insert as a new Clause—

(Subsidiary powers as to works.)

"A conservancy board may, if they think expedient, as subsidiary to the carrying into effect the provisions of this Act, maintain, improve, or construct any works for the arterial drainage or for the warping or irrigation of lands, or for the storage of water within their district."

The noble Earl said, that the Bill which was introduced contained the power provided by this clause; but, in consequence of objections made to that power in the discussion on the second reading, it was removed. From representations made to the Government, he thought, however, that it was necessary to restore it. He would take arterial drainage first. After the flooding of rivers their banks were raised, and, as a consequence, the water would be imprisoned on the adjoining lands if works for arterial drainage and the storage of water were not constructed. In cases where Boards were carrying out arterial drains necessary for such purposes as he had described, it might be of great advantage to proprietors to get some adjoining lands drained, for which they would pay under the Special Benefit Clause. It would be desirable, therefore, to give Boards power to create such works, which might otherwise never be carried out, and which were of importance to a district. Then, as to storage of water, it might happen that cleaning the channels of rivers might lower the level of the water, and deprive districts of water in dry seasons. To meet this case, storage of water was desirable; but it was never intended to carry out large and independent works for supplying towns with water. Then, as to warping and irrigation, it was known that it was necessary in some cases to make works for irrigation, in order to supply certain lands with pure water, which necessary cutting in the bed of the river or at the outfall might have destroyed or made brackish. The same thing might occur in the case of warping. He hoped, therefore, that these powers, which might prove of the greatest utility, would be restored to the Bill. Their Lordships would, however, see that the arterial drainage contemplated in the clause was not "arterial drainage" in the wider sense of the term, but arterial drainage subsidiary to the carrying into effect the provisions of the Act.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that arterial drainage was usually a large operation. If the arterial drainage contemplated by his noble Friend was really to be subsidiary to the carrying into effect the provisions of the Act, it was already provided for by the 3rd section of Clause 9, which gave the Conservancy Board power to construct any watercourse or any outfall. He objected to the uplands having to contribute to the expense of works of irrigation from which they would derive no benefit, while those works would be a source of considerable gain to the lowlands, and to the expense of storage works from which the lowlands would make a pecuniary profit.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY supported the clause, contending that many cases would occur in which it would be extremely desirable that the works mentioned in it should be carried on. He would remind the noble Duke that there were other provisions in the Bill which obviated the objections he raised to the clause.

LORD NORTON pointed out that the proposal contained in the clause had been rejected by the Select Committee because it would lead to the exercise of additional functions outside the province of the Bill, to the principle of which it was distinctly opposed, inasmuch as it would increase instead of relieving the burdens of conservancy, and would have the effect of taxing a large area of the country for the purpose of private improvement. River conservancy meant the making a whole watershed drain off harmlessly through the natural common channel, and abating the nuisance of a larger discharge into the river than it could carry off without help. The clause proposed adding subsidiary works. Such works as were strictly subsidiary to the conservancy of a river the 9th clause would provide for, while to tax whole districts with the object of carrying out further works which would be private improvements would, he maintained, be obviously unjust. Arterial drainage, so far as it might be subsidiary to embanking, came under the provision for outfall of water. Storage of water, as subsidiary for relief of a flood, was very doubtfully suggested; but, if possible, would come within the terms of the 9th clause. If it went further it would involve the injustice of a town supply at the expense of the country, and in abatement of their own nuisance. Warping and irrigation could not be in any possible way subsidiary to the conservancy of a river; and, on those considerations, he had given Notice that he would ask their Lordships not to assent to the clause.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR contended that the object of the clause was good, and that under its operation many useful works might be carried out of an incidental and subsidiary character, which warping and irrigation might fairly be said to be.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY thought it was a somewhat extravagant proposal to give the Conservancy Board powers so wide as those suggested. The great danger of the Bill was the enormous expense which it might entail. If the authorities were to be allowed to take districts for the purpose of carrying out whatever might be the fashionable theory of the moment on the subject of the irrigation of land, or on that of the storage of water, there might be no end to the pecuniary burdens laid on owners and occupiers of land. It would, in short, be rash to trust civil engineers with regard to such matters as irrigation and storage, if the bottomless purse of unlimited taxation were opened to them.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET remarked that as this Bill affected 200 rivers and interfered with 2,000 Acts of Parliament, and as warping had nothing whatever to do with prevention of floods, he should oppose the new clause. He thought that the Local Government Board would have quite enough to do under this Bill without engaging in such works as those indicated.

EARL STANHOPE objected to the clause on the score of the increased and almost unlimited expense which it would involve, and because he deemed its objects alien to the general purposes of the Bill. Moreover, it would make the Bill more difficult of acceptance in "another place."

EARL SPENCER said, that after such expressions of opinion as had been elicited he would not ask their Lordships to divide. He must, however, distinctly repudiate the supposition that he had intended to tax the upper districts for improvements which would solely benefit the lower lands.

Clause (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clauses 10 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Expenses of conservancy board).

EARL BEAUCHAMP thought the Government should take steps to expedite the Ordnance Survey. Those districts that were unsurveyed would be put to a heavy expenditure which those that were surveyed would be saved. He thought it a reflection on the country that the completion of the Ordnance Survey had been so long delayed.

EARL SPENCER quite agreed that it was desirable to complete the Survey, but did not propose to insert any words in reference to it.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Classification of works).

THE EARL OF JERSEY moved, in page 8, line 28, to leave out from "the whole" to the end of the clause, and to insert—

> "The expenses incurred by the board shall be borne by the owners and occupiers of lands within the district, according to the following scale:—(1). In case of land let from year to year, the whole of such expenses shall be borne by the owner; (2). In case of land let on lease for a term of which twenty-one years or more are unexpired, the whole of such expenses shall be borne by the occupier; (3). In case of land let on lease for a term of which less than twenty-one years are unexpired, such expenses shall be divided into twenty-one parts, and one such part shall be borne by the tenant for each and every year which is unexpired of the lease, and the remaining proportion shall be borne by the owner."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR thought that the plan proposed by the Government to impose on the owners the expense of the improvements and construction of new works and half the other expenses of the Board was fairer to the tenant.

EARL BEAUCHAMP thought it would be much the best plan to throw the whole burden on the owner, and leave him to make such arrangements with the tenant as might be agreed on between them. By that means all conflict of interests between landlord and tenant in the formation of the Boards and carrying on the works might be avoided. It was obvious that by constructing these works the land would be much improved; and, therefore, it was not unreasonable that the owner should bear the charge.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON was in favour of the suggestions made by the noble Earl who had just sat down.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH, who adopted the same view, thought that difficulties might arise in those cases, which in some parts of the country were very common, where land was let for three lives, or 99 years, determinable on the expiration of the last of three lives.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR thought that the proposal of the noble Earl (Earl Beauchamp) went somewhat too far. The whole capital expenditure was thrown, by the Bill, upon the owner; and it was not unreasonable that half the current expenses necessary for maintaining works after their completion, which would be beneficial to the occupier, and would be in the nature of charges upon income and not capital, should be borne by the occupier.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that the suggestions of the noble Earl (Earl Beauchamp) would best meet the difficulties of the case, as tenants' improvements were necessarily of a less substantial character than landlords', and throwing the burden on the owner would get rid of all competition of interests in that respect.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN hoped that his noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor would accept the suggestion of the noble Lord opposite.

EARL SPENCER regretted that he was unable to accept the suggestions of the noble Earl (Earl Beauchamp). If the clause were amended as proposed, it would be exceedingly difficult to work, and he thought cases of injustice would arise under it. He sympathized with the views of the noble Earl (the Earl of Jersey), and did not wish to impose on tenants unnecessary burdens. In this respect, the Bill imposed a much smaller burden on the tenant than the Bill of the late Government. It merely made the tenant liable for the half-cost of the maintenance of works and establishment charges. He did not see how occupiers—and this applied to towns as well as agricultural places—could be placed on the Board if they paid nothing towards the rate. It was most desirable that tenants who lived on the land should take part in the management of these Boards. He could not, therefore, agree to relieve them of the small part of the rates which might be imposed by this Bill, for he thought it of the utmost importance that tenants should be enlisted in the management of these Boards.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, if the Amendment were accepted, they might have a difficulty in forming the Boards, and thus they would defeat their own object.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY held that the Bill fairly met the case of both owners and occupiers, because it made a distinction between the construction of new works and their maintenance. He contended that it was perfectly right that owners should pay for permanent improvements; but that, on the other hand, occupiers, even from year to year, should pay towards the maintenance of the works in which they were directly interested.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 20 to 46, inclusive, *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Clause 47 (Saving as to works of Admiralty and other Government departments).

THE EARL OF MALMESBURY said, that he objected to the clause altogether, as an exception to the general principle and object of the Bill.

EARL SPENCER replied, that a clause of a like character was introduced into all such Bills.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Schedules *agreed to.*

The Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 44.)

IRISH QUARTER SESSIONS.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

Lord MASSY: In putting to the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council the Question of which I have given Notice, I wish distinctly to disclaim anything of a personal nature in it; and having learned, since coming into the House, that the Government have decided upon arranging this matter, I shall feel much obliged if the noble Earl will kindly state what the nature of that arrangement is. My Question is, Whether the dates for holding Quarter Sessions, Civil Bill and Land Courts, in the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, were fixed pursuant to Statute in the month of November last, for the present year; whether six weeks' notice of the holding of each such Sessions or Court is required by Statute, and whether several weeks' notice or previous service of process is required in cases of transfers of licences, equity civil bills, and land claims; whether the recent change of dates was ordered to meet the convenience of the public or that of the County Court Judge; and whether, as regards the county of Leitrim, the suitors in all these cases will not now be compelled to wait till the following Sessions, or else be driven to expensive proceedings in the Superior Courts?

Lord WAVENEY said, the matter was one of grave importance; and great inconvenience was caused, as the noble Lord opposite had stated, and he was glad that the Question had been put.

Earl SPENCER, in reply, said, the Irish Law Officers had recommended that an Order should be made at once restoring the dates fixed by the Order of last November. He trusted that that arrangement would meet the difficulty.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Eight o'clock, till To-morrow,
half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 10th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Contagious Diseases Acts, Dr. Cameron and Dr. Farquharson *added*.

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Arms [109]; Leases* [108]; Maintenance Law Amendment [110].

First Reading—Local Taxation Returns (Scotland)* [107].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment* [102].

Select Committee — Report — Married Women's Property* [No. 124].

Considered as amended—Re-committed—Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Peace Preservation (Ireland) [105].

QUESTIONS.

NEW ZEALAND—ILLEGAL DETENTION OF NATIVES.

Mr. BRADLAUGH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been drawn to the allegations in the "Wairapa Standard" of January 8th 1881, as to the detention and punishment in New Zealand of various natives in excess of their respective sentences; whether he will make inquiries as to the truth of such allegation; and, whether, in the event of the allegation being verified (as other cases of undue severity to natives have already been brought to the attention of the Government), Her Majesty's Government will make any representation to the Colonial Government in New Zealand on this subject?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, I have seen the article in question, thanks to the courtesy of the hon. Member, and it would be obviously impossible for us to base any representations upon it. Papers of an authoritative kind on the subject of recent Native difficulties in New Zealand will, however, very soon be laid upon the Table, and will, I hope, be satisfactory to those who are interested in this subject.

VACCINATION—SMALL-POX.

Mr. DANIEL GRANT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, considering how constantly epidemics of small-pox recur, the large number of deaths which are annually returned, the wide differences of opinion that exist among fully qualified medical men as to the limits of the protective power of vaccination, and with respect to the genesis, distribution, and limitations of contagion, he will take into his consideration the advisability of offering a series of substantial premiums, open to all the world, for obtaining concise, accurate, and fully tested information as to the origin, growth, and development of the disease; also such other practical knowledge as will tend to minimise its power of infection and indicate the means for its extinction; and, whether it may with propriety be assumed that, if any person can discover an absolute specific for the disease itself, a full pecuniary recognition would be awarded?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, he hoped the hon. Member would not think he was wanting in respect to him if he did not enter into the various points raised in the preamble to his Questions. In fact, he could not do so within the limits of a reply. He might, however, say that the Local Government Board had no funds at their disposal applicable to the purposes suggested by the hon. Member.

PRINTING FOR THE HOUSE OF COMMONS — MESSRS. HANSARD'S CONTRACT.

MR. BUXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the statement in the Report of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, that

> "The rates allowed to Messrs. Hansard for printing for the House of Commons are 15 per cent. higher than the rates allowed for printing for the House of Lords, and are higher than your Lordships would probably have felt justified in granting, had not Messrs. Hansard claimed special consideration on the ground that they had for more than 100 years held the office of Printer to the House, and satisfied your Lordships and Mr. Speaker that it would be very difficult for them, without alterations in their staff which could not easily be made at once, to continue the business if required to do so at rates approaching those which might be obtained in the open market;"

and, whether Messrs. Hansards' "exceptionally high rates" have yet been sufficiently lowered as to compare favourably with rates in the open market?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, the additional percentage paid to Messrs. Hansard was allowed in consideration of the difference in the nature of the work done for the two Houses, that for the House of Commons having to be executed to some extent under circumstances of greater pressure, and therefore at greater expense. This difference has been recognized by Select Committees of the House, such as the Select Committee on Public Departments in 1874. The present arrangement effects a reduction of above 20 per cent upon the rates previously paid to Messrs. Hansard, besides simplifying their accounts and assimilating them to those of the House of Lords' printers. It will not expire until 1896, the year in which the contract for the House of Lords also expires; and we are not therefore in a position at present to consider the possibility of further economy.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

MR. BUXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following extract from the Report of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office:—

> "The distribution (of Parliamentary Papers) and the possibility of effecting improvements in the system now in force, either by the daily circulation to Members of a List of the Papers issued, with a note of their contents for selection or otherwise, are questions lying beyond the province of the Department; but that they are not altogether unimportant your Lordships may gather from a statement that every Member of the House of Commons who served through the last Parliament, and drew all his Papers, received according to a moderate calculation, about a ton of printed matter;"

and, whether, considering the heavy expenditure incurred by the present system of distribution, and the impossibility of any Member being able properly to digest a ton of such literature, he will consider the advisability of introducing some such reform in the distribution to Members of Parliamentary Papers as is proposed by the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, the arrangements for the distribution of Parliamentary Papers are under the direction of Mr. Speaker, with the assistance of the Printing Committee, whom he consults when necessary. Formerly, all Papers ordered by the House were distributed; but some exceptions are now made. With regard to Papers presented by command, out of 281 such Papers presented last Session, more than 100 were not delivered except upon the application of Members. In a matter affecting so much the Members of the House, I do not think that it is advisable for the Government to make any proposals; but that the general arrangements are best left in the hands of Mr. Speaker.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS—LEGISLATION.

Colonel WALROND asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is any chance of the Government bringing in a Bill this Session to deal with certain Municipal Corporations, as recommended in the Report of the Royal Commission presented to Parliament last year?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; the Bill is already drawn, and whenever I have an opportunity of introducing it I shall be very glad to do so.

BOUNDARIES OF MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS—LEGISLATION.

Mr. B. SAMUELSON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is intended to introduce a measure substituting local inquiries, in place of costly private Acts, for the extension of the boundaries of Municipal Boroughs; and, whether, pending the introduction of such a measure, he would allow some officer of the Local Government Board to give advice and assistance to parties locally interested as to equitable terms of rating and other conditions attaching to such extensions, so as, if possible, to bring about arrangements and prevent expensive contests before Parliamentary Committees?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, in consequence of the large amount of Business before the House, the Local Government Board have no intention of introducing a measure on this subject during the present Session. At the same time, I quite admit that it is a matter well worthy of consideration whether these extensions could not be more conveniently made by Provisional Orders than by Private Bills. As regards the last portion of the Question, I must say I am afraid that, with the present staff of the Department, I could not detach an officer as suggested.

CENTRAL AMERICA—THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (for Sir H. Drummond Wolff) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the following passage in President Garfield's Address on the subject of inter-oceanic communications:—

> "The subject, however, is one which will immediately engage the attention of the Government, with the view to the thorough protection of American interests. We will urge no narrow policy, nor seek peculiar or exclusive privileges in any commercial route; but, in the language of my predecessor, I believe it to be the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over an inter-oceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our National interests."

whether, by Article VIII. of the Treaty of April 19th 1850, between this Country and the United States, commonly called the "Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," it is not stipulated that the two countries agree, as "a general principle," to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any "practical communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America," in granting which joint protection "it is always understood by Great Britain and the United States that the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid Governments shall approve of as just and equitable;" whether Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States have or will come to an understanding as to the execution of this Treaty in respect of the canal now in contemplation; and, whether any correspondence on the subject can be laid upon the Table?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Article of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty referred to must be read in connection with the Treaties concluded with Honduras on the 27th of August, 1856, and with Nicaragua on the 11th of February, 1860; and also the Treaties between the United States and those countries with Honduras of July 4, 1864, and with Nicaragua of June 21, 1867. The French Government have also Treaties with Nicaragua for the encouragement of inter-oceanic communication. Her Majesty's Government have not had any correspondence with the United States or any other country respecting the canal now in contemplation. The matter has occupied their careful attention; but they think it would be premature at this moment to take any action.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE.

Mr. J. K. CROSS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can lay upon the Table of the House the terms of the invitation to the proposed International Monetary Conference, together with the reply of the Government thereto; and, whether, considering the very important bearing which the decisions of this Conference must have on Indian finance, and on all eastern commerce, Her Majesty's Government propose that the Government of India should be represented?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, there can be no objection whatever to lay these Papers on the Table; but it is possible that it would be more convenient to Members not to present them until the answer is sent, and this cannot be done for a short time. I may say generally that a difficulty has arisen on the terms of the invitation. They are such as appear to involve us in a predetermined conclusion to introduce bimetallism, and to reduce the subject of discussion to the form and manner of introducing it. We are not prepared to lay down any such predetermined conclusion, nor to hold out any expectation, as far as the currency of this country is concerned, of our acceding to this measure. We shall be glad, however, to join the Conference if it be possible to do so without giving rise to any misapprehension as to our intentions. In regard to India my noble Friend the Secretary of State has communicated with the parties on the subject, and the House may rest assured that that part of the matter will not be overlooked.

MERCANTILE MARINE—LIGHTS ON GERMAN FISHING BOATS.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any official intimation has been received from the German Government relative to an Imperial Ordinance, dated 16th February last, decreeing that fishing vessels should carry certain lights; and, if so, whether he will state what the new regulations are?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has received from the German Government an Imperial Ordinance, promulgated at Berlin on the 16th ultimo, for the purpose of repealing Article 10 of a previous Ordinance dated the 7th of February last, under which fishing boats carried red and green lights in common with other vessels. By the terms of a new Ordinance fishing vessels are only obliged to show a white light, but may also use a "flare."

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —THE SCHEME OF THE SENATE.

Mr. BRYCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Scheme framed by the Senate of the Royal University in Ireland will be laid upon the Table of the House?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I have learnt from the Secretary of the Royal University that the Committee for considering the scheme is to meet on the 15th instant. I hope and believe that the scheme will shortly be laid upon the Table of the House.

ARMY—RETIRED ARMY CAPTAINS.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether captains who will be retired under existing regulations from the 1st January 1881 (as having completed 20 years' service), will be allowed the benefit of the changes proposed to come into operation on the 1st January 1881?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to state that under the new proposals on the 1st of July any non-purchase captain who may have been compulsorily retired under the present warrant will be allowed —subject to the approval of the Commander-in-Chief—an unattached majority, his pay being re-assessed accordingly, with the chance of re-employment up to the age of 43. But this will not be granted to officers who have commuted and left the Army.

MINES ACTS—THE CLEVELAND DISTRICT—USE OF BLASTING POWDER.

Mr. MACDONALD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If the Chief Inspector of Mines has furnished to the Government his Report on the use of blasting powder, open or in cartridges, in the Cleveland mining district; whether, considering that it will affect a large body of workmen, if it is in favour of loose powder, what action, if any, does he propose to take on the subject; and, whether he will cause the Report to be laid upon the Table of the House and printed before taking any action?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; the Report has been received, and will be laid upon the Table of the House. No action will be taken until that is done.

COAL MINES REGULATION ACT—THE PEN-Y-GRAIG COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

Mr. MACDONALD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If the Commissioner sent by the Government to watch over the interests of the State at the coroner's inquest into the cause of death of those who lost their lives in the Pen-y-Graig Explosion has yet made his Report; whether the Government contemplate taking any action against the proprietors or manager of the mine; and, further, if he will cause a Report to be laid upon the Table of the House?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the Report has been received from the inspector, together with the evidence, and it will be presented to Parliament. I have directed that an inquiry should be held under the 32nd section of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, with the object of ascertaining whether the manager ought to be deprived of his certificate.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE COST OF ELECTION COMMISSIONS.

Mr. J. R. YORKE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it has occurred to him to consider the hardship that will be inflicted upon female householders in those boroughs were Bribery Commissions have been and are still sitting, by the levying of a rate to defray the expenses of such Commissions; and, if so, whether he intends to take any steps with the view of exempting such persons from the pecuniary fine which will otherwise be imposed on them in consequence of the delinquencies of their male neighbours, who have abused the electoral privileges which they possess, but which are denied to women?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, he quite admitted that a great hardship was inflicted upon female householders, and, he might add also, generally on persons who were not electors and those who had acted purely, in being compelled to contribute to the expense of the Bribery Commissions which had been sitting in some of the boroughs. In the case, for instance, of the comparatively pure borough of Knaresborough, every one of the electors would feel that he was bearing an expense that ought not to be forced upon him. In the Corrupt Practices Bill already before the House it was proposed to take power to cast the expenses consequent on corruption on those who were responsible for it; and, probably, when the Bill came on, he should have the hon. Gentleman's assistance in carrying it.

FISHERIES—ENGLISH AND FRENCH FISHERMEN.

Mr. INDERWICK asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether his attention has lately been called to the incursions of French fishermen upon the English fishing grounds in and near Rye Bay; and, whether he has taken or proposes to take any steps to prevent such incursions for the future by ordering that such fishing grounds shall be duly protected by a suitable vessel?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, on a Report being made by a divisional officer of the Coastguard on the spot, to the effect that the French fishing fleet has appeared, a cruiser is always despatched, and the *Frances* cutter, of 70 tons, has been cruising between Dungeness and Hastings ever since February 27, and is on the spot now. Special Reports on the state of things have been called for from the divisional officers, and the Inspecting Commander at Folkestone has been instructed to wait on the commanding officer of the French man-of-war at Dover to inquire whether anything can be done to check the encroachments complained of.

NAVY—NAVIGATING OFFICERS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that, owing to the entry of 102 Lieutenants from the Main Executive Class for Navigating duties, 48 out of 206 of the old Navigating Officers, *i.e.*, Staff Commanders and Navigating Lieutenants, are on half-pay; whether any compensation has been made to these Officers in accordance with the usual practice in such cases; and, whether the Admiralty will offer them optional amalgamation with the Navigating Officers, or optional retirement on the same scale as that allowed to Commanders and Lieutenants by Circular C. 13 of the 14th August, 1873?

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the case that nearly one-third of the Navigating Officers (old system) of the Royal Navy are now unemployed; and, whether this state of things has not been brought about by a practical abolition of their office; and, if so, has any compensation been given to these officers in accordance with the usual custom in such cases?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, It is the case that 48 out of 219, not 206, of the old navigating officers are unemployed. The system of selecting executive officers for navigating duties began in the year 1873. In the year 1870, 122 navigating officers out of 354 were unemployed—that is to say, about 35 per cent. In 1851, 75 out of 267, or 30 per cent, were unemployed, and the same proportion continued till the year 1873, and for some years afterwards. At this present moment 22 per cent only are unemployed; so that it is quite clear that there is no change for the worse in this respect owing to the selection of executive officers for navigating duties.

PATENT LAW REFORM—LEGISLATION.

MR. MONK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Government proposes to introduce any measure for the reform of the Patent Laws, in either House of Parliament, during the present Session?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that the subject was engaging the attention of the Government; but the state of Public Business would probably preclude the introduction of a measure of reform during the present Session.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE REPORTED ARMISTICE.

MR. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, since the defeat of Her Majesty's Troops by the Boers on the 27th February, Her Majesty's Government has taken any active steps whatever towards the making of an armistice with the Boers?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I was under the impression that this point had been disposed of by a former answer of mine. I have only to say that no steps whatever have been taken by Her Majesty's Government. The hon. Gentleman is aware that the Government have approved what Sir Evelyn Wood has done, and have given him permission to prolong the armistice if he finds it necessary.

MR. RITCHIE asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether Her Majesty's Government is aware of any steps taken by the British Commander subsequent to the death of Sir George Colley for bringing about an Armistice, whether on his own initiative or on the initiative of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: The question of the initiative of Her Majesty's Government I have disposed of. With regard to what has been done by the British Commander, we have already informed the House of all we know on the subject.

POST OFFICE—VILLAGE SAVINGS BANKS.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the case of a village in Oxfordshire, where application was made for the establishment of a guarantee savings bank, and where answer was made by the authorities of the Post Office that the application could not be complied with unless the present postmistress were removed; and, whether, any arrangement can be made to insure for the future the appointment of officials in remote rural post-offices who shall be competent to perform the duties that may be required of them in the case of the establishment of guarantee savings banks, so as to obviate the objection now felt to the making of applications for guarantee savings banks in country districts, under the fear of depriving existing postmasters and mistresses of their appointments?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I find it is the case, that in a village in Oxfordshire, where it was proposed to establish a savings bank under guarantee, it has been reported that the postmistress, chiefly in consequence of her advanced age, is not qualified to undertake the new duties which would be imposed upon her. As I should be sorry if she were displaced from the position which she has long occupied, and as I think, on the other hand, it would be equally to be regretted that the inhabitants should be deprived of the advantages of a savings bank, I hope the difficulty may be met by supplying the postmistress with some assistance. This will increase, but I trust not materially, the amount of the guarantee. With regard to the important general question which has been raised by my hon. Friend, I hope that under the system which I explained a short time since in the House, and which allows a savings bank and money order office to be opened in any village under guarantee, the number of these banks may be so much increased, that I think it is very important that in future those who are appointed to village post offices should be competent to undertake, if required, savings banks and money order business. I shall, therefore, consider it necessary that those who may in future be appointed to these village post offices should possess the qualifications to which I have referred.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS—DELAY IN DELIVERY.

MR. HERMON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether some arrangement can be made, independent of the Queen's Printer, whereby the extraordinary delay in the delivery of important papers to Members may be avoided?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, I believe the Question of the hon. Member is occasioned by the delay in presentation of the Reports of Election Commissions. After careful inquiry, I find that the responsibility for the delay in the publication does not by any means rest entirely with the printers. Four Commissions have reported—Sandwich, Knaresborough, Boston, and Canterbury. The delay in the delivery of the Copies of the evidence taken by the Sandwich Commission is mainly owing to an omission to present it. The Reports of the Knaresborough, Boston, and Canterbury Commissions were presented with evidence, containing in all from 500 to 630 pages each, within from four to six weeks of the dates on which they were received by the printers. The Sandwich Report was presented without evidence. The evidence, which formed a separate volume, not having been presented, no order was given to strike it off. The printers report that, had such an order been given, the delivery could have been made without difficulty several days ago.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked whether the delay did not partly arise from the fact that the Stationery Office made its contract with the Queen's Printers, thereby throwing upon them an amount of work that they were unable to turn out? He referred particularly to the Report of the Agricultural Commission.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, I do not think that the delay is due to any excessive amount of work being thrown upon one firm. They can put on any staff and turn out any amount of work. The fact is, that printing and the correction of proofs is work that necessarily takes a considerable time.

MR. HERMON: Will the noble Lord put it up to competition?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: The arrangements of the office were revised by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) in a manner which reflects great credit on him, and, in effect, it was then put up to competition.

RUSSIA—ALLEGED SECRET TREATY OF MAY 31ST, 1878.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in a recently published work, entitled "Merv and the Man Stealing Turcomans, by Charles Marvin":—

> "By the Secret Treaty of May 31st, 1878, the Czar solemnly bound himself never to extend the Russian frontier in Asia Minor;"

whether that statement is accurate; and, whether any such Treaty or document affording a guarantee against the advance of Russia in Asia Minor actually exists; and, if so, whether there would now be any objection to lay a Copy of it upon the Table?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the statement quoted is not correct, and the case concerns Her Majesty's late Government, who gave the explanations which seemed to them at the time possible. I have nothing to add; and, indeed, could not add to the statement I made on the 28th of May last with regard to confidential communications between the late Government and the Russian Government without authority from both Parties.

ARMY—THE ZULU WAR MEDAL.

Major O'BEIRNE asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the South African war medal has not been issued to all those who were engaged in the Zulu war?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, I do not quite understand the object of my hon. and gallant Friend's Question. The medal has been issued to all troops of whom we have received proper rolls, and a Committee has just reported on a few doubtful cases; and I have approved their Report on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief.

THE COMMITTEE ON RAILWAYS—CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. STANHOPE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the constitution of the Committee on Railways recently appointed by this House; whether it is a fact that it includes at least eight Railway directors; and, whether, as a Committee so constituted will not be a satisfactory tribunal to decide upon the complaints made by the agricultural interest against the rates for the carriage of goods at present charged by the Railway Companies, he will undertake to ask the House to reconstitute the Committee?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that, with the permission of the House, he would at the same time answer the Questions of the hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) and of the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) on this subject. In the first place, it would be well to call the attention of the House to the fact that the appointment of the Committee did not rest primarily with the Government, and that in regard to nearly half of the Committee the Government had no influence in their nomination. Probably the House would regard with jealousy anything like interference on the part of the Government with the composition of the Committee, as Committees so appointed would not have the confidence of the public. Notice of the nomination of this Committee was given 10 days before the appointment was made, and the proper time to have contested the constitution of the Committee would have been when the nomination was made. It was very difficult to specify the qualifications of the Committee, because it was difficult to say what was the chief ground on which any Member had been placed on the Committee. He had carefully considered the matter; and, as far as he had been able to find out, after making allowance for dual qualifications, he found that its composition was as follows:—One hon. Member represented the Board of Trade, two were connected with the Legal Profession, four represented agricultural interests, five represented the interests of coal and iron, six the interests of manufactures and commerce, seven were supposed to be principally connected with railways, and one remained—the right hon. Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth)—whom, he confessed, he was unable to classify without permission. Under these circumstances, he did not think the railway interests unduly prominent or predominant, or that the agricultural or the manufacturing interest, or the interest of the large towns, was insufficiently or inadequately represented. At the same time, he recognized that there was a feeling, probably general on both sides of the House, that those interests should be strengthened. The proposition, therefore, he had to make was that if the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) would withdraw his opposition he would himself place on the Paper a Motion to increase the number of the Committee to 27, and would add the names of the hon. Member for East Derbyshire (Mr. Barnes), the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine), who also represented the commercial interests of Liverpool, the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) and the hon. Member for South Northamptonshire (Mr. Phipps), one representing the coal trade, two the agricultural interest, and one a large commercial constituency.

Subsequently,

Earl PERCY asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that he had named 26 Members, whereas the Committee consisted of only 23, and whether it was not probable that he had counted some of the Members twice over?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir; it is not only probable but certain. I explained to the House that several Members of the Committee had dual qualifications, and it was impossible for me to classify them as having one qualification only.

BRITISH GUIANA—CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether in the Colony of British Guiana English subjects, including indentured Coolies, previously unconvicted of any offence, are liable to receive thirty-nine lashes in addition to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, for the offence of stealing one pennyworth of plantains, or any other common fruit of the country; whether these punishments can be and are, as a matter of fact, mostly inflicted by stipendiary justices without the intervention of a jury; and, whether any such laws prevail in the other West Indian Colonies?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: "Yes" will be my answer to all the three Questions, provided that, in spite of the turn which my hon. Friend has given to the first, it is understood that the maxim "*De minimis non curat lex*" is accepted in all countries. In Guiana predial larceny seems to be punished by whipping oftener than in the West India Islands. In 1879 there were in that Colony no less than 1,043 cases of predial larceny of sufficient gravity to be reported to the police. I need hardly say that plunder of their provision grounds and gardens is the greatest calamity with which the industrious negroes have to contend. Of the 1,043 cases 89 were prosecuted to conviction, and in 32 cases whipping was inflicted. The depredators on the gardens of the negroes, chiefly negroes themselves, not coolies, often go about in gangs, and commit much violence.

POOR LAW—NEW WORKHOUSE AT DULWICH.

Sir JAMES LAWRENCE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has been informed of the intention of the guardians of the parish of St. Saviour Southwark to erect a new workhouse on ground adjoining Dulwich Grove; and, if he is aware that such proposed erection will be a serious inconvenience to the inhabitants in that locality, who have expressed strong objections to a workhouse being built in the midst of suburban villas; and, whether the consent of the Local Government Board has been given to the proposed erection after a request from the inhabitants that a deputation might be received and before such deputation was received?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said he had been informed of the intention of the guardians to erect a workhouse, and the site having been inspected by an inspector of the Local Government Board, and reported to be exceedingly well adapted for the purpose, the proposed purchase was sanctioned. That was before the application for the deputation was received. He would regret exceedingly that the erection of the building on the proposed site should prove an inconvenience to any of the inhabitants; but he was bound to point out that if buildings of that kind were to be erected only on sites where no one could be found to object, they would have to abandon their erection altogether.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—INSPECTORS OF THE POOR.

Mr. P. BRUCE asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is his intention to introduce during the present Session a Bill authorizing parochial boards to grant superannuation allowances to inspectors of the poor?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren): Sir, the question referred to by my hon. Friend has already engaged the attention of the Government, and I believe I may say that we hope to introduce a Bill giving the same power to Scotch Parochial Boards as are possessed by the Unions of England and Ireland.

INLAND REVENUE—EXTRA RECEIPTS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, When the account to be annually presented to Parliament, in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee, "showing all arrears of payments due to the Exchequer as Extra Receipts," will be presented?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, the Treasury propose to call on the Departments to send in a Return of all moneys receivable by them as extra receipts on behalf of the Exchequer exceeding £100 which will have been outstanding for more than a year on the 31st of March next.

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION—ARTILLERY MILITIA.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, What position is to be assigned to the Artillery Militia in the new scheme of Territorial Regiments, and if the Officers of that force are to wear gold lace and appointments as in the Royal Artillery?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, the case of the Artillery Militia is still under my consideration, and I cannot undertake at this moment to say what change we may make in their uniform.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has considered that, by allowing commanding officers of Militia to prolong their service beyond the age of sixty years, at which age, in accordance with paragraph 87, section I. of the Militia Regulations, they are now obliged to retire, and by compelling majors to retire at the age of 55, he will not preclude many existing majors from obtaining the command of the regiments?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, the hon. and gallant Gentleman has somewhat imperfectly appreciated the present regulation. It is true that colonels of Militia may be retired at 60 years of age; but this is not compulsory, as the regulation allows an unlimited extension on the recommendation of the General Officer commanding; and, as a matter of fact, there are 11 colonels of over 67 years of age, 15 over 60, and 15 majors also over 60. The new rule will be more favourable to present majors than the existing one, which is practically no rule at all, and I see no reason for modifying it.

STATE OF IRELAND—CRIME IN IRELAND—DROGHEDA ASSIZES.

Mr. BELLINGHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that at the late Assizes held in Drogheda on Monday March 7th, the judge was presented with white gloves, the calendar not exhibiting a single case for trial?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that his attention had been called to the fact by the hon. Member's Question, and it was a very satisfactory circumstance.

STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.

Mr. MACARTNEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Government contemplates the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland, as stated in the "Times" of Saturday the 5th March?

Mr. CHILDERS: I know nothing on this subject, except that I have read the paragraph in *The Times* to which the hon. Member refers. It conjectures what Government may probably do after the Arms Bill has passed. I really cannot undertake to answer all the predictions as to the future intentions of Her Majesty's Government which may appear in the newspapers.

TUNIS—THE ENFIDA CASE.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can state what decision has been arrived at on the point of Law with reference to the Enfida Estate in Tunis, which he informed the House, on a former occasion, had been referred to the Law Officers of the Crown; whether any information has been received by Her Majesty's Government that the French Government had consulted the Sheikh-el-Islam at Constantinople, thereby acknowledging that the question came under the jurisdiction of the Mahomedan Law, and should consequently be decided by the Local Courts at Tunis; whether his attention has been drawn to a statement which appeared in a letter to one of the leading journals, to the effect that the French ironclad "Friedland" did not leave Tunis, as was alleged by him, when Her Majesty's ship "Thunderer" took her departure from Tunisian waters, and if he can say if there is at present any French war vessel lying there; and, whether the time has not arrived when the Papers connected with this subject can be laid upon the Table of the House?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, no decision has yet been arrived at on the point to which my hon. Friend refers. Her Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any reference to the Sheikh-ul-Islam beyond a statement to that effect made to Lord Granville by Mr. Levy's legal adviser. Her Majesty's Government are not yet in a position to lay before Parliament the Papers upon the subject. The *Friedland* did leave Tunis the day before the *Thunderer* left, and there is only the usual smaller ship there now.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—IRISH MILITIA REGIMENTS.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the fact that Bands in the Militia are almost entirely supported by voluntary subscriptions and stoppages of pay from the officers, he will for this year make some allowance to the Bands of Irish Militia regiments, to enable them to tide over the difficulties consequent on there being no training, and therefore no pay issued to officers.

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, the noble Lord mentioned this subject to me privately some time ago, and, with every desire to meet his wish, I have been considering it with the departmental officers concerned. The difficulty is that officially the War Office has no knowledge of Militia bands. The men are Militiamen, paid as such, and assisted by officers' contributions. As the regiments are not called up for training, I fear I have no legal power to make any payments for this purpose.

ARMY—MOUNTED OFFICERS IN THE FIELD.

MR. HUSSEY VIVIAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether mounted officers are permitted and encouraged to dismount when under fire whenever their duty can be performed with equal efficiency on foot; and, whether, in view of the deadly character of the Boer's fire, it would not be advisable to issue orders that officers shall cease to wear sashes and other badges easily distinguished at a distance; and, whether their steel scabbards cannot be darkened so as to prevent their glancing in the sun?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the Commander-in-Chief is about to issue a General Order with regard to mounted officers dismounting in action. The officers now on active service in South Africa do not wear their sashes, and it is now the custom to "dull" swords and scabbards.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

MR. CALLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can inform the House whether there is any regulation in force, or custom existing, in the Royal Irish Constabulary, that sub-inspectors should not be permanently stationed in the same district nor continued in the same station beyond a certain number of years; and, if so, will he have any objection to place the rule or regulation upon the Table of the House?

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, he was informed by the Inspector General of Constabulary that there was no regulation of the sort. Sub-inspectors were sometimes transferred from one place to another, according as it was considered expedient. He would rather the hon. Member would not ask for the Return, as its production would give much trouble.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—COUNTY COURTS IN CAVAN AND LEITRIM.

MR. LEWIS asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he would state the date of the death of Mr. Greer, the late county judge of Cavan and Leitrim; the date of the appointment of his successor, Mr. George Waters, Q.C.; the date of the Order in Council altering the periods for the holding courts in Cavan and Leitrim; why such Order in Council was not issued in time to enable all processes to be served in due time before such altered periods; whether, after the promulgation of the Order in Council, processes in equity land cases, and also civil Bills over £20, as well as transfers of licences, were not absolutely excluded from adjudication at the forthcoming sessions; and, whether the grave inconvenience thus caused to suitors in

Cavan and Leitrim has arisen from the re-appointment of Mr. Waters to his former post of county judge of Waterford, in addition to that of judge of Cavan and Leitrim; and, what was the date of such re-appointment?

MR. TOTTENHAM asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the counties of Cavan and Leitrim were united in one county court judgeship in February, 1878; whether the dates for holding quarter sessions, civil bill, and land courts in these counties were duly fixed, pursuant to Statute, last November for the present year; whether ample notice (fixed by Statute at six weeks) of the holding of such courts is not necessary for suitors; whether equity civil bills, land claims, and notices for transfers of publicans' licences require to be served several weeks before the holding of such courts; whether it was in accordance with the construction and intention of "The County Courts Act, 1877," that the dates at which the county court judge of Cavan and Leitrim was bound to hold his courts should be materially altered, in order to enable him to accept an additional temporary appointment; whether anyone connected with the counties of Cavan or Leitrim, except the county court judge, was consulted on the subject; and, whether the suitors in equity cases, land claims, civil bills over £20, and transfers of publicans' licences' claims, who may be precluded by the shortness of the notice from bringing forward their cases at the approaching sessions, will be compelled to wait until the following sessions, or else at greater expense to resort to proceedings in the superior courts?

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is true that the Grand Jury of the county Leitrim, now assembled at Assizes, have this day, March 7th, passed a resolution condemning in strongest terms the alteration of the dates for the holding of Quarter Sessions, Civil Bill and Land Courts in the county for the year 1881; whether it is not the fact that all ordinary Civil Bills must be in the hands of the process servers one week before the commencement of Sessions; whether in the Manorhamilton Division of the county the last day for such lodgment is not Tuesday, the 8th instant; whether this alteration of dates was only posted in the county on Friday the 4th instant; and, whether this proceeding gave intending suitors only three days to take the necessary steps to prepare and bring forward their claims?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): In replying, Sir, to the hon. Member for the City of Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), I hope I may be permitted also to answer the Questions by the two hon. and gallant Members for the County of Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham and Major O'Beirne), and also a fourth Question, of which my hon. Friend the Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland) has given Notice for to-morrow. There is no doubt, Sir, that there has been a miscarriage in making the necessary arrangements for holding the Quarter Sessions, Civil Bill, and Land Courts of Cavan and Leitrim. These counties were united in 1878 into one County Court Judgeship; and the dates for holding the Courts in 1881, of which adequate notice is, of course, necessary, were fixed last November. Civil bills, land claims, publicans' notices, and other proceedings in these Courts, require to be served at specified times before the holding of the Courts. Mr. Greer, the late County Court Judge, died on the 23rd of November, 1880; and Mr. Waters, then the Waterford County Court Judge, was appointed in the room of Mr. Greer by an order of December 24. At the same time, he was appointed temporary County Court Judge of Waterford, because Waterford could not for the present be joined to the group of counties with which it is ultimately to be united, and such temporary Judgeship can only be held by another County Judge. It was afterwards found that the dates fixed for holding the Courts of the united counties of Cavan and Leitrim clashed with those for holding the Waterford Courts; and it was also found that, while under the Act of 1877 there was power to vary the Cavan and Leitrim dates, there was no provision under which the Waterford dates could be altered. Under these circumstances, it was considered that an Order in Council should be made changing the dates of the Cavan and Leitrim Courts, and for this purpose the County Court Judge furnished a schedule of the dates to be appended to the Order. The Law Officers, taking for granted the dates thus furnished by the Judge, suited the requirements of the business in his Court, did not, as it seems they ought to have done, critically examine these dates in detail; and thus the Order in Council of the 2nd instant was made to which the hon. Members have called attention. The dates thereby fixed do not allow a sufficient interval for having the business of these Courts properly transacted; and I shall, therefore, recommend that a new Order shall at once be made restoring the dates originally fixed last November. So far as these interfere with the dates fixed for the Waterford County Courts, provision must be made for holding the latter by a substitute. I need not say I regret that this mistake should have occurred; but I trust that all difficulty and inconvenience will be prevented by the course which I have now indicated.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—INSURRECTION OF THE BOERS.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the rising in the Transvaal were not on the 6th January expressed in Her Majesty's most gracious Speech in the following words:—

> "A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority, and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their local affairs without prejudice to the interests of the natives which I have been desirous to confer;"

And, if so, if he would explain to the House what has since occurred to induce the Government now to consider by negotiations "plans for securing to the Boers that full control over their local affairs" which a few weeks ago were "of necessity" to be postponed to the prompt vindication of Her Majesty's authority; also, in order to clear up the uncertainty in which the matter is at the present moment, whether Sir Evelyn Wood, in proposing the armistice to the Boers, acted under instructions which had been given to Sir George Colley, and to which Sir Evelyn Wood of course succeeded on the death of Sir George Colley.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Question is one which I have already answered more than once; and I have informed the House of the only instructions given to Sir George Colley, and to which, as the noble Lord justly observed, Sir Evelyn Wood succeeded on the death of that lamented officer. As regards the first part of the Question, I have no doubt that the citation from the Queen's Speech is correct. At the time when Her Majesty was advised to sanction the delivery of that Speech we were under the impression, which I think was correct, that our first duty, on the occurrence of the rising in the Transvaal, was to place the local authority of the Queen and the military acting under Her Majesty in South Africa in a condition to deal with the emergency. We were at that time actively engaged in that duty, and until it had been fulfilled we did not consider the opportunity had arisen for our endeavouring to bring about a settlement of affairs in the Transvaal. We do consider that, in existing circumstances, such an opportunity has arisen, so far, at least, as to make it our duty and worth our while to have the circumstances carefully tested with a view to ascertain what may be the result. I cannot undertake to predict confidently the issue of the communications which are going on. We are aware of the interests on our hands, and we shall endeavour sedulously to guard them. With respect to what has been done in the interval, much, undoubtedly, has happened in the interval, including the proposal or request from the leaders of the Boers for the appointment of a Royal Commission to examine into the matter. I do not think it would be convenient or altogether just to the House if I were to endeavour, in answer to a Question, to give anything like a full or detailed account of what has happened. The best form of giving such detailed accounts—in fact, the only form satisfactory to the House—will be the presentation to the House of the actual Correspondence as it has occurred so soon as the moment arrives when the public interests will allow of its being presented. I may, however, observe that there are Supplementary Estimates on the Table, including, unhappily of necessity, both Military and Naval Estimates for the service in the Transvaal, for which it will be necessary to propose Votes within the course of the next week or 10 days. That will afford the noble Lord and other hon. Members an opportunity of offering criticisms if they think fit.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—RUMOURED HOSTILITIES ON THE GOLD COAST.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is possession of any further news respecting the anticipated outbreak of hostilities on the Gold Coast?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Sir, in reply to the noble Lord, I will read the following news from the Lieutenant Governor of the Gold Coast, which was received at the Colonial Office yesterday:—

> "Messengers from Ashantee received. King disclaims Ambassadors' threat as to attacking Assin. It was Enquie's act and should be overlooked. King entertained only friendly feeling towards English. Gold axe meant nothing. If it is reported that Ashantees are ready to attack any part of the Protectorate, report will be false. The King wishes to be friends with this Government."

The Governor still, however, thinks the situation not altogether satisfactory.

STATE OF IRELAND—COUNTY LONGFORD—PLOUGHING OF GRASS LANDS.

MR. MONTAGU SCOTT asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If it is a fact that on Saturday the 26th of February, a number of men entered on the land of a tenant in the county of Longford who had been served with an ejectment, and with forty ploughs ploughed up all the grass land on the holding, so as to leave it nearly worthless for some time to the landowner?

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether some time since a tenant on the Carrickboy Estate, County Longford, was served with a writ of ejectment; whether, with his sanction, on Saturday the 28th February, a party of men entered his holding and ploughed up his grass land; and, whether the ploughs on that occasion numbered about forty?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): Sir, I have received reports from the Constabulary authorities in reference to this matter, from which I find that a tenant in the Carrickboy district, in the county of Longford, who has recently been served with an ejectment process, has had, on two or three days last week, from 6 to 13 ploughs each day ploughing up a few fields for the purpose of setting the land in conacre in order to obtain money to pay his rent and stave off eviction. The fields in question, however, were not grazing land, but tillage, and have been used for similar purposes for a number of years. The ploughing, too, was done under the eye of the land bailiff. I presume this must be the case referred to in the Question, as it is the only one that has come to the knowledge of the local constabulary.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—OFFICERS OF MILITIA.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is prepared to recommend a step of honorary rank being granted to those officers of Militia, who, having not yet completed the term of service now entitling them to it, will be compelled to retire on account of age?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I fear I cannot undertake to recommend to Her Majesty to carry still further the boon of a step of honorary rank, which I have mentioned as intended to be allowed to Militia officers.

RUSSIA AND CHINA—THE RECENT TREATY.

MR. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are in possession of the terms of the Treaty lately made between Russia and China; and, if so, whether it is in his power to communicate them to the House, either by laying them on the Table or otherwise?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government are generally acquainted with the terms of the Treaty between Russia and China which Lord Dufferin reported to have been signed at St. Petersburg on the 24th ultimo, and as soon as Her Majesty's Government are in possession of a formal copy it will be laid on the Table of the House.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he could give the House any information as to the probable course of Business to-morrow or on Monday?

MR. GLADSTONE: If the concluding stages of the Arms Bill should not be got through to-night, we shall proceed to-morrow with the Arms Bill, in the hope that in the circumstances the debate will not be prolonged beyond to-morrow, and with the intention of proposing to the House that it shall not be prolonged beyond to-morrow. I propose to state to-morrow what we expect with regard to the course of Business next week. Estimates will be put down on the Paper on the chance of their being taken—[Mr. W. H. SMITH: What Estimates?]—but not the Navy Estimates.

AFGHANISTAN—THE DESPATCH OF MAY 21.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, When he expects to receive the Report called for in the following words from his Despatch to His Excellency the Viceroy of India, dated May 8th 1880, three weeks after the assumption of office of Her Majesty's present Ministers:—

> "The desire of Her Majesty's Government is that Afghan territory should be evacuated whenever it appears possible to entertain the hope that a stable Government has been secured. Your Excellency will report as to the manner in which this object may be best attained;"

if he can state to the House, without detriment to the public service, what has been done during the past ten months for the attainment of this object; and, how it is that no Minutes from His Excellency the Viceroy or any Member of the Supreme Council has been included in the Blue Book recently issued regarding the abandonment or retention of Candahar?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I suppose the Question of the hon. Member refers to a paragraph in a despatch dated the 21st, and not the 8th, of May. In response to that despatch the Government of India have not furnished anything which could be described as taking the form of a Report; but they have from time to time sent despatches, the major part of which have, I believe, been laid on the Table of the House, giving statements of their proceedings with regard to Cabul, the Khyber, and Kuram. I have already mentioned that a short despatch has been received on the subject of Candahar, and it will be laid on the Table as soon as the enclosures which belong to it are also received. In reply to the last part of the Question, I may say that a Minute by the Commander-in-Chief, who is a Member of the Supreme Council, has been laid on the Table and included in the Blue Book recently issued. Other Minutes by Members of the Council are expected to arrive by the next mail, and I shall be able, I hope, to present them as soon as they arrive. I ought, perhaps, to state with reference to an answer given by my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury on Tuesday, in which he stated that he did not expect any movement of troops would take place for a considerable time, that on the same day I received the following telegram:—

> "The withdrawal of troops from the Candahar line commences at once. Three Native regiments and probably one European regiment will be ordered to return to India immediately."

I do not anticipate that any very considerable movement of troops will take place immediately; but in order that there should be no misunderstanding with regard to the answer given by my right hon. Friend, I thought it my duty to make this communication to the House.

MR. ONSLOW: Now that our troops are leaving Candahar, I would like to ask the Secretary of State for India to whom it is proposed to give up Candahar?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of the Question.

THE NEW ORDNANCE COMMITTEE.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will state what will be the constitution of the New Ordnance Committee, and what duties will be assigned to it?

MR. CHILDERS: If my right hon. Friend will move for the Instructions to the New Ordnance Committee, I shall have no objection to presenting them. The Committee will be constituted as follows:—President, General Sir Collingwood Dickson, R.A.; Vice President, Rear Admiral Howard; Members, Captain Singer, R.N.; Colonel Smyth, R.A.; Captain Bridge, R.N.; Colonel Nugent, R.E.; Colonel M'Farlane, R.A. (*ex-officio* as Ordnance Consulting Officer for India); Major Noble, R.A.; Mr. Bramwell, C.E.; and Mr. Barlow, C.E.; Major Ellis, R.A., Secretary, and Captain Bainbridge, R.A., Assistant Secretary. The Committee's duties will begin on the 1st of April.

STATE OF IRELAND—EVICTIONS CO. ARMAGH.

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, on Saturday the 26th ult. certain evictions were carried into effect upon an estate situated in the townland of Carran, and adjoining townlands, in the county of Armagh; and, if he will state the number of families evicted, and the number of police present on the occasion?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): Sir, there were no evictions in the townlands in question on the 26th ultimo; but I find that on the 25th ultimo, seven families were evicted for non-payment of rent. There were no police employed on the occasion. There was no excitement, and the tenants quietly gave up possession to the sheriff's bailiffs.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE RENEWED ARMISTICE.

Mr. RITCHIE gave Notice that, tomorrow, he would ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the first communications with respect to the terms of peace and the armistice now existing between the British troops and the Boers took place after the death of Sir George Colley; whether they were in reference to previous communications or to a new proposal; whether they were due to initiative proceedings on the part of the British Commander or anyone on his behalf, or whether they proceeded from the Boer leaders or anyone on their behalf; and whether a basis of peace had been agreed upon?

ARMY SERGEANTS—THE DEFAULTER LIST.

Sir WILLIAM PALLISER asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would favourably consider whether, in the case of sergeants, the defaulter-sheet, which, in most cases, is but the record of youthful indiscretions, should be kept locked up as a confidential document, in order that a man who has so reformed as to deserve promotion to this rank should start in it with a clean bill of health?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I have to state that this is purely a question of the internal economy of a regiment, upon which I am very loth to express an opinion. I have spoken to the Commander-in-Chief on the subject, and at present he does not see any valid reason for the change suggested; but the matter shall receive attention when we have less pressure of Business than now.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE BOERS.

Mr. J. R. YORKE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he had received any confirmation of the announcement which appeared in the morning papers that the Boers were employing the leisure enjoyed by them during the armistice in burning the homesteads of British residents in the Transvaal?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir, we have received no telegram to that effect.

THE THAMES RIVER BILL.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Thames Bill was finally arranged to come on on Tuesday?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, I hope so.

MOTION.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL—VOTE OF URGENCY.—RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question put,

> "That, upon the Consideration of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, as amended, this day, at Ten o'clock, any New Clauses and Amendments then standing upon the Notice Paper, be put forthwith."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 347; Noes 30: Majority 317.—(Div. List, No. 141.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) [COMPENSATION].

Further Proceeding on Report *resumed.*

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation for arms and ammunition voluntarily surrendered, in pursuance of the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the Preservation of the Peace in Ireland."

Motion made, and Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution," put, and *agreed to.*

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 105.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. CALLAN, in moving the following New Clause:—

(Power of appeal.)

"Every person who is convicted under this Act and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, or to pay any fine or penalty, may appeal against such conviction; every such appeal shall be brought in the manner and shall be subject to the provisions prescribed by and contained in section twenty-four of 'The Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1851,' with respect to appeals in the cases therein stated,"

reminded the House that in 1875, when the Conservative Party was in power, the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) consented to the insertion of a clause in the Coercion Bill giving a person charged with the offences under that Act the right to appeal. In the present Bill that power was taken away, and no option whatever was given to the person charged with the offence. The present Chief Secretary, who was then in Opposition, took upon himself to reply to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and contended that such a right of appeal ought to be given. There was then great liberality of sentiment among the Liberal Opposition Members, two of the most prominent figures in the division being the present Attorney General for Ireland and the Attorney General for England. There was much more reason why this right should be conferred in the Bill now before the House, because power of appeal would give the accused greater security, and prevent the magistrates from using their powers capriciously.

New Clause (Power of appeal,)—*Mr. Callan,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. DAWSON said, no doubt the Chief Secretary for Ireland felt flattered by the encomium passed upon him by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) with reference to his liberal action of 1875. Three months' imprisonment was a very serious thing to the character of a man, and would act harshly on poor men who would not be provided for whilst in prison. In supporting the adoption of this clause he would appeal to the sense of fairness, justice, and consistency of the Treasury Bench.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT was sure that the hon. Member would not think him obstinate when he felt bound to adhere to what he had already said on this matter. The provisions of this Bill were in substance the provisions of the Act of 1875. The provisions of the Act of 1851, too, applied to this Bill, and wherever the sentence of imprisonment was above a month, or the fine above 20*s.*, in that case there would be an appeal. The present Bill was in no respect more severe than the Bill of 1875. They could not put this Bill upon an exceptional footing in respect of offences which would compare with others which were punishable by summary conviction. The moment that was done the people of Ireland would be taught to regard convictions under this Act as a less serious breach of the law than any other conviction, and that would be a very mischievous condition of things. It would encourage the people to think that this law could be violated with impunity, and, therefore, he could not assent to this clause.

MR. HEALY asked, what the Government would do in the case of half-a-dozen pistols being found in a man's house, and the magistrate gave him a month's imprisonment for each of the illegal articles found in his possession?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, it would be his duty, as Home Secretary, to see that no injustice was committed by the magistrates.

MR. FINIGAN asked, with reference to the Act of 1875, if it was not provided that anyone arrested under the Act had the option of at once asking for a trial by jury, whereas under this Bill no such option was given.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, it was so under this Bill. It was so under the Act of 1875, but not under the Act of 1870.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would be satisfied with the Home Secretary's answer, if, as he understood it, it meant that although the Bill did not give the right of appeal, it was given under another Act.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that was so.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: If the right of appeal was given by another Act, why had not the right hon. Gentleman stated it a little sooner? His whole statement previously had been that it was not safe to give the right of appeal, because juries were not found to convict.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The appeal is to Quarter Sessions.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he found he did not understand the answer. The right of appeal was not to a jury, but to Quarter Sessions.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is what the Amendment asks.

Mr. LEAMY did not think the Home Secretary could reasonably refuse the right of appeal under this Bill, because he created an exceptional kind of offence which ought to give the person convicted a right which he did not possess under other Acts.

Mr. DAWSON asked the Solicitor General for Ireland why, if the ordinary Petty Sessions Act gave the right of appeal, there was a special provision for that purpose made in the Act of 1875?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. W. M. Johnson) said, he could not tell. It was wholly unnecessary.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. CALLAN, in rising to move the following new Clause:—

(Licences to be granted on production ot certificate of two justices of the peace.)

"Every person appointed under this Act to grant licences to have or carry arms, in any district, shall be bound to grant to any occupier of one or more agricultural holdings a licence to have arms, or to have and carry arms upon any specified lands, or a licence to have and carry arms generally, who shall produce to him a certificate signed by two justices of the peace for the county, residing within the same petty sessions district as the person producing such certificate, that he is a fit and proper person to have such licence respectively,"

said, that before 1875 the resident magistrates were the only persons empowered to give licences, but much dissatisfaction prevailed in consequence of the partial manner in which these officials acted. He believed, however, that a change was made in 1875 as to the mode of granting licences. The object of this Act, as put before the country by the Home Secretary, was to take arms from the dissolute ruffians and village tyrants who were likely to use them for criminal purposes, and the object of this clause was to provide a safeguard for the respectable members of society. He asked the Government to repose the same trust in the local magistracy as the Conservative Administration reposed in them under the Act of 1875. It would be absurd to confine the issue of licences to the resident magistrate, because in most cases he lived 30 miles away from portions of his district, and knew nothing about the character of the applicants for licences. To take an instance, in his own district there were two magistrates who were the largest proprietors in the district. They were Catholics, and both lived amongst the people. There were two others who were Protestants, who were equally respectable, and who, he must say, were almost as well liked. These four gentlemen had not the power to give a certificate; but this non-resident stipendiary magistrate could override their decision. In Dundalk it was in evidence that the resident magistrate expressly stated—"I will not give you the licence, because people would say you are shooting the hares." If he had said—"Because people would say you are shooting the landlords" it would, perhaps, be a valid excuse. If the local magistrates were not fit to give a certificate upon which a licence should be granted, surely they were not fit to sit upon the Bench. If this concession were not granted by the Government it would show that they were actuated by a Cromwellian spirit.

New Clause (Licences to be granted on production of certificate of two justices of the peace,)—*Mr. Callan,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT assured the hon. Member that the Government were not actuated by any such spirit. Practically, he did not differ much from the hon. Member as to the magistrates being proper persons to give this power to. But the Bill was drawn in the most general terms, and, as he had stated over and over again, it was thought better to leave it to the Lord Lieutenant to accommodate the Act to the circumstances of particular places and times. He had no doubt that whoever had the power of issuing licences would be directed to consult the magistrates; but it would not be consistent with the manner in which the Bill was drawn to enter into details with regard to the matter.

MR. CALLAN said, the right hon. Gentleman must be labouring under a misapprehension. He did not wish to restrict the power of the Lord Lieutenant. What he proposed was that the licensing authority, whoever he might be, should be entitled to give licences to any farmer on the production of a recommendation from two local magistrates residing in the same petty sessions district.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he quite understood that; but in Acts of Parliament the *expressio unius* very often involved the *exclusio alterius*, and it was thought better that the Lord Lieutenant should have the largest discretion, both with regard to appointing the licensing authority and to the recommendations upon which that authority should act.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that the explanation of the Home Secretary was most unsatisfactory, and he would not have ventured to make it if he had the smallest acquaintance with Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Bill would enable the Lord Lieutenant to allow persons in different places—say Cavan, Cork, Galway—to carry arms on different terms. Such a proposal was never made before in an Act of Parliament, as that these regulations were to vary with the whim of the Lord Lieutenant or his underlings. If there was one thing more than another—and here he took issue with the hon. Member (Mr. Callan)—that was considered a fault in the Peace Preservation Act of 1875, it was the provision which compelled the resident magistrate to give a licence for arms on the certificate of two local magistrates. That provision did not work well, for persons who ought not to have arms would go to two local magistrates who did not know much about them and get a recommendation. That the Lord Lieutenant would make such regulations as the Home Secretary suggested was absurd and ridiculous; it was just as likely that he should do so, as that he should become Lord Lieutenant in the moon. The Bill was objectionable in not defining, as the Act of 1875 did, the exact powers which the Lord Lieutenant was to have; and it was a remarkable fact that it was left to a Liberal Government to propose a Coercion Bill of the most unlimited character, perhaps, that had ever been introduced into Parliament—a Bill giving power to the Lord Lieutenant to make any regulations he pleased in respect of the carrying, or the possession, or the searching for arms.

MAJOR NOLAN observed, that the action of the Lord Lieutenant would very much depend on the way the Home Secretary corrected his speech as reported in *Hansard*. In one part of his speech he said that probably the Lord Lieutenant would do a certain thing; and, of course, it would be very unlikely, if not impossible, that a Lord Lieutenant should go against the express declaration of a Cabinet Minister. But, again, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Lord Lieutenant might do what he pleased, and if that were reported in *Hansard* the Lord Lieutenant would naturally consider that his discretion in this matter was unlimited. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was far from satisfactory, and some further explanation on the subject was required. It was an absurd contention of the Government that they were to give to the Lord Lieutenant complete power. The Home Secretary seemed to think that they doubted the Lord Lieutenant's honour and ability, but that was not so. He did not think Lord Cowper really cared for the power it was sought to place in his hands; besides which, the Home Secretary had not shown them that it was the Lord Lieutenant who would make the rules. In his (Major Nolan's) opinion, it would be the Chief Secretary, if that right hon. Gentleman did not delegate the power to someone else. If the right hon. Gentleman were to make the rules, he must by this time know enough of Ireland to convince him of the trouble and vexation which would be occasioned by the application of one rule to one district, and the application of a different rule to another district. He could not conceive what reasonable objection could be raised to this Amendment. The Conservative Government accepted the clause when it was brought in by Mr. Butt, and the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said he was glad to see that Irish Members were disposed to place some confidence in Irish magistrates. What change had there been since 1875? Was it that a Liberal Government was going to be more restrictive than a Conservative Government? A year ago the licensing authority was practically obliged to give a licence for the carrying of a fowling-piece to anyone who was recommended by one magistrate, because if two recommendations were obtained the licence must be granted. Without this clause, the Bill would make the resident magistrate complete master of the situation. He trusted, therefore, the Government would assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for Louth, and that one uniform rule as to the licensing of arms would be adopted for the whole of Ireland. There would be the greatest difficulty if different rules were made for different districts, and their operation could not be freed from invidiousness.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY remarked, that during the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman one question kept pressing on his mind—namely, what was the reason for the great waste of time there had been over this Bill? Why not bring in a Bill of a single clause, declaring that during the continuance of this measure the Lord Lieutenant should be authorized to take whatever steps he might think fit for the preservation of peace? They were travelling very fast at present. First they had suspended the Habeas Corpus in Ireland; next they had curtailed in no small degree Parliamentary liberties; and now under this Bill trial by jury would be abolished for five years for certain offences. In fact, they were going on so fast and so far that he was inclined to agree in the justice of an observation of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that the Government should give over all pretence of Constitutional rule and convert Ireland into a Crown Colony. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) did not feel very enthusiastic with respect to the present Amendment; but as it tended to limit the power of the Lord Lieutenant, and impose something like Constitutional rule in the place of the arbitrary will of one man, and extended the power to respectable people to carry arms, he would be glad to support it.

MR. LITTON considered the clause a very reasonable one. It would considerably lessen the objection felt to this Bill, which certainly was not viewed with approbation by a large class of persons in Ireland. He was bound to admit that he was convinced by the arguments offered by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) that it would be a right and reasonable course to take in working out the provisions of this Bill to give to two justices the power of recommending the granting of licences. Let them consider the manner in which the Bill would otherwise work. There was very little doubt that the licensing authority would be the stipendiary magistrate resident in the district. Stipendiary magistrates were gentlemen who were well known, and of high respectability; but they seldom officiated in the districts with which they were best acquainted, and consequently knew little or nothing of the people who would apply for liberty to have and carry arms. The result, therefore, must be that it was impossible for them to exercise the authority to grant licences except they exercised it capriciously, or by having recourse to the information and guidance of persons who would come in their way. These persons would be of two classes, either the county inspector or the justice of the peace of the district. If they applied to justices they would get, no doubt, proper and fair advice. But he submitted to the Government that it would be far more desirable, and that the Act would be worked with far greater justice and more elasticity, if the licensing authority were to act upon a certificate from the justices instead of acting upon verbal information communicated to them, perhaps, after dinner or over a glass of wine. He was glad to perceive the confidence which hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway placed in the justices of Ireland in this matter. The magistrates of Ireland were thoroughly well acquainted with the character of persons in their districts who would be desirous of carrying arms for the protection of their holdings, and they would be the natural persons to apply to in such matters. He could conceive that in certain cases great injustice and injury would be done if certain classes of persons were deprived of the use of arms. How, for instance, would farmers be able to protect their sheep from dogs? He knew a case within the last month in which a man had lost eight sheep through their being attacked by dogs. The Act would work far more easily and gracefully with the clause than without it, and the clause would free the Lord Lieutenant from a responsibility of which he ought to be glad to be relieved.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that this provision in the Bill was a singularly vexatious one. On the other hand, he believed the magistrates of many districts in Ireland could not be trusted to grant licences with any degree of impartiality or with an unbiased judgment. They all knew that there had been in the North of Ireland a great stir amongst the Orangemen; and as a large proportion of the Irish magistracy possessed strong Orange proclivities, what guarantee had the House that the Orange magistracy would not arm the Orangemen in their districts wholesale, and that there would not be repetitions of the one-sided riots which had been so frequently witnessed in the North of Ireland, in which the Orange rioters would have the advantage of bullet and buckshot, and the Catholic rioters would have to trust to such weapons as nature provided them? Even in the South and West, he believed, there would be four persons obtaining licences from untrustworthy magistrates for one respectable person who would be really entitled to and would receive a licence. The overwhelming majority of the Irish justices were persons who ought not to be on the Bench at all. The Bill was a bad, Bashi-Bazouk Bill, a mere Algerine Act of a despotic Administration, and cursed with despotic Liberalism from beginning to end. He sympathized with the motive of his hon. Friend the Member for Louth in proposing the clause; but he had not sufficient faith in the magistrates to give them the power it would confer on them. If it were passed, it would be absolutely necessary for the preservation of law and order that a considerable number of the population should conceal arms for the purpose of defending themselves against the armed nominees of untrustworthy magistrates.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY observed, that the duty of granting licences had always, in cases like the present, been intrusted to the resident magistrates; but it was sometimes found that among that numerous body there were unreasonable persons who refused to give licences to those who were entitled to them. He had himself brought under the notice of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, the case of a most respectable man, a bank manager, who was refused a licence to carry a gun, because the magistrate was annoyed that the applicant had been asked to shooting parties in the neighbourhood. The noble Lord took up the case very warmly, and reproved the resident magistrate. Any man who received from two magistrates of his neighbourhood a certificate that he was a respectable man should be granted a licence, not for a revolver or a rifle, but for a shot-gun to be carried only on his own land. Nothing could be more reasonable, and former experience showed that it was also necessary. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), who had expressed himself in such bitter terms, had himself a clause on the Paper similar to that under consideration. When this circumstance was remembered, the language used by the hon. Member was simply an insult to the House. He did not think that the interests of the farmers of Ireland ought to be sacrificed in that way. He trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who had shown so conciliatory a spirit and so much common sense in the conduct of the Bill, would consider the matter in the light in which he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had endeavoured to put it.

Mr. GIBSON said, he did not look upon the Amendment proposed by this clause as one of great magnitude, as it was in the Act of 1875, and he saw no objection at present to its being in this Bill. The Home Secretary seemed to prefer that the matter should be left in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, but he did not see much advantage in this. The Amendment, however, should be altered so as to meet some of the objections mentioned by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill); and, therefore, he would suggest that if the clause now proposed should be read a second time it should be modified in some respects—namely, if two magistrates were to have a discretion to grant certificates, it should be on their personal knowledge that the applicants were fit and proper persons to have certificates granted to them.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT wished to know whether these suggestions would be accepted by the hon. Gentlemen opposite?

Mr. CALLAN was quite willing to accept the suggestion, as all he wished was to protect the farmer.

Mr. BIGGAR was unable to understand what the Government intended to do. He was not enamoured of the particular Amendment, as he did not think the getting two magistrates to privately sign the certificate was the proper way to do business. He thought there should be one plan for the whole country, and he would suggest, if the clause were read a second time, the justices in petty sessions should be the persons to give the necessary licence, as then some opportunity would be given to the public of knowing something about the matter.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. GIBSON proposed, in the last line of the clause, to insert the words "on their personal knowledge."

Mr. PARNELL asked whether it was worth while to insert this Amendment, as it would be a limitation to the discretion of magistrates, which might be very inconvenient in many cases. They might not have a personal knowledge, but they might be sufficiently satisfied of the respectability of persons by the information received from friends. He did not understand that under the clause as it was in the Bill of 1875, any inconvenience had arisen.

Mr. GIBSON said, no instance of practical inconvenience had come under his notice while he was in Office.

Mr. PARNELL remarked, that had such inconvenience arisen, no doubt the right hon. and learned Gentleman would have heard of it.

Mr. DAWSON believed that the requirements of the case would be met by the magistrate's satisfying himself by inquiry or otherwise that the person to whom he granted a certificate was worthy of the trust.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL was not quite sure that it would be well to leave this matter with the magistrates, as in some counties, say Clare, Galway, and Mayo, there were *mauvais sujets*, and if they should request certificates and be refused the magistrates would incur much unpopularity, and it was not a pleasant thing to do that in those counties. He hoped the Government would abandon their reticence and favour the Committee with their views upon this matter.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the reticence of the Government had thrown quite as much light on this subject as the two speeches of the noble Lord. In the first of those speeches the noble Lord attacked the Government for not accepting the Amendment.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL explained that he never did such a thing.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that, in that case, he, for one, misunderstood the noble Lord's remarks. He was prepared, on behalf of the Government, to adopt the present proposal.

Mr. CALLAN hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) would not resist the Amendment, as it would really be a great boon.

Mr. BIGGAR was willing to defer to the wishes of his political Friends; but he still thought it preposterous to suppose that justices should know everybody within their districts.

Amendment (*Mr. Gibson*) *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill.

Mr. CALLAN moved the following New Clause:—

(Register of licences to be kept and filed.)

"Every person appointed to grant licences under this Act shall keep a list of the names and residences of all persons applying for such licences, and shall, on the first day of every year, deposit with the clerk of the peace of the county a copy of such list, adding thereto, to the name of each applicant, a statement showing whether the licence has been granted or refused, specifying also the nature of the licence applied for, and the nature of the licence, if any, granted, which list shall be kept by the clerk of the peace among the records of the county, and same shall be open for inspection without fee."

The hon. Member quoted instances in which the magistrates had acted very capriciously in refusing licences, and this provision, he contended, would act as a deterrent in such cases, and there could be no evasion. He could conceive of no valid objection to his proposal.

Clause (Register of licences to be kept and filed,)—(*Mr. Callan,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT hoped the hon. Member would not press the clause. It was a mere directory matter, and he had no doubt that the Lord Lieutenant would, in his proclamation, direct a register to be kept that he might know to whom licences had been given and from whom withheld; but the Government had endeavoured to make this Bill short, precise, and clear, and not to overlay it with administrative details of this kind.

MR. CALLAN said, that having the personal assurance of the Home Secretary that the Lord Lieutenant in his proclamation would direct a register to be kept, he should ask leave to withdraw the clause.

MR. LEAMY did not understand the right hon. Gentleman to pledge himself that the proclamation would contain such a direction, and he hoped the Amendment would be pressed.

MR. HEALY thought this matter was more important than the Home Secretary seemed to think. Farmers and respectable people were liable to be refused licences without any cause assigned.

MR. DAWSON said, the clause would not fetter the discretion of the magistrate; it would only limit his caprice.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN thought the veil of secrecy should not be thrown over these matters. The magistrates were supposed to act in an upright manner, and it was not too much to ask that the public should have an opportunity of judging whether they did so or not. Magistrates ought not to quail before the dread of unpopularity.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN, premising that the necessity of supporting the Bill was one of the most painful incidents in his Parliamentary life, said, it was a very serious thing to refuse to any man the right to bear arms, and Parliament ought to have a record of all such refusals. What harm could it do? If it only helped in the detection of crime, it was important to have it. It seemed to him that this was a clause which vitally affected public liberty, which ought to be surrounded with every safeguard, and it would enable Parliament to correct any piece of petty tyranny that might take place. The Home Secretary spoke of the Lord Lieutenant requiring such a register by his proclamation; but why not put it straightforwardly with the Bill, and let everybody know?

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. CALLAN hoped that, after the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), Government would accept the clause and save the necessity of a division.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 90:—Majority 55.—(Div. List, No. 142.)

MR. CALLAN moved the insertion of the following Clause:—

(Prisoners under this Act to be treated as first-class misdemeanants.)

"Any persons who shall be convicted before a court of summary jurisdiction of acting in contravention of this Act, and shall be sentenced to any term of imprisonment, shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant."

He begged to point out that persons convicted under the Bill would not necessarily be guilty of any moral offence, and that as those who were convicted would not suffer in the smallest degree in their private character, they should not be obliged to herd with common criminals, but should be treated as first-class misdemeanants.

Clause (Prisoners under this Act to be treated as first-class misdemeanants,)—(*Mr. Callan,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. PARNELL, in supporting the Motion, said, he had had a clause on the Paper on the same subject; but as he was not in his place he had been unable to move it. His clause would give more latitude to the Lord Lieutenant and the Government in reference to the treatment of prisoners. It was exceedingly likely that the cases of persons convicted under the operation of this Act would vary very much. He did not wish to dispute that there might be some instances of prisoners who would deserve the harsh treatment provided under the ordinary law; but he thought the number of those cases would be very limited. He thought the number of cases in which prisoners would be convicted who had concealed their guns for bad motives would be exceedingly limited, and that by far the greatest number of persons who would be convicted under the operation of this Act would consist of persons who from negligence or some other cause failed to give in their guns at the proper time. He thought it was evident, from the nature of the offences, and from all the circumstances surrounding the case, that but a very small proportion of persons actually convicted under the operation of the Bill would be persons belonging to the criminal classes, whose minds it would be desirable to reform by harsh treatment. He thought, at all events, power should be given to the Lord Lieutenant to treat certain persons leniently where he thought proper. The discipline of the gaols in Ireland had very materially altered for the worse since the prisons passed under the control of the Government. Previous to the Prisons Act of 1877 the prisons were under the control of the county authorities. They had then considerable power with regard to the framing of rules, and also in regard to the inspection and direction in regard to the treatment of prisoners, which had now been entirely taken away from them for all practical purposes by the Act of 1877. The prisons in Ireland were now practically under the control of the Government, the Visiting Justices, taking the least possible interest in their duties, simply because all power was taken from them. The treatment of prisoners was specially bad in regard of diet; the diet of those who would come under the Act being what was practically starvation diet. It was entirely unsuited to the agricultural classes, who were accustomed to eat large quantities of bulky food. Every man under hard labour in Class 2, which was the class under which those prisoners would come during the first month of their incarceration, would get only 15 oz. of bread per day, 2 pints of thin gruel, and for dinner on some days 6 oz. of suet pudding; on other days 8 oz. of potatoes, and still on other days, half a pint of soup. Thus, for a man accustomed to eat fully 4 lb. or 5 lb. of bread during the day, they had only 15 oz. of bread, 2 pints of gruel, and less than half-a-pound of suet pudding or potatoes. In effect, they had about 21 oz. of food, and, including the soup or gruel, only 25 oz. of solid food. That diet was entirely insufficient for the class of persons likely to be imprisoned under the Act, and he would ask the Government whether they would not give power to the Lord Lieutenant to make some special exceptions with regard to the diet of those prisoners. Then there was the plank bed. The prisoners would have to sleep on the plank bed for the first month of their imprisonment, without any mattress; they would be forced to lie on the plank bed, which was undoubtedly a form of torture, and which he did not think ought to be sanctioned for any person whatever, and certainly not for the class of persons who would be liable to be committed under the Bill. He objected, therefore, first of all to the insufficiency of food; secondly, to the plank bed; and thirdly, to the solitary confinement. Those persons who were committed under the Bill would be kept through their imprisonment under the separate and solitary system. They would only be allowed one hour for exercise, and, therefore, the remaining 23 would have to be spent in their cells, without being allowed to speak to anyone. Therefore, it came to this, the men brought up with the strictest regard for the law—men who had never violated the law in the slightest way, either in word or deed—were now liable to be brought before a magistrate on suspicion, and sentenced to such punishment as he had described. Anybody in Ireland within a proclaimed district who did not comply with the provisions of that very stringent Bill, would be liable to be imprisoned, and branded for the rest of his life as a felon. He contended there was no reason for refusing the concessions they asked on the point. The Government gave them very fair concessions on the last Bill; and he would take the opportunity of saying that, so far as he knew, those concessions had been carried out in the spirit and letter. No good could be attained by harsh treatment to prisoners. They would do more in Ireland to make their rule repugnant to the masses of the people by setting up martyrs to their treatment than in any other way, and nothing was more likely to create a great deal of dissatisfaction throughout the country than to seize on innocent men, place them in prison, and subject them to a correctional course of treatment such as he had shown they had to endure, and then at the end of their time set them at liberty to become standing preachers of sedition. He, therefore, hoped the Home Secretary would see the expediency of empowering the Lord Lieutenant to see that a milder treatment was adopted under the present Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, a great part of the observations of the hon. Member had consisted of a condemnation of the present system of prison discipline. That was a question which might be open to discussion; but it was not one which he proposed to discuss now. If that prison discipline were bad for offenders under this Bill, it was bad for all offenders; and there was not a single word which the hon. Member had uttered against the measure before the House which might not be stated against a dozen of Statutes which were passed in every Session of Parliament. In short, the argument of the hon. Gentleman was an argument against the administration of all Criminal Law. The hon. Member said that this was an exceptional case. The Government had decided, and the House had confirmed the decision, that it was for the public interest that the Bill should be passed; and if there were persons in Ireland who offended against its provisions, and broke the law with regard to the carrying of arms, those persons must take the consequences. To treat offenders under the Bill in a different way from other offenders against the law would be a fatal political mistake, and would destroy the effect of the measure. The hon. Member had also said that they would condemn to severe treatment a number of people who offended unconsciously; but every precaution had been taken against such a result. If the offence were found to be a very slight one, there would be an equally slight penalty—a shilling or so; and if it were found that there had been no offence at all, there would not only be no punishment, but, under an Amendment which he had placed on the Paper, a man would be actually paid for having given up his arms. In other words, every possible care had been and would be taken that no man should be punished who had not wilfully and deliberately broken a law made in the interest of public safety. He must decline to accept the Amendment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR strongly urged that the Amendment should be accepted, more particularly as the offence was a purely political one, and was not so much against England as against one particular class. He was of opinion that severity of punishment for political offences never resulted in anything but harm to the cause which it was meant to serve. He contended that the Bill could not be compared with other Acts, because it was constituting that an offence in Ireland which was not an offence in England, and what was innocent one day was to be a crime the next. Legislation such as this would never be accepted by the Irish people.

MR. DAWSON thought that the Government should temper mercy with justice in the case before them. Ample discretion should be left in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant to relax rules and diminish or remit punishments. Many of the offences committed under the Act could not be moral offences at all, or only in a slight degree, and ought, therefore, to be dealt with leniently. The Irish-speaking people would have information of that Bill being in force very feebly conveyed to them, and it was extremely probable that many poor people would remain for a long time ignorant of it. The 67th section of the Prisons Act of 1877 provided that whenever any person was convicted of misdemeanour and sentenced to imprisonment without hard labour, it should be in the power of the Court to order him to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. He could not understand why the people imprisoned under this Act should be precluded from such a provision. If the proposed clause were not accepted, the House would have only to take one step more in order to bring back to them the days of torture and the rack.

MR. FINIGAN said, this Bill was intended to prevent firearms being used in Ireland for illegal purposes. He did not anticipate that many farmers would be arrested, because they would at once give up their arms and obtain the compensation provided. There was a class of young men—farmers' sons for instance—who would not care to give up their sporting rights, and it would be such men who would be arrested. As the Bill was not like the Protection Act, primarily a punishing Bill, everything ought to be done, compatible with the attainment of the objects of the Bill, to alleviate the condition of prisoners under the Bill. The Amendment would give no trouble, and might do much good; and the Government might very gracefully, and with some show of clemency, assent to it. That a man, whose offence might not have the slightest political significance, should be condemned to sleep on a plank bed was wholly inconsistent.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. W. M. JOHNSON) pointed out that the section of the Prisons Act of 1877, which had been referred to by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson), was the 48th, and did not bear the construction sought to be put upon it.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN thought they were entitled to some answer from the Treasury Bench on the point which had been raised. That was, if the prerogative of mercy were to be given to the Irish Executive, why was it that they declined to allow their own Lord Lieutenant to deal with these cases in a manner consonant with mercy if he saw fit?

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, the English people would not like to be compelled to give up possession of their arms, for which they had a great affection. In this country there were instances of the abuse of the possession of firearms, yet the Legislature did not propose to take the right of bearing arms from the people. In Ireland, immediately upon the passage of this Bill, what was now a legal possession would become a crime punishable by measures of the greatest possible severity. Many men would feel a sense of humiliation in surrendering their arms. He strongly objected to the attempt made by the Home Secretary to abolish all distinction between crimes which would come under the Bill and ordinary crimes. The Government, he held, should not punish a man for the possession of arms in the same manner as the law punished an offender guilty of a shameful crime.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON observed, that the Amendment was nearly identical with one which he had himself unsuccessfully proposed. The persons who would be subjected to the operation of this Bill would be respectable men, not ordinary felons, criminals, village tyrants, or dissolute ruffians. He protested against such persons, wrong as they might be in their political views, being forced to undergo the torture of the plank bed. Persons arrested under the Coercion Act would be allowed six hours' association each day; they would be allowed to eat, drink, and smoke as they liked; they would be able to talk treason and Fenianism if they chose—they would be permitted to luxuriate in the day-time. Yet those sent to prison under the provisions of this Bill were to be placed on a plank bed. Surely that was not consistent. He appealed to the right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench to re-consider the matter, and not to subject persons of the class alluded to to the treatment reserved for only the meanest criminals.

MR. BIGGAR contended that the offences contemplated by this Bill being of a slight character, the punishment attached to them should be more mild in its nature. A man who might have lying somewhere in his house, without knowing it, a pike-head or a part of some other weapon, would be liable under the Bill to be taken before a magistrate and thrown into prison, although he might be perfectly innocent. He would have no power of appeal if his imprisonment were less than a month. He would be subjected to the ordinary prison discipline, made to lie on a plank bed, and exposed to other hardships and privations, which, if he were of a delicate constitution, would injure his health, and perhaps even take away his life. He thought that the persons to be imprisoned under this Bill ought to be treated as first-class misdemeanants; and he could not understand why a harsher prison discipline should be applied to persons coming under the operation of this Bill than was applied to those who were arrested under the Bill previously passed for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. One of their friends who had just been arrested under the new Coercion Act was, he understood, charged with inciting to murder; and yet he would be entitled to much better treatment during the 18 months for which he might be kept in custody than the person who would be imprisoned for a much shorter period under the present Bill. The offences against which this Bill was directed were political offences, and nothing else, because they were connected with the agitation which had made the landlords and magistrates of Ireland bring that pressure to bear on the Government, in consequence of which they were now legislating under the influence of panic.

MR. LEAMY was of opinion that the sting would be taken out of the Bill if this clause was incorporated in the measure. The Irish people would never look on persons arrested under this Bill as criminals, but would regard them as political offenders, who ought not to be tortured in prison by plank beds. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would respond to the appeal which had been made to him, and sanction this clause.

MR. J. N. RICHARDSON said, that persons might, from inertia or laziness, not surrender the arms in their possession; and if they did not, and their premises were searched and the arms discovered, they would under this Bill be considered as criminals. Any person having arms and doing wrong with them should be punished; but he hoped that the Home Secretary would be able to grant some concession in reference to this clause.

MR. M'COAN said, the supporters of the clause simply asked the Home Secretary to consent to persons arrested under this Bill having some comfort in the shape of bedding, having freer intercourse with their relations, and the possibility where they could of buying better food. He congratulated the Irish people upon the fact that this Bill passed through the hands of the Home Secretary, and not through the less merciful hands of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He hoped the Home Secretary would make the final concession now asked for.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 37; Noes 201: Majority 164.—(Div. List, No. 143.)

MR. SPEAKER: It is now my duty, in obedience to the Orders of the House, to put forthwith the several Clauses and Amendments on the Notice Paper. There are six clauses standing in the name of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). The first of these clauses I should consider it my duty to the House not to put, because it clearly could not be entertained by the House. The second, third, and fourth, providing for licences being granted on production of a certificate by two justices of the peace, for the keeping of a register of licences under the Act, and for the treating of prisoners as first-class misdemeanants, are identical with those which have been moved by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) and dealt with by the House. The 6th clause, referring to the treatment of prisoners, is also substantially the same as one proposed by the hon. Member for Louth, and which has been divided upon. I will now proceed to put the 5th clause of the hon. Member for Dungarvan, which provides for the suspension of ejectments. If the hon. Member is not in his place to move it, it would be irregular in me to put it.

MR. FINIGAN: I rise to Order. [*Cries of* "Order, order!"] I rise, Sir, to a point of Order. I wish to ask you whether, when the course of Business takes this form of urgency, it is usual at this stage to call upon hon. Members either to move or not to move the Amendments in their names?

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: I wish to ask you, Sir, whether, as a matter of fact, the direction under which you are now proceeding from the House is, not that the hon. Members shall thereupon move the Motions which stand in their names, but that you shall put them from the Chair? If the direction were that they should thereupon be moved, no doubt it would be quite clear; but I beg to submit to you, Sir, that if the hon. Member for Dungarvan were in his place you would not call upon him to move—that, in point of fact, the direction is, not that the Clauses and Amendments shall be moved, but that they shall be put from the Chair.

MR. SPEAKER: The general Rule of the House is quite clear. No clause can be moved except by the hon. Member who has given Notice of it.

Mr. CALLAN: I rise to Order. [*Cries of* "Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The next Amendment on the Paper——

Mr. CALLAN (still standing): I have said, Sir, that I rose to Order. [*Renewed cries of* "Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I am carrying out the directions of the House; and, so long as I am carrying out the directions of the House, I shall consider any interruptions as disorder. The next Amendment on the Paper stands in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan). It is substantially the same as that of the hon. Member for Louth, which has been already dealt with by the House. The next Amendment on the Paper is that of the right hon. Gentleman who has charge of the Bill (Sir William Harcourt). It is proposed to amend the Bill by inserting, in Clause 1, page 1, line 8, which prohibits the having or carrying of arms, after the words "any person carrying or having," these words "or reasonably suspected of carrying or having arms or ammunition." The Question I have to put is that these words be inserted.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Mr. SPEAKER: The next Amendment is in the name of the hon. Member for Dungarvan, Clause 5, page 3, line 8. The hon. Member is not here. At the same time, I am bound to say that it is open to any other hon. Member to move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 8, to leave out the words "a divisional justice," and insert the words "two divisional justices."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question put, "That the words 'a divisional justice' stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 265; Noes 34: Majority 231.—(Div. List, No. 144.)

Mr. SPEAKER said, the next two Amendments placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for Dungarvan were dependent on the preceding Amendment, which had just been negatived, and could not, therefore, be put. The next Amendment of the hon. Member proposed to add certain words which were included in the first clause of the hon. Member for Louth, and had been already rejected by the House.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, at end of Clause 5, to add the words "but nothing in this Act shall prevent the person charged, if he himself desire it, from having the option of being returned for trial before a jury."—(*Mr. Finigan.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 36; Noes 267: Majority 231.—(Div. List, No. 145.)

Mr. SPEAKER said, the next two Amendments on Clause 5, standing in the name of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), could not be put, because the first was substantially the same as the Amendment which had just been negatived by the House, and the second was inconsistent with the provisions of the Bill already agreed to. With regard to Clause 6, there was an Amendment in the name of the same hon. Gentlemen, which he would put if any other hon. Member would move it in the absence of the hon. Member for Dungarvan.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 15, after the word "being," to insert the words "the term 'proclaimed district' shall mean any county, county of a city, county of a town, or any barony, baronies, half-barony, or half-baronies, in any county at large, in any district of less extent, to which the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act are declared to apply, by proclamation under the said Act, so long as such proclamation shall be in force."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 36; Noes 268: Majority 232.—(Div. List, No. 146.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 17, to leave out from the word "also," to the word "defined," in line 18, both inclusive.—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 275; Noes 35: Majority 240.—(Div. List, No. 147.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 18, after the word "defined," to insert the words "unless it can be shown that such portions of weapons are unserviceable and useless."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 273: Majority 238.—(Div. List, No. 148.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 19, to leave out all the words after the word "gunpowder," to end of Clause.'—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 271; Noes 30: Majority 241.—(Div. List, No. 149.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 24, to leave out from the word "the," to the end of Clause 8, and insert the words "thirtieth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 244; Noes 38: Majority 206.—(Div. List, No. 150.)

MR. SPEAKER: The remaining Amendments on the Paper cannot be put, because they have been practically disposed of by the division which has just taken place. I have now to call upon the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) to state what course he proposes to take in regard to the Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Naturally, the next stage of the Bill would have been to propose the third reading; but I entered into an undertaking with hon. Members that I would make a proposal to the House in respect of compensation with reference to arms which may be voluntarily given up. I propose, further, to extend the proposal to the case of persons who, not having voluntarily given them up, may be proved to have held them back under circumstances which may not appear to have been wilful. I have been desirous of giving the largest scope I could to the proposal. If hon. Members will look at what I propose to add to the 1st clause, they will see that I have endeavoured to do even more than I engaged to do. One of the complaints of hon. Members is that these arms are taken away from the people under the Arms Act, that they are not taken care of, that they could not be identified, that they could not be reclaimed, and that when the period for keeping them from them had expired, they were neither able to get their arms or the money they were estimated to be worth. The House will see that in my proposal I have made provision, under the direction of the Lord Lieutenant, for the deposit, the registration, the value, and the care of arms. The provision applies, of course, only to arms which are given up voluntarily—of course, if any are kept in defiance of the Statute they will be forfeited. Those which are voluntarily given up under the circumstances to which I have referred will be taken into the possession of the Crown, by whom they are to be taken care of, and, as a general rule, to return them, when the proclamation ceases to be in force, to their former owners. It was, however, put strongly by hon. Gentlemen opposite that as the proclamation might remain in force for some time the arms might suffer, and that, consequently, an injury might be inflicted upon the persons so giving up the arms. Accordingly, I have given the option to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to prevent the necessity of taking care of useless arms, or of arms that would become useless by being kept, of placing upon them a money value, and of allowing the owners to obtain the value of their arms in money. The original proposition that I made to the House was only to pay the value in cases where the arms were not restored. The proposal which I have now to make goes a good deal further, and I believe that such a proposal would have a great tendency to carry out the object of the Bill—that is, to induce people voluntarily to give up their arms. I hope the House will acknowledge that the Government have fulfilled the pledge they made on the subject. But this being a money clause, hon. Members will be aware that it is necessary to go through the formality of re-committing the Bill. We have had a protracted struggle over the Bill, and I hope I may make an appeal to the good feeling, and, if I may say so, to the sense of honour, of hon. Members opposite, that they will not take advantage of the technical Motion I am about to make in order to give effect to a clause which is to carry out the wish they have expressed, and the pledge which the Government have given, for the purpose of further prolonging these wearisome proceedings. I have great confidence that my appeal will be responded to by hon. Members. Having made that appeal to them, I have now to move—

"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of the Amendment to Clause 1, relating to Compensation, now standing upon the Notice Paper."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be re-committed in respect of the Amendment to Clause 1, relating to Compensation, now standing upon the Notice Paper." —(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

MR. PARNELL said, he was sure that none of the Irish Members would desire to take advantage of the fact that the agreement entered into by the Government rendered it necessary to recommit the Bill; but, at the same time, he wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that in moving an Amendment to the Motion which the right hon. Gentleman had just made in respect to a matter which he (Mr. Parnell) would shortly explain, he would not be taking any advantage of the Motion which the right hon. Gentleman now made for the re-committal of the Bill, because he should have made it in any case on the third reading of the Bill. He proposed to move as an Amendment to add to the Motion which the right hon. Gentleman had just made—

"And also an Amendment to the 8th clause, so as to limit the continuance of the Act to the first day of June, 1884."

This was a Motion which he should in any case have moved on the third reading of the Bill, and to carry out the object he had in view it would have been necessary to re-commit the measure. The question he wished to raise was one which he had not hitherto been able to raise in the shape of a debate upon any of the stages of the Bill. He was debarred from raising it on the Committee stage by the course which the House decided upon adopting, and from the same cause he had also been debarred from raising it on the stage of Report through which they had just gone. It was not, therefore, from a desire to prolong the proceedings on the Bill, or to enter into any factious opposition, that he now felt it necessary to raise the question, but because hitherto it had been found impossible to raise it by debate. He thanked every hon. Member who had helped the Irish Members in the part they had taken in opposing the measure. They had done all they could to prevent the coercion of Ireland; and he felt convinced that none of them would have cause to reproach themselves in the future with having left any stone unturned, or anything undone, to prevent their country from having this coercion placed upon it. But the question he now raised was one upon which he desired to make a last appeal to the Government. They had had a division recently on the question of limiting the duration of the Bill—to a period, he thought, of a year and a-half. The proposal he wished to submit would practically limit its duration to something like three years and two months—the question being between 1886 and 1884. It would, he thought, be a graceful act on the part of Her Majesty's Government if they would include this concession among the others they had made to the Irish Members and to the Irish people. He certainly hoped that by the time the year 1884 arrived the Irish Question would have been solved in some way or other—either that Her Majesty's Government would have been able to persuade the Irish people of their ability to govern Ireland in the House of Commons, or that the Irish Members, on the other hand, would have been able to persuade Parliament that it was only proper to restore to them the right of ruling Ireland on the shores of their native country. Surely, then, the year 1884 was long enough for such an enactment to last; and, no matter what the issue of the next few years might be, he trusted that the Government would not think that those few years were not sufficient to decide how Ireland was to be ruled, and what course should be taken in future. He was sure they would not enter into the next few years with any idea that it would be necessary to keep Ireland permanently disarmed, or even for five years. Surely, three years and two months were quite sufficient for such a purpose. The late Government re-enacted the old Coercion Act for a period of five years. He would ask a Liberal Government not to be as hard as they were, and not to be so little convinced of their own power to conciliate the Irish people to English rule; but to accept the proposal which he now made, that the continuance of the Bill should only last until the 1st of June, 1884.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment,

To add at end thereof the words "and also in respect to an Amendment to Clause 8, to limit the continuance of the Act to the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I must say that I do heartily wish I could respond to the appeal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but I will tell him in a very few words why I cannot do so. The last Government, as he says, in 1875, passed an Act which contained these provisions, and others, with reference to the preservation of peace in Ireland. I think no man can dispute that in the year 1875, when that Bill was passed, Ireland was in a less disturbed state than it is at the present moment, and has been for the last six months. The hon. Member appeals to us to make an experiment as to whether or not three years will be sufficient to enable us to dispense with a measure of this character. Now, I have had to refer to the fact that we have made that experiment. We thought, at the expiration of five years from 1875, we would try whether or not Ireland could do without an Arms Bill. That experiment has now been tried for nearly 12 months, and I am obliged to repeat again, what I said yesterday, that, in my opinion, that experiment has failed. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] The noble Lord rejoices that it has failed. I regret that it has failed. I think that, as a Liberal Government, we were bound, under the circumstances, to make that experiment, and I am not ashamed of the fact that we made it. But, having made that experiment, and believing that the circumstances of Ireland are more grave now than they were in 1875, what we had to consider was whether we were to expose this Parliament again to the process through which, during the last two months, it has been going. Now, Sir, as far as Her Majesty's Government are concerned, they will not expose this Parliament again to the necessity of proposing an Arms Bill. The duration of the present Bill is accordingly made five years, so that, having in view the ordinary life of a Parliament, it will belong to another Parliament to deal with the question, and not to this Parliament. It appears to me that that is a reasonable and a sound ground to take. I think this House feels, and I think the country feels, that there are other matters to deal with besides the constant renewal of Arms Bills. It is, no doubt, perfectly true that in former times a measure of this kind was enacted only for a single year. That is true of the much more severe Act of 1847. But then you must remember this—that although these Acts were enacted for only brief periods, it was found necessary continually to repeat them, and that from 1847 down to the year 1880 there has always been an Arms Bill for Ireland. [The IRISH MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] Yes, that is a lamentable fact. I regret it as much as hon. Members do; but I differ from them in the judgment which they form of the necessity of such legislation. If that be so, if the majority of the House of Commons, and of Parliament, have found it necessary for 33 years constantly to re-enact measures of this character, what reasonable ground, I would ask, can you allege for supposing that if you were to pass this Bill for a brief term that you would not be called upon repeatedly to renew it? In old days it was the practice to introduce similar measures for short terms. Now, while I do not wish to speak offensively of hon. Members opposite—the language which has been addressed to me by them to-night has been too considerate to allow of my doing so—I must remind them, and I must remind the House, that in former days the opposition to measures of that character was conducted in a very different manner. That is an element, and a very necessary and essential element, in the consideration of this question. In former days, hon. Members who were in a minority, after having made a decent and a resolute protest against a measure, were content to accept the decision of the majority of the House of Commons; and under these circumstances, when the Government came forward with a Bill of this kind, it might be year by year, and laid before Parliament a case that was considered adequate, they were able to feel convinced that within a reasonable period the renewal of such a measure as this might be obtained. I think I am justified in saying that now there can be no similar expectation, and to whatever period you may postpone this Bill, you make it a brief period if you like, but you will be certain to be met on its renewal by similar resistance. ["Hear, hear!"] I am glad to find that hon. Members opposite agree with me, at all events, in that proposition. It is for that reason that I do not feel justified in proposing, in this Parliament, at an early period, to take up again the consideration of an Arms Bill for Ireland.

Mr. HERMON said, that as the only English Member who had an Amendment on the Paper limiting the duration of the Bill to 1884, he trusted that the House would allow him to say a few words. He was sorry that the Home Secretary had thought it his duty to decide the question so promptly, because he thought the Bill might well have been limited to three years. He knew there were many English Members who were of the opinion, and the right hon. Gentleman had found out a method by which Bills of this nature could be passed in a shorter time than was the case at the beginning of the Session. The Home Secretary's arguments would apply to the Coercion Bill, which was only to be in force one year, and if it became necessary to renew that measure there would be some contention over it, as there had been already. He trusted that the powers already taken by the Government would work reform in the state of affairs in Ireland, and he could not help expressing his belief that had the Government made use earlier of the existing law measures of the present kind would have been unnecessary.

Mr. MONK would have been sorry had the House gone to a division without one Member on that side of the House rising to express regret that Her Majesty's Government was not able to listen to the proposal made by Irish Members opposite. He thought the Home Secretary had not sufficiently taken into consideration the measure which had already been passed by Her Majesty's Government with regard to Ireland. He had, however, reason to hope that long before the end of this Parliament Ireland would be a happy and contented country, and that there would be no necessity, in the year 1884, of renewing the Arms Bill. He could only express on the part of some hon. Members on that side of the House their regret that the Government could not accede to the proposed Amendment.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he always turned to *Hansard* for the opinions of distinguished men. Accordingly he found in April, 1875, when a discussion occurred precisely similar to the present, that on the 29th of that month an oration was delivered by that champion of freedom, the present Home Secretary. The proposal was then as now to limit the duration of the Arms Bill, and the right hon. Gentleman on the occasion, said—

"He had not heard from the Chief Secretary for Ireland any sufficient reason for suspending the rights of the character dealt with by the Bill for so long a period as five years. Former Governments in asking for such powers had acted upon a plain Constitutional principle which the present Government—and for the first time—asked the House to depart from. That principle was that the responsible Government of the day should, from time to time, state to the House of Commons that there was an absolute necessity for the granting of the powers for which they asked. The right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland had reviewed the history of Ireland for nearly a century; but he had failed to show that any administration—Liberal or Conservative—had ever made a proposal similar to the present. The argument of the right hon. Baronet in its favour would apply with equal cogency to the English Mutiny Act. That was an annual Act. Well, it was not likely that Her Majesty's Government had it in contemplation to dissolve the Army within the next five years; but what would the House say to a proposal to continue the Mutiny Act for five years? Such a proposition would not be entertained for a moment. Upon principle, and in accordance with precedent, it would be most objectionable that any Bill suspending important rights of Her Majesty's subjects should be allowed to continue for so long a period as that suggested by Her Majesty's Government. If two years were sufficient in 1847 and 1848, and in the most disturbed times in Ireland, surely a like period would be sufficient now. It was no argument to tell the House of Commons that the Government did not mean to execute the powers which they sought to obtain. The liberty of the subject had never been made dependent on the discretion of any Government. The House had shown no disposition to support Her Majesty's Government during the progress of the Bill, but he must vote against the present proposal unless a much stronger reason was given for departing from established precedent than had yet been advanced."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxiii. 1838-9.]

Truly the case of Irish Members was stated on that occasion by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary with admirable force. After him another champion of freedom (Mr. Goschen) got up and declared that he was in favour of the great Liberal principle of defending the rights of the people even against the best of Governments. The right hon. Gentleman had more than once reminded the House that there was a vast distinction between the circumstances of Ireland in 1875 and 1881. Of course there was, and the difference lay in the fact that Her Majesty's then Opposition were now Her Majesty's Government. In giving his support to the Amendment, he wished to state, that to his mind, the debates which had taken place had been extremely instructive with regard to the principles of Liberal Administrations.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 57; Noes 208: Majority 151.—(Div. List, No. 151.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *re-committed; considered* in Committee.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I propose to add to Clause 1, page 1, the following Clause:—

"Any arms or ammunition in the possession of persons not entitled to have the same which shall, within a period to be fixed by the proclaclamation hereinafter mentioned, be given up voluntarily, or taken under such circumstances as shall prove to the satisfaction of the Lord Lieutenant that they have not been wilfully kept back, shall be deemed to be in the possession of Her Majesty, and provision shall be made in such proclamation for the deposit, registration, valuation, and care of the same; and such arms and ammunition shall be returned to the owners thereof whenever the proclamation relating thereto shall cease to be in force: Provided, That, at any time, the Lord Lieutenant may, instead of keeping and returning the arms and ammunition aforesaid, if he think fit, pay to the owners of the same the value thereof, as ascertained in the manner provided by the proclamation, or the owners thereof may demand payment of such value, and such payments may be made out of moneys to be provided by Parliament."

Question proposed, "That these words be there added."

MR. HEALY suggested the substitution of the word "shall" for "can."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My intention is that the owner may always have the money, instead of the arms, if he chooses. As to the Lord Lieutenant, he may offer the money; but he is not obliged to do so.

MR. PARNELL: Would not that be at the end of the five years?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: At any time—"Provided at any time——"

MR. PARNELL: On the application of the owner?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Lord Lieutenant may offer money and keep the arms, and the owner may "at any time demand."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL pointed out that this new clause, for which the Home Secretary had taken such enormous credit, and over which he had covered himself and his Colleagues with such attributes of generosity, was entirely due to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), who had suggested it to the Government.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it appeared to him that the option rested with the Lord Lieutenant, and not with the owner.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

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ARMS BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. CALLAN moved for leave to bring in a Bill to regulate, and in some cases to prohibit, the carrying of Arms in England and Scotland. He explained that the object of the Bill was, in the first place, to impose special licences for carrying arms, and to require any person possessing arms for the suspected purpose of committing an offence to obtain a licence from a magistrate of the district; and, secondly, to render penal the carrying of arms by any person holding a ticket-of-leave, or by any person who has been convicted of any offence accompanied by violence against person or property.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill to regulate and in certain cases prohibit the carrying of Arms in England and Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CALLAN and Mr. MARTIN.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

ADDITION TO SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. CHILDERS moved to add the names of Dr. Cameron and Dr. Farquharson to the Contagious Diseases

Acts Committee, explaining that the Committee had made a Report approving of the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Dr. Cameron and Dr. Farquharson be added to the Committee."—(*Mr. Childers.*)

Mr. ONSLOW believed that the two hon. Members named would be able to render valuable assistance to the Committee; but he thought it right that a Conservative Member should rise and protest against the number of Liberal Members on the Committee. There were already eight Liberal Members on the Committee and seven Conservative Members; and if the two hon. Members proposed were added there would be ten Liberals to seven Conservatives. He did not wish to go against the Resolution of the Committee, which was agreed to by a considerable majority, nor did he wish to object to the Motion; but he thought it right to make this protest, and he would suggest the addition of two Conservative Members to the Committee, in order to make the two sides more evenly balanced. As a rule these Committees were never constituted with such a preponderating majority on one side, and he thought such a course would create a precedent which it would be bad to follow. He did not think many Members of the Committee would object to the addition of two more Members; and he believed several Members on that side of the House would like to serve on what was a very interesting Committee.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN stated that no Party spirit had entered into the Report of the Committee. The Committee came to the conclusion that it was desirable to have two medical Members on the Committee to assist them in examining the witnesses and in drawing up their Report; and the two names suggested were those of the Member for Aberdeenshire and the Member for Glasgow. They happened to be Liberals; but the Conservative Members of the Committee voted in favour of the proposal, which had not been in the slightest degree a Party matter.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he had been speaking to the right hon. Member for Whitehaven, who was a great stickler for the rights of that (the Conservative) side of the House; and his right hon. Friend had referred with approval to the proposal to add the two hon. Members named to the Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

MAINTENANCE LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN said, he moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Law relating to Maintenance. It might be necessary to inform hon. Members who did not belong to the Legal Profession what sort of "maintenance" was here referred to — namely, a very old but a very absurd and oppressive doctrine, of law which for nearly a century our Judges had inveighed against, even while they felt compelled to recognize and apply it. According to that doctrine if a benevolent person gave a poor woman a £5 note to enable her to obtain justice in a Court of Law, the kindly act was illegal—was, in fact, the crime of what is called "maintenance." Barely a few weeks ago Mr. Justice Lindley expressed his repugnance to this monstrous doctrine; and he (Mr. A. M. Sullivan), in this effort to sweep it away, was promised the co-operation and sympathy of legal men on both sides of the House.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill to amend the Law relating to Maintenance, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. A. M. Sullivan and Mr. Serjeant Simon.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 110.]

LEASES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Davey, Bill to amend the Law relating to Leases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Davey, Mr. Gregory, Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Chitty.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 11*th March,* 1881.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE—REPORT OF INTERCEPTION OF SUPPLIES.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether the Government had received any confirmation of the report that the supplies for the beleaguered garrisons in the Transvaal had been intercepted by the Boers?

THE EARL OF MORLEY: No, my Lords, we have no information whatever on the subject.

EARL CADOGAN: My Lords, the news received this morning from South Africa, and the statement made last night by the Prime Minister in the other House of Parliament, are of so important a nature that I felt it would be my imperative duty to give Notice to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies of further Questions with reference to these matters. My Lords, the information which has been vouchsafed to both Houses of Parliament ever since the commencement of these negotiations has been of so unsatisfactory and meagre a character that we are not in a position to understand clearly what has taken place; but I think I may very shortly state what we do understand to have been the course of these negotiations. We were informed that, previous to the disaster which took place at Majuba Hill, a communication had been made to the leaders of the Boers, to which the leaders of the Boers gave no reply. The late Sir George Colley appears, while waiting for that reply, to have commenced his attack upon Majuba Hill. Certainly that course would seem to be one that required some explanation. Whether it was authorized by Her Majesty's Government or not we have not been told. What we have been told is that, after the lamented death of that General, Her Majesty's Government, feeling a desire to understand how far the negotiations had proceeded, instructed Sir Evelyn Wood to go to the front—not, as I understand, to repair the disaster to our arms, or to vindicate the authority of Her Majesty in Natal, but to ascertain what was the position of the negotiations with a view to an armistice or to peace. Sir Evelyn Wood appears to have negotiated and signed an armistice; and, if we can believe the accounts which we have received, he did so, not under any fresh authority from Her Majesty's Government, but in pursuance of instructions which had previously been sent to Sir George Colley, and which Sir Evelyn Wood seems to have inherited. My Lords, I think it has considerable significance, because it appears to show the instructions which were given to Sir George Colley when he was entrenched in his camp, when re-inforcements were expected to reach him from day to day, and when we might have hoped for a successful termination to the military proceedings—that these instructions were considered to apply equally to a state of things which existed after the disaster at Majuba Hill. However that may be, an armistice was signed, and we have heard nothing further from the Government on the subject until last night, when the Prime Minister was asked a Question in the other House; and in the course of his reply he made use of the following words:—

> "At the time when Her Majesty was advised to sanction the delivery of that Speech (the Queen's Speech) we were under the impression, which I think was correct, that our first duty, on the occurrence of the rising in the Transvaal, was to place the local authority of the Queen and the military acting under Her Majesty in South Africa in a condition to deal with the emergency. We were at that time actively engaged in that duty; and until it had been fulfilled we did not consider the opportunity had arisen for our endeavouring to bring about a settlement of affairs in the Transvaal. We do consider that in existing circumstances such an opportunity has arisen, so far, at least, as to make it our duty and worth our while to have the circumstances carefully tested, with a view to ascertain what may be the result."

My Lords, I do not clearly understand the latter part of the sentence; I do not know how you are to test what may be the result of those circumstances; but the earlier part of the sentence is clear enough. It amounts to this—that Her Majesty's Government do now consider that existing circumstances have made a change in the position of affairs. I may be permitted to quote the words which Her Majesty was advised to use in Her Gracious Speech from the Throne—

> "A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority; and has of necessity set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I had been desirous to confer."

Therefore, at the time of the meeting of Parliament, Her Majesty felt it her duty to take military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of her authority. We are now told that circumstances have occurred which appear to have changed the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on that point. My Lords, we shall all be anxious to receive from the noble Earl any information which he is willing to give as to what those circumstances are. So far as we know, they consist in a series of unfortunate defeats, culminating in the disaster at Majuba Hill, since which time an armistice has been signed—we are not told at whose instigation, and we have no further information on the point; but, no doubt, the noble Earl will elucidate it. The second point on which I should be glad to have some information is with reference to a telegram published in *The Times* of this morning, which states—

> "That the Home Government proposed to follow up the armistice by appointing Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir John de Villiers, and Sir Evelyn Wood as British Commissioners, to meet a similar commission of the Boers, thus conceding to the latter sovereign rights."

My Lords, this also is a statement of very great importance; but I am bound to admit that, coming as it does from the correspondent of a newspaper, it does not bear the same authority, and may not perhaps be regarded by your Lordships with the same anxiety, as any utterance of the Prime Minister's. But I may point out that the gentlemen who are stated to be members of this Commission include the High Commissioner in South Africa and the Commander of the Forces. Therefore, I imagine we shall not overrate the importance of that intelligence if we believe they are not appointed solely with the view to the prolongation of the armistice, but that they have instructions with reference to the conclusion of terms of peace; and, more than that, that they are empowered by Her Majesty's Government to treat with the leaders of the Boers. The leaders of the Boers in this movement are in the position not only of rebels against Her Majesty's authority, but they are invaders. They are at this moment encamped on the soil of our territory—of our undisputed territory. Under these circumstances, that a Commission should be appointed consisting of such men as those mentioned is a statement which we have a right to expect some explanation of from Her Majesty's Government. Those are the two points on which I think I have a right to ask for some definite information. I hope the noble Earl will acquit me of any desire to——

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: What are the two points?

EARL CADOGAN: Whether he will kindly explain the meaning of the Prime Minister when he stated that circumstances which existed at the time when Her Majesty delivered Her Gracious Speech no longer exist, or have been modified; and, secondly, whether the Commission mentioned in *The Times* has been appointed; and, if so, with what objects? I should add, my Lords, that I will give no opinion myself upon questions of policy. I am not even pressing Her Majesty's Government to say anything as to their views or intentions as to the future. I ask a Question upon plain matters of fact which have occurred during the last ten days, and of which we have received intelligence only to-day. I do not believe that it will be of any real advantage to the Government that any further reticence should be used. On the contrary, I believe it would be advantageous to the Government that these matters should be fully understood. There is undoubtedly at this moment a strong feeling of anxiety in the public mind with regard to the course of events in South Africa. I trust, therefore, that I shall be forgiven for having directed your Lordships' attention to the points on which I have touched.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I hope the Government will not be accused of undue reticence if we are not able to state facts which have not yet occurred, because with the anxiety which my noble Friend shows almost from hour to hour I am not able to keep pace.

EARL CADOGAN: I beg to state that it is several days since I put a Question to the noble Earl.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: What I mean to say is that it is utterly impossible to conduct the affairs of Government at all if, before a decision is taken upon particular points, and if because there is a rumour in the newspapers the Government is expected, not only to give full information as to what has taken place, but to state their intentions as to what is about to take place.

EARL CADOGAN: I am very sorry to interrupt the noble Earl; but I must remind him that my Question had reference to a statement made by the Prime Minister last night.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The noble Earl refers to Commissioners who certainly were not mentioned by Mr. Gladstone last night. The fact of the matter is that the appointment of Commissioners, as Mr. Gladstone stated, is under the consideration of the Government. I am perfectly ready to admit that the Government have the intention to appoint a Commission; but they have not yet decided upon the names of the Commissioners, much less upon their instructions. Therefore, I cannot give my noble Friend the information upon that point which he desires. With regard to the other matter to which my noble Friend referred, he seemed to think that there is some mystery in this matter of the armistice. As far as I know, the circumstances are these. The first point to which I need refer is that a communication was received from Mr. Kruger on behalf of the Boers. It was addressed in the form of a letter to Sir George Colley, who telegraphed the purport of it to us. We desired him to send an answer to Mr. Kruger, and to fix a reasonable time within which that answer could be received. There has been some obscurity as to the exact proceedings of Sir George Colley, and we have not been able to clear it up in consequence of his death. There has been extreme difficulty in getting at the precise facts; but I believe they are as follow:—Sir George Colley fixed 48 hours, but did not receive an answer within that time. He, therefore, I conclude, considered himself free from any obligation to wait longer, and so made the attack upon Majuba Hill. After that attack, a letter was received from Mr. Bok, who acts as Secretary to the Boer leaders, addressed to Sir George Colley, which was opened by Sir Evelyn Wood. That letter, as I understand, informed Sir Evelyn Wood that an answer to the communication sent to Mr. Kruger could not be despatched for a certain time, owing to Mr. Kruger being at some distance. Therefore, as far as I can gather—for I cannot absolutely vouch for the accuracy of the facts—Sir George Colley did not take any offensive steps until after the expiration of the period which he had fixed. I believe, in point of fact, that a considerably longer period than 48 hours elapsed. I believe that Sir George Colley acted with perfect straightforwardness in the matter. Mr. Bok, therefore, had told Sir George Colley—which information reached Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir George Colley being dead—that there would be an answer from Mr. Kruger to the communication which had been sent to him. No, I must correct myself. As far as I know, Mr. Bok did not explicitly state whether an answer was coming or not from Mr. Kruger; but, in order that there should be no misunderstanding, I desired Sir Evelyn Wood to inquire whether an answer was coming, and he accordingly made that inquiry. Now, with regard to the armistice, Sir George Colley's instructions were that if he received a favourable answer to the communication sent to Mr. Kruger, he might agree to a suspension of hostilities. That was the instruction given to Sir George Colley. No instructions on this point were ever given to Sir Evelyn Wood, who sent us a telegram saying he had concluded an armistice, and telling us what the terms of that armistice were. I think I read to the House the exact terms the other day, and I suppose I read the passage in which he says that in order to give Mr. Kruger time to reply he had concluded the armistice. That, I believe, is the entire history of the matter. I am not able to say whether Sir Evelyn Wood said to the Boers, "Will you agree to an armistice?" or whether the Boers said to him, "Will you agree to an armistice?" But there is a telegram which mentions that Mr. Kruger had asked whether Sir Evelyn Wood would be opposed to a proposal of that kind, which seems to indicate that the suggestion must have come from Mr. Joubert, in order to give time for the expected answer to be sent by Mr. Kruger. Therefore, it appears that the object of Sir Evelyn Wood in concluding the armistice was to give time for receiving that answer. We approved of Sir Evelyn Wood having concluded the armistice. In whatever mode this proposal originated, it is quite clear that when Sir Evelyn Wood made this armistice he acted upon his own judgment, which told him it would be a wise proceeding. Now, I think I have answered my noble Friend as explicitly as I can. I will refer again to the point as to the Commissioners, in order that there may be no misunderstanding. Mr. Gladstone said that the appointment of a Commission was under consideration. The appointment of Commissioners was suggested by the Boers on their own motion. Those Commissioners have not been named, nor have their instructions been decided upon.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It cannot be wondered at that, considering the anxiety of the country generally and that which we feel ourselves, we should give expression to our feelings with respect to the proceedings of the Government. If any justification for the question of my noble Friend was required it would be afforded by the fact that we have obtained from the noble Earl a considerable amount of very important information which we never had before. I think, however, on reflection, that the noble Earl will see, when he considers it, that he has not really answered the points to which my noble Friend directed his attention. According to the tenour of events which come to our ears, and according to the answer attributed to Mr. Gladstone last night, there seems to have been a sharp turn in the policy of the Government. If that turn has taken place in consequence of certain circumstances which have occurred, we are anxious to know what those circumstances are. In Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne we heard that the authority of the Crown was first to be vindicated, and when the first duty of vindicating that authority was discharged the question of creating a system of local self-government would be considered. But now we hear that communications are being made to the Boers to ascertain what their terms are. After a certain delay was granted within which an answer was to be returned, and that delay was exceeded, the Government are so anxious for peace that they have applied for, and obtained, an armistice, and now have actually resolved to name Commissioners, on the suggestion of the Boers, to meet other Commissioners, named by the Boers, to consider those very matters which, according to the Queen's Speech, were not to be considered until the supremacy of Her Majesty was established. I do not, at this time, wish to discuss the general policy of the Government. I think it would be premature to do so; but I hold that it is calculated to create grave anxiety in the public mind if it appears that they had no defined and consistent course of policy, and that a sharp turn of their policy takes place directly after our arms have suffered a damaging and conspicuous defeat. My Lords, the policy of the Peace Society is one which I do not approve. I know that a great deal may be said for it—a great deal may be said for all doctrines which are held by any considerable body of men. There is a great deal to be said for the opposite policy, and there is a great deal also to be said for the policy which Her Majesty's Government first resolved on to vindicate the authority of the Crown before entering into any discussion of the terms to be granted to those in arms; but the policy for which nothing can be said is the policy of maintaining a martial and bellicose tone until you have suffered a very dangerous and damaging defeat, and then to ask for an armistice, and propose a Commission to discuss the terms of peace. After the defeat has not been wiped out, to propose that Commissioners should meet to discuss terms of peace with those who are rebels to the Queen, who are at this moment invaders of the territory of the Queen, to do that, and to do it after a defeat, is what a nation might do at its last gasp. It is what might have been done after the surrender of York Town; but it is not a course of proceeding which we can look on our Government doing without great anxiety and fear of a considerable loss of reputation among other nations. I wish the Government, after having given this appearance of pursuing a policy which is discreditable to us, would abandon the reticence which they have hitherto observed, and give us ground for believing that they are still resolved to maintain the policy which they announced in the Speech from the Throne; that they are still resolved to vindicate the authority of the Crown before entering on plans for self-government; and that the circumstances which, apparently, in Mr. Gladstone's view, had altered in that respect, were alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman under a mistake.

EARL GRANVILLE: I feel much tempted to point out that the course which would have been in accordance with the Rules of this House is not exactly the course which has been adopted by the noble Earl (Earl Cadogan). At half-past 3 o'clock he sent a Notice to my noble Friend of a private character, and conveyed in very indefinite language. A quarter of an hour before the House met my noble Friend received more definite Notice of what the Question was going to be. Then my noble Friend makes a statement of some length, in which he says that he will not enter into questions of a political character but simply ask a Question, and then he enters into a statement of facts, and thus takes a course which, I must say, is very likely to cause a debate. I am quite certain that nobody who has just heard the noble Marquess will think that he can boast of great reticence in the expression of an opinion on the policy of the Government. He has just now made two statements which are not in accordance with the facts of the case. Then, having followed that course, he proceeds to a denunciation of the policy of the Government. I am not going, on an irregular occasion like this, into a discussion of the question of policy; but I will just say that the noble Marquess has been misinformed on two important points. One of his statements is that we went to the Boers to ask them for their terms, and the other is that we changed our policy after the disaster which we all deplore. It is not the case. We had overtures made to us by the Boers, and we sent them the answer before we knew, or could have known, of the disaster which had taken place.

ARMY REGULATIONS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT **HARDINGE** asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended, under the proposed regulations for increasing the number of field officers in each regiment of the Line, that such regulations should have a retrospective effect with regard to those officers who have been compulsory retired under the existing system; and to what extent? The Secretary of State for War had announced his intention of altering the battalion organization of the Army. The present establishment of a double battalion was 2 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 20 captains, and 34 subalterns. The proposed establishment was 4 lieutenant-colonels, 8 majors, 12 captains, and 30 subalterns. He did not wish to open up the question of battalion organization; but would only remark that Lord Airey's Committee, the Adjutant General, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, had all expressed themselves in favour of the existing organization; whilst Sir Lintorn Simmons and others advocated a change to the 4-company organization. No doubt, one of the advantages of the Secretary of State's plan was that it would check compulsory retirements—a system which drove out of the Army officers in the very prime of life. But such questions as battalion organization should be settled on the advice of the most competent military authorities, and not according to considerations of pay and promotion. No doubt in the end it might work well, as of 1,000 officers 516 instead of 216 would attain the rank of major. But for the present, as two captains would have to be absorbed in every regiment, the promotion of the subalterns would come to a dead-lock. As these captains, if 40 years of age, were in three years to be brought back to their regiments, voluntary retirement could not be relied upon, and the openings in the Staff would be few and far between. He wished to know whether any calculation had been made as to whether the flow of promotion would be the same as Lord Cardwell had undertaken it should be after the abolition of purchase?

THE EARL OF **MORLEY**, in reply, said, that the noble Viscount complained that the inducements now offered to officers were not sufficient to induce them to retire voluntarily. Under the purchase system the inducements were that an officer could receive back again the money paid for his commission. At the present time he paid nothing; but after 12 years' service he could, if he chose to go, receive £1,200; after 15 years' service, £1,600; and after 18 years' service, £2,000. He thought these inducements quite as great as those which existed under the purchase system in the rank of captain or lieutenant. According to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War in "another place," 581 out of 1,000 officers would be retired before they could reach the rank of major. This calculation was based on the slowest rate of promotion, the death rate only being taken into consideration. He saw no reason why voluntary retirement should not be as frequent under the present as under the purchase system, with this exception—that the prospects of an officer might in certain respects be better now than then; and it is obvious that the number of officers who would be compulsorily retired must be diminished by those who retired voluntarily. During the past seven years they had been passing through a transition state, and it was difficult to place figures before the House of a trustworthy character. The effect of the changes proposed by the War Secretary would be so far retrospective that any non-purchase captain who has been, or may be, retired compulsorily before the 1st of July would be allowed, subject to the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, to join the list of unattached majors on half-pay. The officers placed on that list would have the chance, though not the assurance, of employment, either regimental or on the Staff, but not necessarily in the regiment they had left. This privilege would not belong to officers who had sold their commissions, or who had commuted their pensions. Under the new rules promotion among subalterns would be somewhat retarded; but they would ultimately have a better chance of continued career to the highest rank in the Army. He had that day laid on the Table of the House a Memorandum, showing the effect of all the changes which they proposed to make with regard to this and other questions connected with Army Organization.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

Lord **STRATHNAIRN** rose to call the attention of the House (1.) To the following extract from the enclosure to be found on page 20 of the Blue Book [C.-2776] Afghanistan (1881), No. 1:—

> "Monday, 15 March. In the afternoon the General received the principal Mullas and Kowanins of the city and surrounding villages in Durbar. They were twenty-nine in number, and had come in consequence of Sir Donald Stewart's late letter to the Sirdar, to inform him that they had all taken an oath on the Koran to the effect that they would at once deliver up to justice any individual whom they might hear of that was an ill-wisher to the British Government, and intending to do mischief to the troops here in garrison."

After the General had heard their statement, he informed them that

> "There was no chance of Kandahar again falling under the authority of a supreme ruler in Kabul. Kandahar would for the future stand by itself, and the moment the Sirdar should inform Sir Donald Stewart that he considered his power sufficiently consolidated to take charge of the city the General would be quite prepared to make it over to him;"

and (2.) To an extract of a Memorandum by Sir John Lawrence, dated Calcutta, 25th November 1868; and also to move for a Return of the number of men invalided from the effects of the Peshawur fever and cholera in the Peshawur Valley from 1862 to 1878. He begged with great deference to submit—first, strategical and political proofs that England's and India's most important interests and rights as well as those of our national good faith required the military occupation of Candahar. Secondly, the military occupation of Candahar maintained and secured the great political advantages obtained by the successful campaigns of 1879-80-81. Before going further, it would be apposite to state to their Lordships that he was instructed, when commanding in India, by the Supreme Government, to submit a Report to them of the best means of defending the Peshawur Valley and the Trans-Indus Frontier against an attack from the Khyber and North West Passes; and Sir Neville Chamberlain, in order to assist him in doing so, was requested to accompany him along the Frontier to give him the valuable information he possessed on the subject. He would fail in his duty to their Lordships and the country were he to withhold the information thus obtained respecting a State interest on which, he believed, depended our rights and interests in India, Central Asia, and the Eastern Question. It was also apposite to that subject to say that Party tactics and false delicacy had made that as well as the Eastern a vexed question, by keeping out of sight Russia, whom the records of history and of every Foreign Office in the civilized world proved to have been the principal actor for nearly two centuries in the great drama, the scene which began at first in a little port, Archangel, but now extended from the Mediterranean to the China Sea. In mentioning Russia in that short address, he only did so under the influence of that truth without which no difference, national or private, could be satisfactorily settled. No one more than he admired the patriotic and devoted feeling which the Russian people displayed in the years 1855-7 in the defence of their country; and no one could have seen without admiration the discipline and steadfast courage of the Russian Army in re-constructing their shattered works at Sebastopol under fire. But he did not sympathize with their Eastern diplomacy. He returned from that digression to the advantages gained in the late campaign in Afghanistan. They were, first, the disappearance of the danger which had always threatened the North-West Frontier of India, and, therefore, India herself. He had so fully explained that danger on former occasions to their Lordships that it would be waste of time now to enlarge upon it. He would briefly observe that the danger was the union of Sunni Mussulmans and fanatical Afghanistan, the most powerful military State — including Persia and Central Asia—from the east of the Caspian to the China Sea, with the Sunni Mussulman and warlike tribes of the Suleiman ranges, whose difficult and almost inaccessible country was a formidable strategical bulwark for Afghanistan against India, defensive and offensive, and dominating our Trans-Indus Border. Those tribes were so hostile that the Government of India were compelled to keep on a war footing a corps of Jezailchees (Militia) called the Punjaub Frontier Force, garrisoning a line of forts along the whole Frontier to protect the Trans-Indus and Punjaub from their devastations. The danger of that union was exemplified in 1857, when Dost Mahomed, under fanatical influences, was on the point of unfurling the green flag and summoning the Mussulman Border Tribes—numbering some 150,000 men—to march with his army on Delhi to rescue Islam, besieged and endangered there. It was only on the evening before Dost Mahomed marched that his son, Azim Khan, a friend of the English alliance, dissuaded him from his purpose. The belief was universal that if he had fallen like an avalanche on Delhi with the Border Tribes, numbering some 150,000 fighting men, it would have caused a rising of the Hindoo and Mussulman populations; and England must have retreated, at least for a time, on the sea, India being for a while at least lost. If such was the danger of the combination of Afghanistan with the Mussulman Tribes of the North-West, how much greater would not have been the crisis if Russia had sided in 1857 with Afghanistan as she did in 1878. But the danger of a combined attack on India by Russia with Afghan troops and the tribes vanished when the Afghan Army was routed. Shere Ali eloped with the Treasury, and Herat returned to its independence, while Candahar was occupied by British troops. Afghanistan, dismembered, lapsed into insignificance. Here he must do an act of justice to Her Majesty's late Government. Profiting by their knowledge of Russian policy in 1838 as regards Central Asia, and the evidence of the sacrifices which that Power had made in persuading the young Shah of Persia, in disregard of so many promises, to besiege Herat and to detach the then Ameer of Afghanistan secretly from his alliance with us, which was the cause of war between India and Afghanistan, and followed by the terrible English disasters in the Khyber Pass and the capture of Cabul—with all that before their eyes, he said that the Government of India could not have done otherwise than act on that warning of which the Russian Mission in 1878 was an unmistakable reminder. It was impossible to imagine that anybody with the slightest instincts of statesmanship or respect for facts could, after such warnings, wish to restore Afghanistan to its former united position. A glance at Lord, then Sir John, Lawrence's able Memorandum of the 25th of November, 1868, would convince that person of its impossibility. He now came to the second advantage gained by England. Shere Ali's defection had upset the balance of power guaranteed by England and Russia, who, according to Count Nesselrode, were the guardians of the destinies of Asia; but the occupation of Candahar restored that equipoise, and who would not prefer Candahar, a strong military and strategical position, and acknowledged as such by Napoleon and Russia, to the utter unreliability of an alliance with Afghanistan, of whose utter unreliability Lord Napier and Sir John Lawrence had in their able and unanswerable Minutes given such convincing proofs? But if Candahar were evacuated, how was the balance of power in Asia to be maintained? Nothing was made more clear by the Russian and Afghan

Correspondence than that Shere Ali, who was more the victim of his fears than of his bad intentions, was induced by Russia to abandon his engagement with the British Government, and that the excuse of Russia—that she did so because she thought war was imminent with England—was only another of many proofs of the value which Russia had always placed upon substituting Russian for British influence in Afghanistan. He would now consider the third advantage gained in the late campaigns, which was the protection of another and greater balance of power, of which Constantinople was the pivot—with the Dardanelles and the Mediterranean to the West and the Bosphorus and the Black Sea to the East—from a diversion against England in India in resisting a move of Russia against Constantinople. Here was another strategical and political advantage to England gained by the fall of Shere Ali and his Kingdom; and nothing would so much prevent the realization of such a diversion in Afghanistan as the presence of an English force at Candahar, which gave us action on the Herat and Merv line if driven to war, a direction in which Russia was advancing with rapid strides by the construction of a Central Asian railway from Fort Michael towards Merv. The fourth and last advantage was the great political and strategical exchange of a dangerously unhealthy military station and outwork of our North-Western Frontier at Peshawur for a healthy and very strategical outpost at Candahar. Candahar was as healthy as the Valley of Peshawur was the reverse, with its dangerous fevers and constant ravages of cholera, which not only rendered regiments unfit for duty, but would cause their prostration if they took the field, although the force in the Peshawur Valley was supposed to be always ready for service, as it was frequently called upon to assist the Frontier Force in resisting the invasions of the tribes. Besides, Peshawur was a cramped and bad strategical position, dominated by mountains to the front and on both flanks, which masked the movements of an enemy, and enabled them to make feints and unexpected attacks in other quarters. Candahar was a fortress constructed on obsolete principles; but there was a very strong position on a commanding height on the River Arghandab, about a mile distant, which, if fortified and supported by detached redoubts on low hills round it, would, in the opinion of competent judges, become nearly impregnable. The position of Candahar was in itself very strategical—a cheval across the Afghan high road from Herat to Cabul, and having action on both. Besides, it was a fresh base of operations on the dangerous obstacles on the other sides of the Suleiman ranges, and placed them and their warlike and lawless inhabitants in the position of being between two fires. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would regard as binding the promise which was given that Candahar should never come under the authority of a supreme Ruler in Cabul. The best authority he ever had for the sanctity of engagements was the late Duke of Wellington, who said there was no interest like the interest of keeping your word.

Moved for—

"A Return of the number of men invalided from the effects of the Peshawur fever and cholera in the Peshawur Valley from 1862 to 1878."—(*The Lord Strathnairn.*)

VISCOUNT ENFIELD thought their Lordships would agree with him in thinking it was a pity that the noble and gallant Lord, whose distinguished services entitled him to be heard on questions of this kind, had not delivered his speech a week ago, when it would have been listened to with the greatest attention and interest by a larger House than was now present. He hoped the noble and gallant Lord would not think him wanting in respect, which he most unfeignedly felt for him both in his private and public capacity, if he did not follow him throughout the speech with which he had prefaced his Motion. The noble and gallant Lord seemed rather to complain that the promise which was made by Sir Donald Stewart on behalf of Her Majesty's Government as to Candahar not coming under the authority of a supreme Ruler in Cabul was not kept; but he (Viscount Enfield) thought that upon a fair consideration of the facts of the case, the noble and gallant Lord would be of opinion, and he hoped their Lordships would agree, that no promise had been violated as far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned. He should be the last person to say that any promise made by an English Minister or General should not be observed; but it would be a dangerous doctrine to lay down that statements made by a General Officer, not fully conversant, perhaps, with all the political difficulties of the situation, should be binding upon all future Administrations. The promise made by Sir Donald Stewart had been faithfully kept. If the noble and gallant Lord had read the concluding words of the despatch, it would have been seen that before the Government redeemed their promise the people of Candahar must keep theirs. At the end of the despatch it was stated that the General, after the Durbar, dismissed the assembly, and told them that the policy inaugurated by him would certainly be continued as long as the people remained loyal to the Sirdars and the Government. Accordingly, the British Government had kept its promise at Cabul and other parts of the country; but what did the people of Candahar do? In the first place, as they knew, there had been a revolt; and, in the second place, after the Maiwand disaster, those very persons who had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Government behaved so badly that the General commanding had to turn them out of the city. This question had been ably and exhaustively dealt with in the debate of last week, and he did not feel justified in trespassing on their Lordships' time in going over the same ground. With regard to the retention of Candahar, Her Majesty's Government thought that, on this question, the military opinions were divided, the financial difficulties considerable, and the commercial advantages very doubtful, as was also the political morality, if he might say so without incurring the censure of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury). Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government did not think it right or expedient to retain Candahar; but they were making such arrangements as to leave Candahar and the district under competent government. As to the Return moved for, its preparation by the Indian Government would entail much time and considerable expense; and, therefore, he hoped the noble and gallant Lord would not press for it.

Lord WAVENEY thought attention should be called to the subject of the abandonment of Candahar at every step and every stage. Heedless of Russia, China, or any other Power, they should remain at Candahar, put down their foot, and state their determination to retain it, and not depart from the policy of Clive, Cornwallis, and Wellesley. The policy of making other people do our work in Afghanistan was a mistake, as was also that of making that country a buttress between ourselves and Russia in Asia.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION—BATTALIONS ABROAD.

ADDRESS FOR RETURNS.

Viscount BURY rose to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, What will be the number of battalions abroad beyond the normal number contemplated by the localization scheme when the intended re-inforcement of six regiments has been despatched to South Africa; and to move—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return (similar to No. 70 of 1879) of all non-commissioned officers and privates of each battalion under orders for or sent to South Africa since the 1st of January of the present year, as they embarked, showing ages, length of service, and number who have not completed their drill and musketry instruction; also similar Returns of all drafts to complete other battalions than those sent from home stations; also number drawn to complete for service for other than their own brigades in tabular form similar to that of the above-named Return."

It was essential that this information should be laid before the House to enable their Lordships to consider Mr. Childers' proposal to modify Lord Cardwell's scheme, which was drawn up without regard to our small wars, of which there had been no fewer than 35 during the last 40 years. At the General Election, complaint was made of the reticence of the late Government, and it had been promised that when the present Government came into Office we were to live in the light of publicity. He trusted, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government would not refuse to give any information on this subject which would not be of service to the enemy.

Moved that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return (similar to No. 70 of

1879) of all non-commissioned officers and privates of each battalion under orders for or sent to South Africa since the 1st of January of the present year, as they embarked, showing ages, length of service, and number who have not completed their drill and musketry instruction; also similar Return of all drafts to complete other battalions than those sent from home stations; also number drawn to complete for service from other than their own brigades, in tabular form similar to that of the above-named Return.—(*The Viscount Bury.*)

THE EARL OF MORLEY assured their Lordships that there was every desire on the part of the Government to give the fullest possible information as regarded the new re-organization scheme and the general state of the Army at present. But when he said that, he should also express a hope that the noble Lord would not press for the Returns, which it would be contrary to public policy to produce, in face of the war in which we were now engaged. The Boers had all the details of our movements from day to day sent to them, and he could not see how the information which the Returns would supply could be kept from them. In saying this he must also be allowed to remark that it was not without surprise that he heard the noble Lord, who had held an important and responsible position in a former Government, put such a Question. He could not understand why the Government, in satisfying the perhaps laudable curiosity of the noble Lord, should also gratify the less innocent curiosity of the Boer leaders, who would, without doubt, like to have information as to the strength and equipment of the forces sent out to South Africa. He was anxious, however, to give broadly some information which would be satisfactory to their Lordships. The number of battalions abroad beyond the normal number contemplated by the localization scheme when the intended re-inforcement of six regiments had been despatched to South Africa was fixed at 10, and since the 1st of January an order had been issued that no soldiers should be allowed to embark who had not been two years in the Army. All regiments and drafts sent abroad had been drawn either from the linked battalions, the depôts, or volunteers; and of these, except in a few cases, no soldier had been allowed to pass who had not completed two years' musketry instruction. With regard to Viscount Cardwell's scheme, it was too much forgotten sometimes that that scheme had been subjected to a very considerable strain within the last few years, and that it had, to a considerable extent, borne the strain without any addition to the establishment. Having given this explanation, he could only repeat that in the view of Her Majesty's Government it would not be consistent with the public interest to enter into further detail, or to grant the Returns for which the noble Viscount asked.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK would advise his noble Friend not to persist in his Motion for the Returns, inasmuch as he had been told that to grant them would be contrary to public policy, although the figures for which his noble Friend asked were practically to be found in Blue Books which had been already laid before Parliament, and arguments deduced from them might fairly be used in any future discussion.

After a few remarks from the Earl of NORTHBROOK in defence of Viscount Cardwell's scheme,

VISCOUNT BURY said, of course, he would not press the Motion for the Returns after what had been said.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Monday next, Eleven
o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 11*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Herring Brand (Scotland), *nominated.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*) — *Second Reading* — Edmonton Local Board.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Inclosure Provisional Order (Langbar Moor) * [111]; Inclosure Provisional Order (Beamsley Moor) * [112].

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * [88].

Third Reading—Peace Preservation (Ireland) * [105], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

EDMONTON LOCAL BOARD BILL.

(*By Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Sir HENRY TYLER moved, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months. He remarked that, in rising to oppose the second reading, he was quite aware that he was taking an exceptional course; but he was induced to do so in consequence of the exceptional character of the Bill. It was entirely without precedent for a Bill of this sort to be presented to the House. The object of the measure was to divide the local board district into two local board districts. Now, the Local Board District of Edmonton was comparatively a small district, comprising, in round numbers, about 7,500 acres; and it was proposed by the present Bill to separate the west end of the district, containing something like 3,500 acres, from the eastern part, which contained about 4,000 acres. The population of the western part was about 7,000, while that of the eastern part was about 14,000. There was every reason why the proposed division should not take place, and he was not acquainted with one valid reason in favour of it. The drainage ran from the higher ground in the western part of the district to the lower ground in the eastern part; and the proposed separation would, in point of fact, involve a line of division cutting right across the entire area. Then, again, there was the question of the roads and of the lighting and other matters, all of which would be very much interfered with by a separation. The main road from London ran through Edmonton, in the eastern part of the district. He was sorry to say that in reality the Bill bore the nature of a Home Rule movement; and he was sure the House would sympathize, at the present time, with any Board which was subjected to anything of that kind. The Home Rulers in the west were endeavouring to separate from the general district, and in doing so they had also, he regretted to say, resorted to the objectionable practice, adopted mainly in another country, of sending threatening letters. They had even gone so far as to subject the members of the Local Board to a threatening letter of a most improper character, in which the threat was directly made of saddling upon individual members the whole cost of the proceedings in the event of failure. As regarded the feeling of the Local Board itself, he might say that the Board was composed of 12 members, and of these 12 members 10 had signed a Petition against the Bill which he (Sir Henry Tyler) had had the honour to present to the House. In point of fact, there was only one member of the Local Board in favour of the Bill. The remaining member, not wishing to go with either party, had declined to sign the Petition against the Bill. These were the facts of the case, and he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Sir Henry Tyler.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR opposed the Amendment on the ground that it involved a change in the mode in which the House had hitherto been content to conduct its Private Bill legislation. They were asked to come to a decision upon the local affairs of a certain district with regard to which they were entirely ignorant, and upon which, with the exception of the statement which had just been made by his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Henry Tyler), they had no information which would enable them to come to a decision. But if it were necessary to adduce an argument in favour of referring the Bill to a Select Committee, it would be sufficient to refer to the very last statement made by his hon. and gallant Friend in regard to the Local Board of Edmonton, who, although they had had the management of the affairs of the locality and were thoroughly acquainted with the whole matter, appeared to have been unable to arrive at an agreement. He saw the late President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Sclater-Booth) in the House, and also the present Secretary to the Local Government Board

(Mr. Hibbert). Probably they would be able to bear testimony whether the Local Government Board approved of the arrangements contemplated by the Bill. Hitherto it had been the practice of the House to confide all inquiries of this nature to a Select Committee, who had full power delegated to them by the House for ascertaining the truth of the allegations made by the promoters of a Private Bill. He never remembered a more unreasonable request than that now made by his hon. and gallant Friend since he (General Sir George Balfour) had been a Member of the House of Commons; and he felt satisfied that if his hon. and gallant Friend had only been in the House as long as he (General Sir George Balfour) had, he would have abstained from this mode of opposing the progress of a Private Bill. If a similar course were adopted in other cases, the whole of the Public Business of the House would be obstructed and paralyzed, and they would have imposed upon them the consideration of another kind of Business altogether new to them. Under these circumstances, he entreated the House not to agree to the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend. If his hon. and gallant Friend had anything to say against the Bill, let him go before the Select Committee. He hoped the House would reject the Amendment.

Mr. LEWIS also regretted the course which had been taken by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Harwich (Sir Henry Tyler). It seemed to him that the course taken by his hon. and gallant Friend was one that was full of objection. In the first place, his hon. and gallant Friend had not stated to the House what he (Mr. Lewis) was bound to state—namely, that his hon. and gallant Friend was one of the parties actually engaged in opposing the Bill, and that he was one of the majority of the Local Board who had signed the Petition against the measure, and who were now seeking to stifle the minority. Being also a Member of the House of Commons, his hon. Friend had taken advantage of his position in order to endeavour by a side wind to secure the rejection of the Bill. The dispute which the House was asked to settle at 10 minutes past 4, with the Public Business waiting to commence at half-past 4, was a simple dispute whether the parish of Edmonton should be divided into two parts, one part healthy and the other unhealthy; one part poor and weak, and the other rich and powerful. And they were asked to settle these small parochial disputes without having the slightest opportunity of taking evidence. Notwithstanding that the state of Public Business had been declared to be urgent, they were asked to launch into a discussion which, if it had any merits at all, would require a considerable amount of evidence in order to confute the statements made by his hon. and gallant Friend, and they would not have got through the debate by half-past 5 if they were seriously disposed to do justice to it. During the whole of his Parliamentary experience he had never heard a more inopportune or unjust proposal. The House was actually asked to reject the Bill at the instigation of one of the parties concerned in it, because he happened at the time to be a Member of Parliament. He did not believe that the House for a moment would be prepared to listen to the proposal of his hon. and gallant Friend.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR: Of course, in the position which I hold, I have nothing to do with the merits of the Bill before the House. All that I have to do is, as far as I am able, to tell the House if there is *primâ facie* evidence that the Bill ought to go before a Committee. I believe that there has already been an official investigation by the Local Government Board into the facts of the matter. The Local Government Board have reported that the two districts of Edmonton are different, and that the sanitary condition of the district, even as recently as 1880, was extremely unsatisfactory. I see that the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Sclater-Booth) is in his place, and that my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Hibbert) is also present. They will, doubtless, give their view of the matter; and I will simply say that, as far as I have been able to judge, after hearing the promoters and opponents of the Bill, I think there is a very fair case to go before a Committee, and that there is no cause for the House to interfere and prevent the usual course of a Select Committee examining into the merits of the question.

Mr. HIBBERT remarked, that if ever there was a case which ought to go before a Committee of Inquiry, this was one. He had risen, however, not so much for the purpose of saying that, as of calling attention to a paper issued by the opponents of the Bill, and to a statement contained in it in regard to the Local Government Board. It was alleged that the question had been twice inquired into by the Local Government Board, and that the Board, which was fully competent to deal with the subject, had not recommended a separation. Now, that was a very misleading statement. The reason why the Local Government Board had not recommended separation was that there was no legal power for them to do so. The Local Government Board had on two occasions held an inquiry; and, on the last occasion, on an objection being raised, it was found that the Local Government Board, in this particular instance, had no power to interfere. The way in which the separation of a Local Board district was made was this—In the first place, it was the locality was divided into one or more districts, and placed under a rural sanitary authority. But in this case there was no rural sanitary authority in which to merge the Local Board of Edmonton, and the Local Government Board found it quite impossible to deal with the question. They certainly would have dealt with it on its merits if they had been able to do so; but not having been able, they were of opinion that it was a very proper case to go before a Committee.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH would not detain the House, but he thought it right to corroborate the statement made by his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Hibbert), having been familiar with the matter when it first came under the notice of the Local Government Board. He certainly thought that it was quite a proper case to go before a Committee.

SIR HENRY TYLER said, he was not afraid of the Bill going before a Committee; but he had been anxious to save the parties concerned the time and expense that would be occupied in giving evidence before a Committee. As, however, there seemed to be a feeling on both sides of the House against his proposition, he would withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

NOTICE OF MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. BRADLAUGH.

MR. GORST gave Notice that at half-past 4 o'clock on Monday next he would move that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new Writ for the election of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, Esquire, who, since his election for the said Borough, has voted as a Member of the House of Commons in the said House, and has sat during a debate after the Speaker had been chosen, without having made and subscribed the oath by Law appointed.

QUESTIONS.

HIGHWAY ACTS—PARISH HIGHWAYS.

MR. DUNDAS asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the Local Government Board is in possession of any statistics which enable him to state the average cost per mile of the maintenance of parish highways not included in highway districts, further or more accurately than it is stated in the Fourth Report of the Local Government Board, page 254; and, whether any instance has come under the notice of the Local Government Board in which a county which has adopted the Highway Acts, 1862 and 1866, has afterwards reverted to the old system?

MR. DODSON: Sir, at present the Board have not any complete statistics showing the average cost per mile of the parish highways not in highway districts. The Highway Returns, however, for the past year, which are now in course of preparation for presentation, will, for the first time, not only show the cost of maintenance, but the mileage of these roads in each parish, and thus indicate the information required. With respect to the second Question I may say that two cases have come under the notice of the Board, in which counties, after adopting the Highway Acts of 1862 and 1864, have afterwards reverted to the old system—namely, Stafford and Norfolk; but the adoption, in each instance, had extended only to a single district,

NAVY—WARRANT OFFICERS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken into consideration the case of Warrant Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and whether it is intended, with a view to improve their position, to abolish the so-called "other ships Clause?"

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Admiralty considered the case of the warrant officers in November last. It is not proposed to make any alteration in their position.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—FERMOY DISTRICT, CO. CORK.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether, owing to a recent death of a magistrate in the Fermoy district, county Cork, a vacancy now exists in the magistracy there; whether in that district, out of twelve magistrates, all except one are Protestants; and, whether, in view of the recent assurances which have been given by the Government, he can state that, if a Memorial be sent to the Lord Chancellor urging a suitable nomination, a Catholic will have the preference?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): Sir, I really do not see how I can be expected to answer Questions such as this. I have no special means of knowing whether or not a magistrate has recently died in the Fermoy district, nor can I tell the religion of individual magistrates there or elsewhere. With regard to the final paragraph of the Question, I cannot undertake to say what view the Lord Chancellor of Ireland may take on any particular Memorial; but I may repeat what has already been stated in the House, and what I know to be a fact—namely, that the Lord Chancellor is very anxious to remedy all just grounds of dissatisfaction that may exist with regard to magisterial appointments in Ireland.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE BRIBERY COMMISSIONS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the delay which has occurred in some of the Bribery Commissions, and the consequent grave apprehension that some of the few most guilty people who might have been prosecuted will escape, is not in some degree due to the fact that all the Commissioners are gentlemen in practice at the bar, and that some of the Commissions were adjourned at the busiest legal season after the Long Vacation; and, whether on such occasions these evils might not be obviated by employing retired Indian and Colonial judges, and other qualified persons, who have not an active legal practice?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Sir, I will first say I do not share with my hon. Friend his grave apprehensions that any offenders will escape in consequence of the delay in the presentation of the Reports to Parliament. I must also say I think the gentlemen who acted as Commissioners have brought to bear a great deal of industry in preparing their Reports. I think the fact is that there has been a little miscalculation on their part as to the extent to which their labours would be carried. One set of Commissioners had to schedule some 3,000 voters, every one of whom had to be examined. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some delay would occur. The hon. Gentleman asks me whether the evil might not be obviated by employing retired Indian and Colonial Judges and other qualified persons. When I ventured to suggest the names to the House of Commons for their approval, I thought I ought to obtain gentlemen of considerable vigour and practical knowledge. It did not occur to me that I could find such qualities in retired Indian Judges; but if it ever falls to my lot to appoint Commissioners again—which I hope it will not—I will consult my hon. Friend as to whether he knows any retired Indian Judge who possesses these qualities.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman be so good as to answer the latter part of the Question—whether, in fact, some of these Commissions were adjourned during the busiest legal season, in consequence of the Commissioners having a large practice at the Bar?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I am not aware of the extent to which adjournments took place; but no adjournments could take place for more than one week without the consent of my right hon. Friend the Home

Secretary, and I believe that permission was never granted without a very careful consideration of the grounds on which the application was made.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—SERGEANT-MAJORS.

MR. LITTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is proposed to place Volunteer serjeant majors of a Militia Staff attached to Brigade Depôts in the same position as regards pay, rations, and pension, as serjeant majors of the Line; and, if not, whether he will consider the propriety of doing so?

MR. CHILDERS: No, Sir; it is not intended to place these Volunteer sergeant-majors in the same position as sergeant-majors of the Line.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT—STANDARD WEIGHTS.

MR. GREER asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in consequence of the 3½ lb. weight being one of great convenience to many traders, being an aliquot part of the 7 lb. weight, and all other standard weights upwards, he will take into consideration the desirableness of legalising such weight in addition to present standard weights?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, there are two objections to the suggestion of the hon. Member. The first is that the multiplication of standards throws considerable expense on the local authorities; and the second is that the provision of a new standard weight so like to the existing 4 lb. weight would be the cause of inconvenience, and possibly of fraud. In these circumstances, I shall not be able to comply with the request unless there is a very general demand for such a weight. As a matter of fact, I have only had three applications for it during the last 12 months.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) ACT, 1870—LORD BESSBOROUGH'S COMMISSION.

COLONEL TAYLOR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the second portion of the evidence taken before Lord Bessborough's Commission will be delivered to Members, that already published being quite incomplete without the rebutting evidence?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the second portion of the evidence is now in the printer's hands in Dublin, and the printer states that it will be ready for delivery within three weeks from the issue of the order to print. That order will be immediately issued.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE MILITARY COMMAND.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can explain to the House what are the respective positions of Major General Newdigate and Sir Evelyn Wood, according to the terms of the "London Gazette" of the 4th and 8th instant, by which it would appear that Sir Evelyn Wood became a local major general on the 28th of February last, whilst Major General Newdigate, although a major general, is only to be appointed a local brigadier general on the 30th instant; whether, under such circumstances, Major General Newdigate is only to receive the pay and allowances of a brigadier general, whilst Sir Evelyn Wood, his supposed junior in rank, receives the allowances of a major general; and, further, what is the reason that the gallant officers, including Sir F. Roberts, recently appointed to commands in South Africa, and now on their way to the Cape, are only to receive pay and allowances from the 30th March?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I am much obliged to the noble Lord for calling my attention to the language of *The Gazette* with reference to these appointments, which, I fear, has only the conservative merit of being in accordance with precedent. In point of fact, General Newidgate is a Major General of 1877, and Sir Evelyn Wood is a Colonel of 1874, with Major General's local rank in Natal and the Transvaal of 1881. It is assumed that they will both be in command of brigades under Sir Frederick Roberts, and that is the meaning of *The Gazette* notice about Major General Newdigate. As to pay, the case is the reverse of what the noble Lord supposes. General Newdigate, as a Major General, would receive the pay and allowances of that rank, while Sir Evelyn Wood would only be entitled to those of a Brigadier. I have, however, under the circumstances of the case, thought myself justified in authorizing Sir Evelyn

Wood to receive the pay and allowances of a Major General. I find also that it has been customary to date commands such as the present from the probable date of arrival of the officers in their commands; but they receive pay and allowances from the date of embarkation. I will consider whether *Gazette* notices might not be in future a little more consistent with the real facts; but I need not say that they are not submitted to me personally.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE.

MR. RITCHIE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the first communications, as to an armistice or terms of peace, which took place between the Boers and the Commander of the British Forces, after the death of Sir G. Colley, whether they were with reference to previous negotiations or to new proposals, and whether they were due to the initiative of the British Commander or of Her Majesty's Government, proceeded from the Boer leaders or any one on their behalf, or from the British Commander or any one on his behalf; and, whether bases of peace have been agreed on; and, if so, if he can state what those bases are?

MR. GLADSTONE: As regards the first portion of this Question—namely, that which refers to the armistice—I think the hon. Gentleman already understands that I have no further communication to make with respect to the action of Her Majesty's Government. But the hon. Member inquires what has been done by the British Commander on the spot. There I can again only give the hon. Member all the information we possess, though it is but slight. Sir Evelyn Wood has not sent to us any detailed account of the manner in which the armistice came about; but he communicated to us directly its conclusion. However, we have a telegram from him that I was not in possession of when I first answered a Question on the subject. It is dated March 5, and I believe the telegram in which he announced the conclusion of the armistice was sent on the following day. In a telegram of March 5 are the following words:—

> "Joubert asks how far I will co-operate in Brand's proposition. I have offered to meet him to-morrow near Laing's Nek."

The hon. Gentleman will see that this does not state *totidem verbis* or categorically the origin of the armistice. It is a matter of construction, and each of us is free to arrive at his own conclusion upon it. The construction I put upon it is this—that the origin of the proposal came neither from the British nor from the Boer Commander, but that President Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, was the suggestor of the armistice, that upon that suggestion Mr. Joubert took the first opportunity of making overtures to Sir Evelyn Wood by asking "how far he would co-operate" with President Brand's proposal, and that upon receiving that overture General Wood took the step that I have mentioned to the House, and which Her Majesty's Government approve. That is the best construction I can put upon the telegram, and I must leave others to form their own opinion upon it. With regard to the latter part of the Question, I may say that the names of the Commissioners are under the consideration of the Government; but no Commissioners have as yet been actually appointed. I need hardly add, therefore, that all the rumours in circulation, whether they come from the Cape or are of home manufacture, are altogether premature and groundless.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: As this matter is one in which a good deal of interest is taken, I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it would not be possible to telegraph to Sir Evelyn Wood for an authentic and exact account of what has occurred?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Will my right hon. Friend kindly tell us whether the Government will lay any Papers on the Table before the Supplementary Estimate comes on for discussion?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I may say, with regard to that Question, that we should be placed in a position of difficulty, for it would be very difficult for us to define in the telegrams that passed what could be published throwing light upon the policy of the Government without prejudice to the public interest at a time so critical as this. With regard to Sir Evelyn Wood, the truth is that we have been extremely unwilling, knowing his very heavy responsibilities, to ask him any merely retrospective questions; and I am bound to say that up to the present time, although the

House was justly and naturally jealous of what might have been the conduct of the Executive Government, I have never seen that there was any urgent necessity for calling upon Sir Evelyn Wood, in the circumstances in which he stands, to give a minute account of all that took place. I will consider the matter, and either we shall do what has been suggested by the right hon. Baronet, or, if not, I will state to the House on Monday next why we cannot do so.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether any communications passed between President Brand and the Government; and, if so, whether he will lay the telegrams upon the Table?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My impression is that the communications between President Brand and the Government have not been very recent; but, of course, it is difficult to speak from memory. I doubt whether they can advantageously be separated from the rest of the Papers.

WELLINGTON COLLEGE—THE ANNUAL REPORT.

Captain MAXWELL-HERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is intended, and, if so, on what date, to present to Parliament the annual Report on the affairs of Wellington College, in accordance with the strong recommendation of the Royal Commission, whose Report was published last August?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the Education Department has no relation with, or control over, Wellington College; but I am informed by the Governors that a general meeting is to be held on the 16th instant, when the question will be considered whether the annual Report shall be laid before Parliament.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, What arrangements have been made for appointing a permanent Government at Candahar, now that it has been announced that our troops are on the eve of being withdrawn; and if he could state to the House the nature of these arrangements?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am extremely anxious to give the House, as soon as I am able, any information upon this subject which can be given with advantage to the Public Service. I have every reason to hope that the progress of the arrangements is satisfactory; but I must remind the House that the Government of India have in this case, as they had last year when the arrangements were made prior to the withdrawal of the troops from Cabul, a very difficult and very delicate task. I have no hesitation in saying that any premature disclosure of the arrangements under consideration immediately prior to the withdrawal of troops from Cabul would have had a tendency to prevent the satisfactory arrangements then made. I cannot take upon myself the responsibility at this moment of stating what is going on—what steps the Government of India are taking; and I think it is extremely likely that such a premature announcement would have very inconvenient consequences.

FISHERIES—THE EAST COAST FISHERIES—DEPREDATIONS OF FOREIGNERS—EMPLOYMENT OF A GUNBOAT.

Colonel BARNE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that within the last week four English boats have had their nets cut by foreign trawlers, off Lowestoft, using the scythe-bladed grapnel, and that the fishermen have suffered heavy losses in consequence; and, whether he will inform the House what instructions have been given to H.M.S. "Rose" with the view of stopping these depredations?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am very sorry to hear of the circumstance named by the hon. and gallant Member, and the more so because the Admiralty has no power to interfere outside the three-mile limit. Representations have been made to Her Majesty's Minister at Brussels, since these vessels appear to be of Belgian nationality, and the matter is now in the hands of the Foreign Office.

STATE OF IRELAND—SHERIFF'S SALE FOR RENT.

The O'DONOGHUE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a sheriff's sale at the suit of Lord Kenmare for rent due, wherein the sheriff has declined to sell the stock and cattle of the tenant, Patrick Whetstone, at his request, although adequate to meet the execution and upon the premises, but has notified that he will sell the tenant's interest in the holding, whereby his family will be evicted; and, whether the Government approve the action of the sheriff?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, my attention has been called to the subject of the Question of the hon. Member. The hon. Member asked me further whether I approved of the conduct of the sheriff. I must really repeat what I have had occasion to say once or twice before, that it is not unreasonable that some time should be allowed before the answer is given. The hon. Member must be aware that it is next to impossible for me to obtain the information for him before the Question is put to me. If he will kindly allow a little time to intervene in future I should be much obliged to him.

The O'DONOGHUE: I will put it down for Monday.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I cannot undertake to get the information by Monday.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL — THE ARMISTICE.

Mr. S. LEIGHTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, after the defeat at Langs Nek, the proposals for an armistice or for negotiatiations came from the English or the Boer side?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, I very much regret that it is entirely out of my power to add anything to what has been said by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. He has given every title of information which I possess.

Mr. S. LEIGHTON observed, that the Question answered by the Prime Minister referred to what had passed after the death of Sir George Colley; while the Question he now asked related to events following the defeat at Laing's Nek.

Mr. GRANT DUFF: I must make the same answer. The whole story has already been given to the House by the Prime Minister.

PARLIAMENT—CONDITION OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Mr. BAXTER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, seeing that notwithstanding the new rules and declarations of urgency, the usual and necessary business of this House has been practically stopped, and the national safety thereby imperilled, Her Majesty's Government intend to propose such measures as will effectually put an end to the obstruction, and at the same time vindicate the dignity and restore the deliberative and legislative power of Parliament?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the language used by my right hon. Friend in this Question is very strong, no doubt; but though I might take exception to that clause in which it is stated that the national safety has been imperilled, it is the fact that extremely important matters of national interest have been impeded and delayed. I must confess, however, that I do not think the expression goes far beyond the mark. On the contrary, a Question of this kind tends to rouse the general mind of the House to the fact that the House is involved in very serious difficulties, such as are unexampled in my recollection, though that extends over a long time, and such as are unexampled, I think, in previous history. At the same time, I am sorry to say that we do not intend—that is to say, we do not at present intend—to propose measures for effectually putting an end to the evils which exist, and for this reason, which I am sure my right hon. Friend will be the first to appreciate, that any measures which are to establish a satisfactory general system for the future must go to the consideration of matters quite distinct from simple repression, however necessary and useful repression may be within its own limits, and that such measures must necessarily be themselves subjects of a good deal of consideration, not only by the Government—for the Government have given a good deal of consideration to such measures already—but by the House itself, and consequently their first aspect would be to make a new demand on the time of the House, and new demands of that kind we are not able to make any provision for whatever. We are, to use a homely expression, at present in a condition of living from hand-to-mouth, so far as regards time and the transaction of Business; and when in a few minutes I come to make the statement I have promised to the House in regard to Public Business, my right hon. Friend will see how very great are the difficulties even in making and devising expedients to meet the absolute exigencies of the moment, and discharging those duties which we have no choice or option whatever as to the time of bringing them forward.

SCOTLAND—THE SASINE OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the scheme for the improved remuneration of the Commisioned Clerks in the Office of Sasines in Edinburgh has yet been adjusted; and, whether it will take effect from the beginning of the next financial year? He would not have troubled the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate on the subject if the Civil Service Estimates had not been laid on the Table without any provision for that Vote.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren) said, he should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would put his Question any day next week, and he should then endeavour to give it a definite answer. He had not yet been able to obtain the information that was asked.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — EXPOSURE OF OFFICERS.

Mr. GABBETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the large proportion of officers killed recently in South Africa was owing, in a large degree, to the peculiarity of their dress as distinct from that worn by the men, the officers wearing blue patrol jackets in several regiments, the men of which wore red, while in the Highland regiments the officers wore red shell jackets and the men white; and, whether the comparatively small loss of officers in the Rifle battalions may not be accounted for by the fact of their wearing a similar uniform to the men serving under them?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that there are no reasons for supposing that in any regiments the officers wore blue patrol jackets while the men wore red, nor that in the Highland regiments the officers wore red shell jackets and the men white. The regulations require that officers and men on service shall wear uniform of the same colour. With regard to the last part of the Question, my hon. Friend is in error in assuming that the Rifle battalion suffered a comparatively small loss in officers, the facts being that in the action on the Ingogo, the only action in which the 3rd battalion of the 60th Rifles were hotly engaged, that battalion lost 1 officer to 22 men killed and wounded, which is a larger proportion than the 58th and 92nd lost in either of the other two engagements; the 58th at Laing's Nek losing 1 officer to 34 men, and at Majuba 1 to 25; and the 92nd at Majuba lost 1 officer to 32 men.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS—VENICE.

Captain AYLMER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If this Country will be represented at the Geographical Congress to be held at Venice in September; and, if so, if he can state who will be its representatives?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Some arrangement will probably be made for the representation of this country at the Congress; but no appointment has as yet been made, and the matter is still under consideration.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT—ARREST OF MICHAEL BOYTON.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary a Question of which I have not had an opportunity of giving him private Notice. It is, Whether there is any truth in the reports in the morning papers to the effect that the United States Minister in England had made representations to Her Majesty's Government with respect to the case of Michael Boyton, who has been arrested in Ireland within the past few days under the Coercion Bill; if he will inform the House of the nature of that communication, and the reply of Her Majesty's Government thereto?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: My hon. Friend must be aware that that is a Question which should rather be addressed to the Foreign Office than to me, and it is one of which Notice should have been given.

THE LORENCO MARQUES TREATY—CESSION OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORY.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is the slightest foundation for the statement which had appeared in several of the newspapers to the effect that under the Lorenço Marques Treaty a portion of Portuguese territory had been ceded to Great Britain?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; there is not the slightest foundation for the statement in question.

THAMES RIVER BILL.

Mr. RITCHIE asked, Whether the President of the Board of Trade was of the same opinion now as to the bringing on of this Bill as he was last night?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Last night I said I hoped I might be able to bring on the Bill on Tuesday. That hope is now very much diminished.

Mr. RITCHIE: Are we to accept this answer as the Notice that the right hon. Gentleman promised to give us, or the reverse?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman has had Notice for a long while that the Bill would be brought on on Tuesday. All I can say now is that I will bring it forward on Tuesday if possible.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he really must press the right hon. Gentleman for an answer whether it was to come on or not.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not wish to anticipate the statement of the Prime Minister; but I now understand from him that it will be impossible to bring it on upon Tuesday next.

PARLIAMENT — ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—SUPPLY—RESOLUTION OF URGENCY.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I wish to ask the kind attention of the House for a few minutes, while I endeavour to redeem the pledge I gave last night to make a statement with regard to the prospective course of Public Business. I avoided making a statement before, because such a statement must have been more or less hypothetical so long as we in no degree saw our way with respect to the fortune of certain measures of necessity in regard to Ireland, with which this House has been occupied from the opening of the Session. I now assume that to-night, beyond doubt, the Irish Arms Bill will pass this House, and therefore we have to make provisions for the future; but the future for which we have to provide is very difficult and embarrassing. The demands upon the time of the House, necessitated by Irish Bills, have placed us in a position from which Her Majesty's Government think it is quite impossible for us to escape without sacrifice; and the only question is by what course we can make the sacrifice the smallest, and the attainment of the necessary object the surest. Now, Sir, the main subjects we have before us may be summed up in the general description of Votes in Supply and the Ways and Means Bill which must follow the Votes in Supply, and which must absolutely become law not later than the 30th of this month, unless the law is to be broken by failing to make the necessary payment required for the Public Service within the financial year. Over and above these Votes in Supply, I may mention that there are some extraneous circumstances which greatly increase the pressure. One of them is that a Motion of Want of Confidence has been given Notice of on the other side of the House with regard to Candahar, the discussion of which, I am afraid, we cannot confine to a single night, and for which, at the same time, we feel it our duty to make the very earliest provision in our power; and if the House should accede to the proposal we have to make, I should venture to hope that, at any rate, by Thursday week we should be able to place a day at the command of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope). Besides that, we think it a matter of absolute necessity that the House should have some power of addressing itself to the general legitimate Business of the Session, particularly when we recollect the extreme importance, and, I will add, though not in a technical sense, the urgency with respect to the question of land tenure in Ireland. We feel bound, in endeavouring to lay before the House a programme of Business, to include within our plans such elements as will enable the House, at any rate, after Easter—for most of our time until Easter is nearly disposed of—to apply itself sedulously and effectively to legislative work. I have a right to notice here a Notice of Motion given this very night with respect to the seat for Northampton, which raises a question of Privilege not likely to be got easily rid of, if we may judge from what occurred last year, and which, therefore, increases the pressure under which I make the present statement to the House. But I wish it to be clearly understood that what I have now to say about Business does not, in the least degree, contemplate what is called Obstruction. The provisions which we think necessary to expedite Supply are not framed on the supposition that Obstruction to Supply is intended. But they are framed not only upon the supposition, but the knowledge that when proposals for Supply are made, hon. Gentlemen have large opportunities of making preliminary Motions which they are perfectly entitled to make, and which we have no right whatever to consider obstructive Motions. The neccessity for which we feel liable to the House is a necessity of giving special expedition to our proceedings in order to secure to the House reasonable time for discussing those Votes which, on the part of the Government, we have to submit in Supply. These Votes are partly for the Supplementary Services of 1880-81, every one of which must be disposed of by Monday week. They include subjects which are of grave difficulty, with regard to which we think it our first duty not only to make provision against breaking the law, but to invite the House to make such arrangementss as will enable hon. Members to have reasonable opportunities for discussing those Votes, and the conduct of the Government in connection with them. Now, Sir, there are, I am sorry to say, not fewer than 50—I think rather more—Supplementary Votes for Services of various kinds. Among them a certain number must lead to more or less discussion. There may be others we do not anticipate; but amongst those likely to lead to discussion I might say that one is the question of Votes relating to Ireland. There will be Votes in connection with Ireland which may tend to raise again discussion upon the relief of Irish distress. There will be a Vote with regard to the Constabulary of Ireland for supplementary expenditure, and a Vote for legal expenses in Ireland which will place before the House the subject of the recent trial in Dublin. Then there is the Vote for the Stationery and Printing Office, which, unhappily, though in no way through the fault of the gentleman at the head of the establishment, requires a large further subvention, and with respect to which the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hermon), one of the last Members of this House who could be connected with the idea of Obstruction, has given Notice of his intention of raising a discussion. Then there are several points of interest and novelty in connection with the Law Charges in England, particularly in regard to steps which have been taken, I believe not entirely in consonance with usage, for providing Judges whose sentences are under appeal with counsel to defend those sentences at the expense of the public. There are many other questions affecting the Civil Service; but there are two which I think it necessary to mention in particular. One of them is that there must be Supplementary Votes for the Military and Naval expenditure connected with the Transvaal; another is that we think it our duty no longer to delay stating to the House our decision on a matter which was greatly pressed upon us last year, with regard to which we are under a positive pledge, which is to lay before the House the proposal we intend to make for giving a subvention to India at the charge of the British Exchequer in relation to a portion of the expenditure for the late Afghan War. I may say, Sir—because, although a Paper has been laid on the Table of the House and will be printed to-morrow, the House will not gather from that the exact nature of the proposal—that our proposal will be to make a total contribution of £5,000,000 towards the very large expenditure India has been called upon to bear, and we shall propose to give it partly in the shape of a remission of the debt of £2,000,000 which has been contracted on behalf of India, subject to repayments from her, and partly in the shape of a series of annual grants in Ways and Means. This is the last of the Votes that relate to the Service of the years 1880-81. We, then, shall require to provide for a portion of the Service for 1881-82. It will be necessary to have the Vote of the men for the Army, and likewise Vote 1 for the pay of the Army. It will be necessary, of course, to give time for the statements connected with the Votes we shall have to bring forward for the Navy; but it will be necessary to take Vote 1 for the Navy. It will also be our duty to submit Votes on Account for a considerable time for the Civil Service and the Revenue Estimates of the year 1881-82. Perhaps hon. Members may say—"Why not take Votes on Account for the Army and Navy?" That practice, so far as I am aware, has not been resorted to, except in connection with political circumstances of a character which rendered it impossible to have a proper discussion of the Army and Navy Estimates. The only four instances known to me occurred in circumstances totally different from those of the present year, and we are not at all disposed to establish a precedent in circumstances such as those which now subsist for Votes on Account of the Army and the Navy. We think that such a course would greatly diminish the control of Parliament over the Expenditure. With regard to Votes I have last named for the Service of 1881-82, the conditions of time are not precisely the same as those of the Votes for the Service of 1880-81. It will be necessary to get through the Army and Navy Votes absolutely not later than the 23rd, if we do not get them by the 21st. I need hardly to remind the House that the difference between the 23rd and the 21st is no difference at all so far as regards the ordinary control of the Government over the time of the House, because both the 22nd and the 23rd are days at the disposal of private Members. Then I have to bear in mind that between the time named and the present there is a certain amount of margin, which may be made available for Votes on Account for the Civil Service of 1881-82; but it cannot be made available unless we have a further lengthened postponement of the discussion about Candahar. It cannot be made available by the Government, because the days do not belong to us. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, for us to make a further demand, in the form which appears to us most convenient for all parties, upon the time of the House, in order to get through the necessary Business without involving what we think most serious evils. There is the evil of breaking the law, which is totally intolerable. There is the evil of having to break that old and wise Rule of the House, that it will not, in any circumstances, take any more than one stage of any Money Bill in one day. There is another evil which I should think almost absolutely intolerable—that of being reduced to such a position that the propositions of the Government for Supply, depending upon the taxation of the country, should require to be put from the Chair, without the power of discussion. All these evils are, in our opinion, intolerable, and we have to consider by what proposition we can avoid those evils, and secure—not barriers against Obstruction; we have not taken it into view; we have been thinking only of the legitimate rights of Members—but full opportunities, without the sacrifice of private time, for the performance of the duty of Members to criticize the proposals of the Government in Supply. That being so, it will be my duty to give Notice to-day to move upon Monday that the state of Public Business is urgent with reference to Votes in Supply. I say nothing at present with regard to the Ways and Means Bill, which will have to follow, as that is not commonly made a subject of extraneous general discussion, and we would hope that no necessity will arise with regard to it. But the passing of that Bill within a limited time is a matter of absolute necessity in order to legalize the issues for the Services of the year, and to keep the finances of the country from falling into confusion. My duty, therefore, will be, at half-past 4 o'clock on Monday, to declare that the Votes in Committee of Supply for the Service of the year 1879-80 for the several Supplementary and other Estimates for the Service of the year 1880-81, Votes A and 1 for the Army and Navy, and Votes on account for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments Services for 1881-82, now before the House are urgent, and it is of importance that the same be proceeded with without delay; and it will be my duty then to move, in conformity with that declaration, that the state of Public Business is urgent, and to move that, unless the House shall otherwise order, Committee of Supply shall have precedence of all Orders of the Day and Notices of Motion from day to day until the Votes declared urgent shall have been disposed of.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It is not my wish certainly to do anything so irregular as to provoke a discussion on the statement which we have just heard, which undoubtedly is one of a very serious, and I may say of a somewhat alarming character. I wish, however, to put a Question to the Prime Minister, to which, I confess, I should like a clear answer. The right hon. Gentleman, in indicating what were the rocks to be avoided in the course the Government may have to take in order to get the Business which they propose to have done accomplished in the time mentioned as the third of the dangers which he was particularly anxious to avoid what he described as the very serious evil that propositions of the Government for imposing burdens on the people should be put from the Chair without discussion. In that I think we all agree, and at the moment when those words were used I imagine that most hon. Gentlemen must have thought that it was not the intention of the Government to propose urgency for Supply. I must say, though we have been most anxious to support the Government in what has hitherto been done, yet, with regard to the proposal of urgency for Supply, it is a matter which requires the very gravest consideration. I shall be glad if the right hon. Gentleman will tell us what is the precise point of distinction between that which we ought to avoid and that which he is about to propose we should undertake to do. It seems to me, however important it may be that we should adhere to the Rule by which the House does not take two stages of a Money Bill on the same day, or other Rules of that kind, that the questions which may arise under urgency in Supply are more important. I do not know whether I shall be going too far if I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can tell us at what period he contemplates making his Financial Statement—whether before Easter or after?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the last Question, I have not been able to come to any positive conclusion, because it connects itself with another subject more important and of a wider scope, but perhaps of less urgency in regard to the particular day—namely, the question of the Irish Land Bill. But I will give as early an intimation of the day as I can. I hope it may be before Easter, and it will be convenient to the Public Service that it should be before Easter. I am also under the supposition that the House, after its long and severe labours, would wish to have the Easter Recess prolonged to a reasonable length. If it was necessary to put the other Question to me, I must have been obscure in my statement. The purpose the Government have in view—what they think of primary importance—is to provide for the fulfilment of the law, and to avoid evils worse than any such inconvenience as I now propose to the House. Their purpose is to secure reasonable liberty of discussion upon all those Votes in Supply. I hope I have made it clear to the House that the 21st is the last day for the Votes for the Services of 1880-1. More licence may be taken as to some other Votes of very small amount, which, however, must be dealt with in the intervening day after the 21st.

MR. DILLWYN: Sir, I confess I quite agree with the right hon. Baronet opposite that the statement we have just heard from the Prime Minister is one of a very serious and very alarming character. It is the more serious and more alarming because the Prime Minister has made it abundantly clear that there is palpable danger, and that the Public Business does require urgency. ["Order!"] But, at the same time, I am disappointed at the statement of the Prime Minister in this respect—that while I fully agree that urgency must be voted, and that we must still go forth in the dangerous and unconstitutional course on which we have embarked, yet, at the same time, I very much regret that the Prime Minister has shown us that there is such a category of work to be done that we must have some——

MR. SPEAKER: I am bound to call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that there is no Motion before the House. If the hon. Member wishes to put a Question, no doubt the Prime Minister will answer him.

MR. DILLWYN: I beg pardon of the House. I thought that as the occasion was one on which we were asked to forego one of our most valuable privileges, that I might be allowed to say a few words. However, I will confine myself to asking the Prime Minister whether, instead of moving these repeated Urgency Resolutions, it would not be desirable to give us an opportunity of seeing whether an alteration of our permanent Rules might not conduce to the shortening and to a more practical mode of carrying on the Business of this House?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I should like, with the permission of the House, to put a Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps the noble Lord will permit me first to say, in answer to my hon. Friend, that I feel the pressure of the hon. Member's observation as strongly as he does himself; and it is a very serious matter for the Government to consider—to watch for the first opportunity of considering—whether, for the good of the House, we can submit plans of a permanent character, to meet the difficulties.

MR. GORST: Am I to understand the Prime Minister to say that he is going to propose a Vote on Account, and to propose that that Vote on Account be taken under the Rule of Urgency? Will he state to the House for how long a period he proposes to take the Vote on Account?

MR. PARNELL: May I ask whether, in the event of the Prime Minister obtaining "urgency" for Committee of Supply, he will be in a position to introduce the Land Bill, and move its first reading before Easter?

MR. ONSLOW remarked that the Prime Minister, in his statement, had spoken of a contribution of £5,000,000 towards the cost of the Afghan War. He would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether that Vote could not be postponed until after Monday week, as he had given Notice that it would not be taken next Monday.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; because, in our opinion, Parliament would wish not to throw over from the current year the inception, if I may so call it, of the plan, if Parliament should think fit to adopt it. If so, in order to bring it within the current year, it is absolutely necessary that we should have the Vote on Monday week. [An hon. MEMBER: To avoid a breach of the law.] Yes; to avoid a breach of the law. Of course, it is in the same category with the Supplementary Estimates. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham has asked for what period we propose to take a Vote on Account. I have stated to the House that we think it necessary, in the present condition of affairs, to endeavour to secure a time for the House when it shall be free for a certain period from the demand for Supply, and on that account we propose to take a Vote on Account, which must absolutely be had—we propose to take a Vote on Account which will last to Whitsuntide, and that will be for three months. With regard to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, I am not able to answer his question positively at this moment, because I will tell him this—that Her Majesty's Government do not think—of course, they must impose a reasonable interval between their introduction of the Land Bill and the second reading—they do not think it would be for the public interest at all that they should introduce their Land Bill, and then allow it to remain a very long time as their proposal without any definitive judgment of the House. Therefore, the course proposed to be taken on this Bill will, in some degree, be dependent upon what we can find it possible to do with regard to bringing on the second reading.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I would like to put a question to you, Sir, on a point of Order. You are aware that when the Prime Minister makes his Motion on Monday there will be no opportunity of debating it. I would like to ask whether, if the Prime Minister's Motion to vote Public Business urgent is carried, the Rules which you have already laid down, and under which we have so long acted, would apply, as they stand, to procedure in Committee of Supply, because there is a very general understanding, and I am not sure whether you have not already stated to the House, that these Rules are not applicable to the Committee of Supply. It is of the last importance to the House, in order that hon. Members may be able to give their votes on Monday, that we should be acquainted with the procedure which it will be in your absolute power to lay down, otherwise they will be voting in the dark, and unable to decide as to the merits of the Prime Minister's proposal. I beg to submit to you, Sir, whether it will be in your power, either at present or later in the evening, to state whether all of the existing Urgency Rules would apply, or whether none of them would apply, or if some of them will apply; and, if so, what Rules those will be?

Mr. SPEAKER: Should the Committee of Supply be made urgent, it will be my duty to lay down Rules applicable to such Committee. I may inform the House that, in view of the House voting urgency, I have prepared Rules which I will lay on the Table to-day, and which will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Are we to understand, Sir, that these Rules to which you have just referred will be all that will be laid down, and that in no case will it be in your power to frame additional Rules for the Committee of Supply?

Mr. SPEAKER: If I were to reply to the Question of the right hon. Baronet in the affirmative I should be limiting the power the House has placed in my hands.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Perhaps I might ask you, Sir, with all respect and deference, whether it is in your power to frame Rules for Urgency in Committee of Supply before Supply has been voted to be urgent?

Mr. SPEAKER: No doubt, under the Resolution passed by the House in February last, these powers are conferred upon me.

Mr. RYLANDS understood the Prime Minister to say that in Committee of Supply there would be ample opportunity given of discussing the Votes; and he begged to ask whether, in the event of the pressing Votes occupying discussion up to the 21st of this month, it would not be the fact that any Votes remaining and coming under urgency would be taken without any discussion?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There are no Urgency Rules at present applicable to Supply, and consequently the Rule which provides in certain cases in Committee of Supply that Votes shall be put without discussion has no application.

Mr. CALLAN asked the Prime Minister whether he could give any definite assurance to the Irish Members and the House that if urgency for Supply was voted on Monday, and the Business facilitated, he would introduce the Irish Land Bill before the House rose for the Easter Recess?

Mr. GLADSTONE: After the detail of subjects that I have given the House to be considered in Supply, and after I have reminded the House that a Vote of no confidence remains on the Paper, and certainly ought to be dealt with at the moment we have any freedom of choice at all as to the progress of Business, I think the House will see that it will be more prudent on my part to reserve every answer about any further proceedings whatever until we can a little see our way in regard to the course of Business.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he understood the Prime Minister to intimate that he would make a demand on the days now at the disposal of the private Members. He wished to know whether, if private Members consented to surrender their days, the right hon. Gentleman would give to private Members future facilities for bringing forward their proposals? If the right hon. Gentleman answered in the negative, he would feel bound to avail himself of every Form of the House, on behalf of those whom he represented, to defeat the proposal of the Government.

Mr. PARNELL asked whether the House was to understand that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, a Vote of Want of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government should take precedence of the introduction of the Irish Land Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in accordance with invariable Parliamentary usage and sound principle, whenever a Vote of Want of Confidence has been proposed with the evident support of a considerable section of this House, and as representing their views and opinions, that no legislative Business of a character not connected with the immediate demands of the moment should interfere with the discussion of that Vote. This has been a rule of the last half century, and I must say that I think it would be a most dangerous departure, not only from precedent but from principle, if we were to depart from it.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: May I trouble the right hon. Gentleman with one more Question? May I ask him if there is any Irish Land Bill actually prepared at all?

Mr. GLADSTONE: If Ministers are to be called upon to make statements to the House, the Questions addressed to them ought to be framed with some regard to those relations of mutual self-respect which ought to exist between one Member of the House and another. I must therefore decline to give any answer whatever to the Question of the hon. Gentleman, or to any similar Question he may think fit to put to me. In answer to the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), I may say that I have the most sincere sympathy with hon. Members amid the tremendous inconvenience to which they have been subjected, and that within the bounds of reason the Government will do anything they can to accommodate them. But an absolute pledge in this respect is impossible, as he will, I am sure, see, because the improvement in the manufacture of modern times does not extend to the manufacture of new days. Unless that were in our power we could not undertake to give such a pledge.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR inquired whether, as a question of Privilege, the Motion of which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had given Notice for Monday, in reference to the Writ for Northampton, would have precedence of all other Notices?

Mr. CALLAN asked whether, in the event of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill passing the House that night, the Speaker would on Monday declare the state of Public Business no longer urgent in time to allow of a discussion taking place upon the Motion of which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House had given Notice?

Mr. SPEAKER: In answer to the Question of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), I have to say that the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), with reference to the Writ for Northampton, would, as a question of Privilege, have precedence of all other Motions on that day.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister when the Financial Statement of the Government would be made?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not able to give information on that subject. I have stated that I will give the information as soon as it is in our power.

Mr. GIBSON: Sir, I wish to repeat the Question put by the hon. Member below the Gangway (Mr. Callan). Will you, Sir, declare the present state of Business no longer urgent before the Motion of the Prime Minister comes on?

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN said, it was also very essential the House should know whether the Rules the Speaker intended to lay on the Table that night were to supersede the other Rules referring to urgency, or whether the new Rules that would be laid on the Table would be supplementary to those at present existing?

Mr. PARNELL said, before the Speaker answered these Questions, he also wished to ask one. The Prime Minister had stated that he desired, in proposing urgency, that each Vote in Supply should be fairly discussed; but he wished to know, if urgency was declared, whether there would be anything to prevent the Speaker, if he thought right, from framing Rules giving the Chairman of Committees power to close the debate on any particular Vote in Supply at any particular time, or giving power to the Government to move a Resolution that at a certain hour of the night Votes in Supply should be put without further discussion?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already stated that I propose to lay on the Table of the House in the course of this day's Sitting Rules with reference to Committee of Supply, when Supply is declared to be urgent; and if the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) will be so good as to wait until to-morrow morning he will see what is the substance of the Rules which I propose to make.

Mr. GIBSON again called the Speaker's attention to the Question of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan).

Mr. SPEAKER: Supposing the third reading of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill be carried this evening, I propose to declare that the state of Public Business is no longer urgent.

Mr. HEALY inquired whether the Government would give facilities for the discussion of a Vote of Want of Confidence in connection with the affairs of the Transvaal?

Mr. MAC IVER suggested that if the Government would postpone the evacuation of Candahar, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) might correspondingly postpone his Motion of Want of Confidence. The Government would thus be enabled, always supposing they had any Bill prepared, and that they really wished to bring one in, to place their Irish land proposal before the House before Easter.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 105.]

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

MR. PARNELL, in rising to move that the Bill be read a third time that day six months, said, the Government had allowed themselves to be driven into a policy of coercion towards Ireland, and in forgetfulness of all the traditions which had generally been assigned to their Party, forgetfulness of all their policy and pledges in regard to Ireland, they had allowed themselves to carry out the policy of their Predecessors, and to become the tools of the landlord interest in Ireland. He thought the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant might advantageously change his title, and adopt the one of Chief Agent for the Collection of Rents throughout the country. It seemed to him that one of the results of the right hon. Gentleman's 12 months' tenure of Office was to make him suppose that his chief duties were to facilitate the collection of the rack rents of the Irish landlords. That seemed to be the whole object and aim of his ambition. He regretted that a Liberal Government should not have found something more worthy of itself than that policy of coercion. He regretted that it should have succeeded in dragging the Radical Party in the Honse of Commons after it; that it should have succeeded in inducing such men as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) to lend their powerful voices to the coercion of Ireland, and to retreat from words which they had spoken as to coercion in the country. The thing was now nearly done, and he supposed it was useless to regret it. They in Ireland would have to face the coercive measure of the Government the best way they could. He believed Ireland would emerge victorious from the strife. It was impossible, in the present times of the electric telegraph and steam communication, to coerce the public opinion of a whole country. They had not only Irish opinion to deal with, but they had a much more powerful opinion in America, which the Home Secretary had striven to represent as the opinion of conspirators and desperadoes—an opinion consisting of 16,000,000 of persons, and an opinion superior to our own. The Irish people in America had had the advantage of the free school system in the country; they had benefited by the educational institutions which were denied to the people of Ireland; and nothing struck him more during his recent visit to America than the superior position of the Irish people there. He referred to that matter because the Home Secretary desired to mislead the House with regard to the Irish people in America. He made a great mistake if he thought they were people who desired assassination, or adopted violent means in carrying out the aims and objects of the Land League. Nothing gave him more surprise and pleasure than to find how intimately in thought and feeling the young men of the second generation, descended from Irish parents in America, sympathized with the Irish Question at home. Everywhere through the United States he met them as barristers, medical men, merchants, leading men in manufactories, employers of labour, and everywhere he found the intelligent opinion of the Irish people in America was in sympathy with the aims and objects of the Land League in their struggle to free their country from the present system. If the Home Secretary thought he could mislead the people of England, by leading them to suppose that the 16,000,000 of Irish people in America were desperadoes, incendiaries, and assassins, he never made a greater mistake in his life. They had had resolutions of sympathy passed for them by almost every Legislature in America, in most instances without opposition. All the State Legislatures, on the arrest of Mr. Davitt, hastened to express their sympathy for him and for his sufferings. Some years ago, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster delivered a speech, shortly before the passage of the Land Bill, which would explain his regret better than any words he could use. That right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I entirely disagree with those who, when any crisis or disturbance arises, say you must first of all preserve order. You must put down all this disloyalty, disobedience to the law, and assert the authority of the Government, and then you must remedy the grievance generally. After having asserted the supremacy of the law the grievances are forgotten, and there is no consideration for them. This has been done in Ireland for 200 years, and nothing has been done except under the influence of terror."

The Land League had kept within the law and within Constitutional lines. If they had not done so, probably they would have had the right hon. Gentleman for their defender, who would have recognized in them an important engine for the directing of public opinion, and for compelling legislative remedies, since nothing was ever done in Ireland except under the influence of terror. They did not adopt dangerous agencies. They did not blow up any great gaols in the Metropolis, which, according to the Prime Minister, was such a necessary factor to bring the Irish Question within the region of practical politics. They did not murder a policeman in the execution of his duty at Manchester. They did not do any of the acts which were necessary in the past to direct attention to the necessity of redressing Irish grievances. They simply confined themselves to the holding of great public meetings, which were perfectly useless when held on the other side of the water, to effect any reform for Ireland, and the consequence was they found that they were wrong. They found their local agents cast into prison in every direction because they did not violate the law, and they did not adopt any of the means which they were taught were necessary to procure legislation. By this they were taught that Constitutional agitation was no use in Ireland, and that the only way in which attention could be directed to the redress of Irish grievances was by forcible violence and unconstitutional means. He believed, however, that the Irish people would still continue to keep within the law, and that they would not commit themselves by wreaking the "wild justice of revenge." The Land League was too well organized to be destroyed by the arrest of a few dozen, or a few hundreds, or even thousands of the people. The result of the present experiment would be to show the Government that they never made a greater mistake than when they attempted to use the worn-out weapon of coercion for the purpose of destroying the proper and Constitutional expression of public opinion in Ireland. The people were now well organized, and would not allow themselves to be drawn outside the limits of Constitutional agitation. There might be occasional assassinations during the three months of the height of the agitation. In the months of September and October assassination entirely ceased. Just at the commencement of the organization there were one or two frightful murders in Ireland—the murders of Mr. Boyd and Lord Mountmorres, for instance—but after the League had shown the people the power and strength of the organization murders entirely ceased. There was no more assassination until the Coercion Bill was introduced, and then the shooting again commenced. He feared there might be a revival of those outrages throughout the country, for landlords would undoubtedly be encouraged by the Bill to eject their tenants in very large numbers. The Bill gave to the landlords a greater power of applying oppression, because it was by little petty influences which could be brought to bear on tenants that the landlords had maintained the old ascendancy which the Land League were doing so much to break down. Under the Peace Preservation Bill no tenant could have a gun to protect his crops against the ravages of birds and hares and rabbits, unless he went on his knees to his landlord and begged a letter that would get him a certificate from a stipendiary magistrate. The price of a gun would be subserviency, the maintenance of a cringing attitude towards the territorial class. The Bill would do more to humble and subdue the spirit of the people of England than anything else. Nothing would be more irritating or more productive of crime, because it would affect an immense proportion of the people far greater than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Furthermore, it would be used as an engine of tyranny and spite. He had a letter from a commercial traveller the other day going the West and South of Ireland, in which the writer said that during the Fenian times, when he was a shopboy in an extensive establishment in the city of Limerick, the police, with arms, were in the habit of visiting the place and compelling the young men of the shop to turn out their boxes for the purpose of proving that they did not contain arms and ammunition. The boys displayed their little kits upon the floor, and, the search having been made, the police would go away. The writer of the letter said he had always been an intense anti-Briton ever since, and that, he thought, had done a great deal to spread a national feeling throughout the customers and others with whom he came in contact. He felt certain, too, that three or four young men who were subjected to the same indignity had also become Fenians and haters of English rule. In conclusion, the hon. Member moved that the Bill should be read a third time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, the hon. Member for the City of Cork had drawn their attention to the sympathy which had been shown by certain classes in the United States with the people of Ireland, and the hon. Member seemed much to prefer the institutions and policy of the United States to those of this country. He was not at all satisfied with the wide toleration and extreme leniency which Parliament had extended, notwithstanding great provocation, to Ireland and the Irish. The House, however, remembered well how America had dealt with rebellion within her own territories. The symptoms of coming strife were long neglected, until they culminated in actual civil war, and a vast amount of bloodshed. He put it to the hon. Member for the City of Cork whether or not he would like the House to adopt the method of the United States in their treatment of rebellion in Ireland. He must congratulate the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends on one circumstance. They had not merely brought coercive laws on Ireland, but they had induced the House of Commons to introduce into and to submit to coercion in its own proceedings. He (Mr. Newdegate) regretted that this coercion, as applied in that House, was so lenient, that as yet it did not appear to have any deterrent effect. He was afraid, that the wide toleration and the leniency which had been shown in the treatment of Ireland and its Representatives had been entirely misplaced.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, they had now reached the last chapter of the events which for eight or nine weary weeks had distracted, and worried, and coerced the House of Commons. The last scene of the last act was drawing to a close; but before the curtain dropped he should like to offer one or two comments on the Bill, and also one or two complimentary remarks to those who had been not only the originators of, but the chief actors in, the drama—he meant Her Majesty's Government. They had a right to be complimented by any Member of the House on the extreme boldness with which they had not only taken but had actually eagerly rushed at characters which a little time ago they swore by all their gods they would not touch—and on the thoroughness and completeness, he would not say shamelessness, for that would not be complimentary, with which they had done their work, and on the ability with which they had assumed from time to time the various postures and disguises which were necessary for the success of the piece. The Chief Secretary had performed to perfection the *rôle* of the heavy father—with the rod in his hand and the tear in his eye, constrained by a stern necessity—namely, the retention of Office—to punish, but longing, ever longing, to burst into rhapsodies of paternal and tender emotion. The Home Secretary had filled with marked ability the more unattractive part of the heartless Lothario—stamping upon and denouncing and repudiating as criminal, almost as incestuous, those young Irish affections which he and his Colleagues not so long ago sacrificed so much of character to woo and win. He rejoiced to think that, owing to the masterly manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had conducted this Bill, the ever-widening circle of the popularity—he might almost say the adoration—with which he was regarded there would overflow the walls of that House, and penetrate into every cottage home of every Irish peasant. Now, as to the Bill itself, which was at last before the House in its finished state, in it, as in the Protection Bill, all precedent had been disregarded, and all Constitutional precautions had been utterly despised and kicked aside. The Lord Lieutenant was invested with the most uncontrolled and absolute power, and the only consolation offered to those who viewed with uneasiness this unparalleled suspension of Constitutional rights was that they were invited to rely on the nobility, wisdom, and sense of responsibility of the Lord Lieutenant, assisted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. While talking of Ministerial responsibility he would like to inquire of the Government what this Ministerial responsibility was, and how it was to be realized? When the Government last year decided not to renew the Peace Preservation Act, they reiterated that they were quite crushed with the responsibility that they had taken upon them. But what happened? The Home Secretary got up the other night and gaily told the House, without a word as to this Ministerial responsibility, that the non-renewal of the Act was an experiment which the Government had not been justified in making, and an experiment which he admitted had been a hideous failure. It was not surprising, therefore, that he objected to the attempt to raise again this phantom of Ministerial responsibility. As a matter of fact, there was absolutely no Ministerial responsibility. The Irish Government, with those two Acts, were perfectly irresponsible and perfectly absolute. The Irish Government would administer those Acts precisely in the same manner in which similar Acts had been administered before; and the House must not be deluded into the idea that it would have any control over the Irish Government, either now or subsequently. He had voted for the Bill; but it was necessary to destroy the humbug of this heavy Ministerial responsibility of which they had heard so much. Under the Act of 1847 the powers of the Lord Lieutenant were carefully limited and defined—indeed, so limited, that the Law Officers of the Crown were at times almost afraid to put them in force; but under this Bill there was absolutely nothing connected with the possession of and search for arms which the Lord Lieutenant could not do. For instance, he could utterly disorganize and dislocate the trade of the large ports of Ireland by his regulations with respect to the search for arms. He did not say that the Lord Lieutenant would do that; but he had the power to do it, and the only security they had that he would not do it was the Chief Secretary's nobility of mind. He wished to point out to the House the magnificent spirit of justice which pervaded the Bill. Not only did Her Majesty's Government abolish trial by jury for five years with respect to offences under it—he did not find fault with that, he was only pointing it out—but they had to observe this remarkable feature in the Bill, that the poacher who concealed a gun for the purpose of killing a rabbit was to be subjected to the same amount of imprisonment as the Fenian who imported arms and dynamite for the purpose, possibly, of killing great numbers of people. If the Tory Party had been in power, and had proposed such an unlimited Bill as this, no matter what the necessity had been, they would have been met by a united and remorseless Liberal opposition. With this Bill in his hand, and with the recollection of the Coercion Bill in his mind, he might be allowed to point out to the Irish Members the "rich and rare" rewards which had been showered upon them in return for the ardent and generous efforts they made for the success of Liberal candidates at the General Election, and in return for the many speeches which had been made by night and by day by Irish Representatives to the Irish masses in the English cities and towns whom Her Majesty's Government had seduced, corrupted, and betrayed. Instead of an extremely mild Peace Preservation Act which was only in force in eight or nine counties of Ireland, they had the Habeas Corpus Act suspended all over the country; they had trains arriving every hour at the Dublin terminus from North, South, and West, with cargoes of *mauvais sujets*—they had an unlimited Arms Act, which would be applied to the entire country. But they had more than this—the Irish Members had a promise of a Land Bill which was coming, like Christmas. The junior Member for Leeds (Mr. H. Gladstone), speaking the other night at a hole-and-corner meeting of the Liberal Club in Ealing, informed his audience that the Bill was in progress; and then with something of the ingenuousness and, perhaps, the indiscretion of youth, he added that nobody could imagine what a difficult question it was. That was the harvest which Ireland had reaped from the most enlightened and God-granted Government this country had ever seen. That Bill was now passing away from them, and with it all that liberty-destroying machinery of urgency, *clôtures*, *coups d'état*, and Dictatorships, never, he hoped, to return again. [*Cries of* "Monday!"] They would now be told they ought to turn their attention to remedial legislation. Well, he would make no remark on that beyond this, that remedial measures planted under the shelter of coercion and watered and nourished by the suspension of the Constitution must in their nature be poor and sickly plants of foreign origin, foredoomed to perish almost before they commenced to grow. That Bill, the extraordinary crisis in Ireland, the extraordinary condition of the House of Commons, the best ever elected, that awful failure of Liberal hopes, was a conspicuous illustration of what was termed the irony of fate. It was on their capacity to grant to Ireland the same freedom that England enjoyed, on their capacity to grant the Irish overflowing prosperity, that the Liberals relied to gain for themselves immortal credit to scatter the Tories to the winds, and to secure for themselves permanent power. The Chief Secretary went to Ireland in April last, bearing with him the hopes, and the prayers, and blessings of an enthusiastic and victorious Party. He gave them all to understand that he was to become an emancipator greater even than O'Connell; and within 12 months of taking Office he had been compelled to come to Parliament for powers more stringent and more oppressive than were ever granted to or demanded by Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, or Lord Grey. He wished the Chief Secretary joy of these beautiful Bills; but he might tell the right hon. Gentleman that he had acquired by them the undying dislike and distrust of the Irish people. He was grateful to the House for having allowed him to make these few remarks to "point a moral and adorn a tale," and for having given him the opportunity of delivering to this measure what the House might permit him to term a parting kick. While he had never denied that some extreme measure or other, owing to the conduct of the Government, and them alone, was only too necessary for Ireland at the present moment, and while he had always admitted that as to the nature and extent of that measure Her Majesty's Government, who were the culprits, must be the sole and only judges, he still recollected with unqualified satisfaction that coercion was a double-edged weapon which had before now fatally wounded those Administrations who had been compelled by their own folly to resort to it; and beset as the Government was on every side with difficulties and entanglements, all of their own manufacture, he made no doubt whatever that the blighting contempt of the present would wither, and the sure condemnation of the future overwhelm, the authors of this deplorable legislation.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the House seems to have come to the very sensible determination not to have a protracted debate at this stage of the Bill. ["No, no!"] I will tell you why I arrive at that conclusion. It is because I have observed that at the end of a long and tedious drama of a tragic character we generally have what is called the "after piece," which consists of a screaming farce. I shall not, however, occupy much time in replying to the observations of the noble Lord, because it is difficult to treat him as a serious politician whose remarks require argument. It is very difficult to understand, and has been so for the last few months, to which of the four Parties in the State the noble Lord belongs. He once belonged to his own, the Fourth Party; but he has managed by his conduct during the discussion of this Bill to dissolve that minute Party, and his feats, in that respect, only afford a fresh illustration of the doctrine of the infinite divisibility of matter. The noble Lord has delivered a studied oration, and in it he has given what he has called the last kick to the measure which all last autumn and all last winter he has been imperiously demanding at the hands of the Government. I do not know whether among the faithless one faithful may be found. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) is about to venture, for the first time in the course of these debates, to support the Leader of the Fourth Party; but the Fourth Party having disappeared into space, we who have sat here night after night have seen the noble Lord conspicuously taking the part of confidential adviser to the Third Party. ["No, no!"] I say "Yes." I do not think there has been one single instance in which measures have been taken for using every Form of the House to prevent the progress of this Bill when the noble Lord was not in intimate communion with the Third Party and its principal actor. That does not surprise me, for I remember that even in the responsible position of Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a year or two ago, the noble Lord astonished all Dublin by delivering a speech in favour of Home Rule——

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg pardon. I never was Private Secretary to the late Lord Lieutenant.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, at all events, the noble Lord stood in confidential relations to the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who was a Member, at that time, of an Administration which brought in one of those horrible Coercion Bills of which this is almost an exact copy. I presume it was to the unfortunate fact that the late Administration introduced such a measure, which was administered by the late Lord Lieutenant, the father of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, that put an end, not to a "God-granted" Administration, but to an Administration from which the noble Lord has delivered us. It is unnecessary, for the reasons I have stated, to deal seriously with the noble Lord. At other times, if we had a little more leisure, I might have descanted at more length on his erratic conduct, and on the extraordinary amusement which he always affords the House; but I do not think the noble Lord's political opinions have that consistency which demand the serious attention of the House of Commons. I turn now to a more serious matter, the Bill which the Government asks the House to read a third time, and I shall not feel justified in trespassing upon the attention of the House at any great length. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) made, as was natural he should make, a solemn protest against the passing of this measure. But what is it he has told us? He has told us that this Bill is founded upon a deliberate falsification of facts. Now, that is a very grave charge, but I do not think the hon. Member has laid any foundation for an allegation of that character. No doubt, he takes a different view of the facts from Her Majesty's Government. He says that on this so-called deliberate falsification of facts we have founded a measure that was totally unnecessary; and then he taunts not only the Government, but the Liberal Members and the Liberal Party, with being accessories to this legislation. I would ask the hon. Member whether he can really deny that the Government have received in this matter the support both of the Liberals in this House and of the Liberals throughout the country?

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: Throughout the country? What country?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, I should say the country at large, with the exception of that portion of the country which hon. Members who object to this Bill represent.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: The country called Ireland?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: With respect to Ireland, it is a circumstance worthy of remark that in no single division against this Bill on any stage of it has one moiety of the Representatives of Ireland voted against the measure. If all Ireland were against the Bill, would you not have all the Representatives of Ireland voting in opposition to it?

MR. PARNELL: The franchise, the franchise!

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, we have also been asked how it is that the Radical Party supported this Bill. I will answer that they have supported the Bill, no doubt with immense reluctance, but they have supported it because they were convinced of its necessity. Do you believe that in a country with a free Press and telegraphic and other means of communication, you can, by deliberate falsification, so mislead the Liberal Party in England and in the House of Commons that, after two months of protracted and continuous discussion, all the efforts of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends to present their own view of the case should have only the effect of causing the Liberal Party, instead of coming more and more near to them, to depart more and more from them? What is the meaning of the solidity of the Liberal Party on this question? It is because the more this matter has been discussed and investigated the more it has become absolutely apparent to everyone that the Government were justified in the course they have taken. The hon. Member for the City of Cork says there is an Irish nation in America. That is true; but I would venture to say that American opinion is not as unanimous in the hon. Member's favour as he supposes. Look in the most powerful and influential journals of the United States, and you will find an almost unanimous condemnation of the hon. Member's course. [Mr. PARNELL: Only in New York.] I see a little of the American papers. I have before me a copy of *The Irish World*, of which the hon. Member for the City of Cork knows something, and through which comes the largest contributions from America to the Irish Land League. He who pays the piper has a right to call the tune, as the largest subscriber to a religious society laid down the doctrine. As a specimen of the contributions which appear in this paper I will quote one which begins—"I append the report of a scene in the House of 600 scoundrels." That is ourselves.

MR. PARNELL: Is not that quotation made from a letter from London?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes; and I have no doubt the hon. Member for the City of Cork can give me the real name of the writer. Well, the writer goes on—

> "What can we do? Plenty of good work. The high seas are open to us, and covered with British merchant ships freighted with rich booty. There is our objective point."

This is the sort of language that is used, and that there is a letter written from London shows the intercommunication which exists. I dare say I could supply the name of the gentleman who signs himself "Transatlantic." ["Name!"] No; hon. Members know it perfectly well. Of course, the writer is delighted at our difficulties with the Boers and Zulus, and he proceeds to say—

> "The Boers are fighting the battle of Ireland, although they do not know it. May success attend them. I urge my countrymen to drill, and learn military drill night and day, Sunday and holiday, in the hut and on the hilltop."

Referring next to a speech of Mr. Davitt, in which he said that there were 500 Land Leagues, the writer in *The Irish World* says that—

> "If there were 500 or 600 men on an average in each branch, that would give Ireland 250,000 fighting men."

These quotations sufficiently show what are the common objects of the Land League in America and in Ireland. Could any civilized Government submit to have such objects openly avowed and promoted? The hon. Member for the City of Cork challenged me the other night when I spoke of the connection between the Land League and Fenianism. The hon. Member said that for himself he had the greatest respect for many Fenians who believed in the separation of Ireland from England by physical force. That is not exactly the language which I think we have a right to expect that a subject of the Queen should use in speaking of a conspiracy to overthrow the Crown.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: He spoke of respect for the individuals.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Am I right or wrong in saying that this Land League organization is really Fenian and Fenian in its character? I say exactly what I believe about the matter. It is perfectly true, as the hon. Member stated, that the Fenian organization endeavoured in former times to attack the English Government by open force; but, having found that that course could not be successful, it is my firm conviction that exactly the same object has been, and is being, prosecuted by other and more indirect methods. The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) said that the Land League had three objects in view—first, to paralyze the Government; secondly, to obstruct Parliament; and thirdly, to supersede the action of the law. But if they had accomplished these objects, they would have done all that the Fenian organization contemplated—they would have overthrown the Constitution as much as if they had attacked it successfully by open force. Now, as to the Land League movement, where did it come from? The hon. Member for the City of Cork blamed me for using the word "convict." I do not wish to use harsh language; but if a man is convicted of a crime, can he be spoken of as an innocent person? A man convicted of Fenianism is a convict, and the originators and organizers of the Land League are Fenian convicts. Does anyone deny that Michael Davitt was the original founder of the organization or that he was a Fenian? Does anyone suppose that he ever abandoned those opinions or those objects? Therefore, in organizing this attack upon society he was pursuing the same objects, although it was under a changed name. The hon. Member for the City of Cork has never denied that there are a great number of Fenians connected with the Land League in America. The hon. Member cannot deny it. Then, what do I find? Why, that John Devoy, a Fenian convict, is an active agent of the Land League in America, and so is Redpath, who came over to Ireland last year. He used the most undisguised and unmitigated Fenian language in America, and while in Ireland he was a most energetic member of the Land League. When we find the Fenians and the Land League in such close connection what conclusion must we arrive at? Knowing these things as I do, I produced evidence of the facts. The hon. Member for the City of Cork might have disavowed and disowned the connection between those movements, but he has not done so.

Mr. PARNELL: In my last speech I said there was neither an open nor a secret connection between the Fenian organizations and the Land League; but that money had undoubtedly been sent by some Fenians in America as individuals, but not as members of the Land League.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, Sir, I think that the distinction drawn by the hon. Member is a somewhat fine one. They were Fenians, but they assisted the Land League as individuals. What, however, I want to hear is a disavowal on the part of the hon. Member of any connection with the Fenian conspiracy in America, and I regret that it has not been made. Why has it not been made? Why, the fact is such a disavowal of that conspiracy would stop the supplies. I have waited to hear an open disavowal from members of the Land League that they have no connection with Fenianism in America. Then I am told I have spoken of absent men. Well, it is difficult to avoid speaking of absent men when they do not choose to be present in their places. I speak of the hon. Member for Tipperary. I have no right to say that he has any connection with the Fenian organization. I do not know it, and I cannot prove it; but his language in Ireland was precisely that which was used by the Fenian organization. We have been told that the Land League is a vigorous movement for Constitutional purposes. If that were so, I should strongly condemn any man or any Government that would interfere with it. But is that so? When we see men seeking the support of arms to assist their purposes, and find members of the Land League in communication with Communism in Paris and Fenianism in America, then, I say, the maxim applies—"*Noscitur ex sociis.*" Can anyone be blind to these facts? I did not intend to detain the House so long; but when the hon. Member asks us why it was that the Liberal Party came to the conclusion that these measures were necessary, and necessary, too, to press them forward through the House of Commons by means which I regret as much as any man can do, I say it was because they were convinced that the state of things in Ireland was not for the welfare of the country, and I may add because the Liberal Party never has had, and never will have, anything in common either with Communism or with Fenianism.

Mr. DAWSON said, it had been over and over again denied that there was any connection with Fenianism, which worked in secret, and the Land League, which worked openly in the light of day. It was by its printed programme that the Land League should be judged. They had heard that individual Fenians had sent funds to the Land League; but what lesson had the Land League taught those men? It asked them to give their aid, not to a secret society, but to an open and a Constitutional agitation, and they had been successful in obtaining for that Constitutional agitation monetary and other assistance. These men had been called revolutionists. Well, it was known that a high and distinguished personage in this Kingdom was in social relations and close friendship with M. Gambetta, who overthrew a Throne; but would that fact justify anyone in saying that that distinguished personage had, therefore, changed his ideas in reference to the Monarchy in this country? The men referred to by the right hon. Gentleman were called convicts; but were the convicts who were confined in Neapolitan dungeons forgotten because they were convicts? They were called rebels, agitators, and assassins; but did hon. Members recollect the welcome that was accorded in this country to Kossuth, Garibaldi, and Mazzini? As to the Bill, there was, he contended, no necessity for it, seeing that during the months of October and November the cases of firing in Ireland had decreased; and that in nine counties, including Carlow, Dublin, Queen's County, Wicklow, Down, and others, with nearly 1,500,000 of inhabitants, not a single instance of even a pop-gun having been fired in violation of the law had been reported—and yet authority had been given to the Lord Lieutenant to suspend the Constitution in all those counties. They might just as well pass a similar Bill to apply to Yorkshire and Middlesex. It had been said, indeed, that the Irish people should avoid agitation; but experience had shown that it was only by means of agitation that concessions were wrung from the English Parliament. He believed that agitation had been the real source of their power. They had learnt many lessons from it; but the position which they had assumed there and elsewhere had been forced upon them. He was not a member of the Land League. He was asked to join its ranks; but he found that he could not give the time from his business, and, therefore, did not. He was not, in consequence, "Boycotted," or terrorized over to join it. He had read their proceedings and their printed programme, and those were the documents by which they were to be bound. It was traducing their policy to connect them with Fenianism, and, if anything would, it would drive him to become a member. If the waters in Ireland were disturbed, it was owing to the action of the English Government; and it was now the duty of those who occupied the Treasury Bench to bring forward a measure to calm them in the shape of a Land Bill, which would relieve the Irish people from the condition of wretchedness to which they had for so long a time been obliged to submit. He hoped such a measure would be introduced at the earliest possible moment, so that the Irish Representatives might have to tell their constituents—which they could not now do—that something else than coercion was in store for them at the hands of the English Parliament.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that the speech of the Home Secretary was the speech of an able advocate, but not the speech of a statesman. Great numbers of the men associated to the Land League were the most determined opponents of Fenianism. In ignoring that fact, the right hon. Gentleman had not been quite fair. At the same time, he could not help admiring the ability with which the right hon. Gentleman selected every point and fact which could tell in favour of the side which he took. The Government went to the people of Ireland with their hands full of measures. There was the Peace Preservation Bill and the Coercion Bill, for both of which "urgency" was voted; but there could be no urgency for the Land Bill, which now began to recede day by day from their view. He predicted that the feelings of bitterness and exasperation which these Coercion Bills would excite in the hearts of all men of Irish blood all over the world would exist for generations to come. The English nation and the British House of Commons would not have heard the last of this business when the third reading of this Bill was passed. He held a letter in his hand, written by an Irish landlord to a tenant. If it was not a threatening letter, he did not know what was one. It was as follows:—

> "O'Dowd—I wish you to explain what you mean by writing in public newspapers stating that my tenants are rack-rented. If it is possible by any means, I will visit you with punishment for such a statement."

That showed the kind of feeling which existed, and which would produce mischief. He could not, however, look upon the measures of the Government with unmitigated dislike, for they would have the good effect of bringing home to all Irishmen the conviction that they must never expect to obtain liberty or justice from the House of Commons.

Mr. BYRNE charged the Home Secretary with having bolstered up a weak case with irrelevant subjects, such as Communism and Fenianism.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. BYRNE, continuing, said, he should offer the Bill his most uncompromising opposition. He was surprised that the Bill should have been so drawn as to apply to women and children. It appeared to him that the Government had thought too lightly of the result which such a Bill would have on the people of Ireland; and he was afraid, unless the Government extended to the people of Ireland that justice which they had a right to expect, the Bill would not make them as good citizens as he could wish them to be. It was not coercive legislation, but remedial legislation, to which he looked for an amelioration of the condition of the people of Ireland. He maintained that the general tone of the American Press was strongly favourable to the principles of the Land League, which also were supported by Protestants and Catholics alike, and had now the hearty recognition of the general body of the American people. It was the League that had promoted that combination of sections of the Irish people; and he should wish to ask the Home Secretary whether he thought it likely that when the Irish race in Ireland, in America, and in Australia were united, it would be possible to continue in Ireland a system of government which was productive of many evils to its people?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR remarked, that if the hon. Members with whom he acted had been accused of being abettors of assassination, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was charged by a portion of the Irish Press with the same crime. It was not unfair, perhaps, to conclude that the accusation was as unfounded in the one case as in the other. On the 4th of May, 1867, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster presented to that House a Petition with reference to the Fenian organization, in which it was stated that there was a legitimate ground for the chronic discontent of which Fenianism was the expression, and that, therefore, there was a palliation for the errors of the Fenians. There was a good deal of dispute about that Petition; but, undeterred by the clamour with which he was assailed, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Bright) presented it, and it was received in spite of the opposition of many Tory Members. On a question of political ethics, he preferred the judgment then expressed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to that of the present Home Secretary. The Home Secretary had repeatedly gone out of his way to charge the Land League with being connected with Fenianism; but the right hon. Gentleman had made a still more serious charge—namely, that not only was the Irish Land League associated with Fenianism, but it was also associated with some of the worst and most criminal proceedings in which some members of that organization were said to have been engaged. Those accusations had been unwarrantably made, and he hoped that on re-consideration the right hon. Gentleman would withdraw them. How did the right hon. Gentleman account for the fact that the Land League in America was joined by many of the most eminent and most respectable men in America? Was he prepared to cast on the highest citizens of a Power with which we were on the most friendly relations the slur that they were the abettors and fellow-conspirators of the most atrocious criminals perhaps ever connected with a political organization? It could be shown from newspaper correspondence that the Land League in America had 300,000 members before the arrest of Mr. Michael Davitt, that the number of its adherents had been largely swelled since the news of that arrest was received, and that in its ranks were included men of all nationalities and of all religious creeds. Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Orangemen were in sympathy with the Land League in the United States; and were those persons on that account to be held up by the Home Secretary as being responsible for the acts of an atrocious incendiary and a revolutionary organization? When the Coercion Act of 1875 was under discussion in the House, the right hon. Gentleman the present Home Secretary spoke strongly in favour of giving to accused persons the right of appealing to juries to settle the question of their guilt or innocence; but since that time the position of the right hon. Gentleman was changed, and he now held very different language when he had become a Minister of State. He hoped the mere passage from one side of the House to the other did not produce an entire change in the political principles of any Member of that House, and that the right hon. Gentleman was something better than a mere holder of Office. If he was right in his hope, he might add to it the further expression of a desire that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the assurance that the Land League, both in Ireland and the United States of America and Australia, would, in the event of a just Land Bill being introduced by Her Majesty's Government, so utilize the large funds that had been entrusted to them as to make the Irish tenants owners of lands on which they lived. There was not a cabin in Ireland which had not a heart beating for it across the Atlantic wave—a son or a daughter—who, out of his or her savings, subscribed something to every Irish national movement. These would be ready to sacrifice almost any comfort if the Government, by their Bill, gave them an opportunity to make their father independent. On the other hand, if the Government remedy was so mild as its measures of repression were severe, every penny of their savings would go to some enterprise which he regarded with dread and abhorrence, and that was the keeping up of the desperate strife between class and class in Ireland. The Government had these two alternatives before it. Which would it choose?

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Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY complimented the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the skill, moderation, and good feeling with which he had, upon the whole, discharged a very difficult task. The Irish Members expected nothing from the right hon. Gentleman; he had made no professions of sympathy, or protestations of sturdy, rugged honesty; they were not disappointed in him. But as Shakespeare had been more than once quoted in the course of the discussions on the present Bill, he might give an illustration from *King Lear* of the kind of statesman for whom Irishmen from their recent experiences were not any longer disposed to entertain a feeling of much confidence—

> "This is some fellow,
> Who, having been praised for bluntness, doth affect
> A saucy roughness; and constrains the garb
> Quite from his nature: He cannot flatter, he!—
> An honest mind and plain,—he must speak truth:
> An they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
> These kind of knaves I know, which in this plainness
> Harbour more craft, and more corrupter ends,
> Than twenty silly ducking observants
> That stretch their duties nicely."

Such a man they knew in that House—it was certainly not the Home Secretary—and in such a man the people of Ireland would never again put the slightest confidence. The Home Secretary had told them a great deal about a Mr. Redpath. Who was this Mr. Redpath? He was neither an American, nor an Irishman, but an Englishman—a member of the Cobden Club. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, he believed, was a member of that Club, and was also a member of the Reform Club, which once gave a grand banquet to Garibaldi—a man who was in alliance with all kinds of secret conspirators and revolutionary designs. Nothing could be more unjust, unfair, and even absurd, than the attempt of the Home Secretary to hold the hon. Member for Cork City and his Colleagues responsible for the doings and sayings of every stranger and alien who happened to have made some contribution to the Land League or to have spoken on its platforms. Having referred so frequently to Mr. Devoy and Mr. Redpath the Home Secretary should, in candour, have told them that it was not those gentlemen alone who came upon public platforms in America and supported the doctrines of the hon. Member for Cork City. The right hon. Gentleman had doubtless heard of such distinguished men as Mr. Tilden, Colonel Higginson, and the great American orator, Mr. Wendell Phillips; and would it not have been more candid for him to have told them that men of that class were in sympathy and co-operation with the hon. Member for Cork? As to this measure itself, it had now passed almost beyond the range of criticism. It must be left to its work. He did not believe it would serve any good purpose whatever. No weapons would be taken by this Bill from the hands of those who wished to use them feloniously The Irish Members had said all they had to say with regard to this Bill; and he could only express a hope that the remedial legislation of the Government, when it was finished, if it ever were to be finished, might close this melancholy controversy and lead to something of a brighter spirit and brighter expectation than they had lately had in that House. But he wished to call the attention of English Members to the sacrifices they had made to pass these worthless Coercion Bills. They had sacrificed, in the course of a few weeks, ancient Constitutional rights and liberties—some of the dearest traditions of the English people. Some of their oldest and most cherished privileges they had recklessly and wantonly thrown away to effect this petty purpose, and had dragged down the English Parliament as far below the ordinary level of Continental Assemblies as some few weeks ago it had proudly towered above them. Those steps they could never retrace. The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues were no longer masters of the situation. They had given the mastery into the hands of the Leaders of the Opposition. The Government must obey the Conservatives; every time they wanted urgency they must make some concession to the Opposition, and that Party would drive a hard bargain. It was true that Ministers claimed despotic power over that Assembly, and seemed to think that they were not bound to pay any attention to hon. Members from Ireland —not to show them even the ordinary courtesies and decencies of debate. He was himself able to illustrate that by his own experience. When, in the course of the evening, he put a most proper and reasonable Question for an Irish Member to ask—when he asked whether the Government's boasted remedial legislation was complete or not—he was turned upon by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in the language of furious emotion—he might say of hysterical passion—and dealt with as if he were unworthy of the courtesy or decency of an answer. That was the sort of treatment that the Government thought they had power and security sufficient to enable them to give with impunity to hon. Members of the House; but he warned them that they were mistaken. He reminded the Government that they had made new masters for themselves as well as for the Irish Members, and now the lords of every crisis were the large minority who sat in Opposition, and who would have to be bought and bribed for every concession they made to the Ministerial demands for urgency and speedy legislation.

Mr. REDMOND contended that the existence of measures of this kind afforded a complete condemnation of English rule in Ireland, and their history was full of humiliation for England and English Members. They had seen a great Party pledged to a policy of redress—a Party who were the friends and champions of freedom all over the world, after all their professions, having recourse to the degrading weapon of despotism. By the measures which the Government had forced through the House they had succeeded in establishing a reign of terror in Ireland. Already, by the new powers with which the Executive had been invested, the gaols of the country were being filled with men against whom no evidence of wrongdoing had been adduced. There existed in Ireland a despotism which could not be found in any Constitutionally governed country in the world, and he could not but conclude that it was the deliberate intention of the Government to-day, as history proved it was the deliberate intention of English Governments in the past, to drive the people of Ireland into acts of violence and bloodshed. The charge of cowardice which the Home Secretary had preferred against absent Irish Members reminded him that there was a strong resemblance between the right hon. Gentleman and the swaggering Shakesperian braggart, "Pistol," who, while always charging others with cowardice, was himself at heart the veriest coward. ["Order!"] The passing of this Bill was attended with one consolation; it exposed the sham of Constitutionalism in Ireland. Representative government, as far as that country was concerned, was a mockery; and the Irish people, while bearing their share, and more than their share, of the burdens which the State imposed, were not permitted to enjoy the rights and the privileges of citizenship. The day might come when the hate with which the Government were filling the breasts of the Irish people might be a source of danger to England in her hour of peril. Another result of these debates had been to show in their true colours those men who had been sent to this House to protect the liberties of the Irish people, but had basely betrayed them. A further result had been to strip the Whigs of the hypocritical guise they were so fond of assuming as friends of liberty. His primary object in that House would ever be to endeavour to overthrow the government, or, rather, misgovernment, of his country by this Parliament; and with that object in view he was not inclined to altogether regret the passing of these coercive measures, for their effect would be to intensify the hatred with which the Irish people regarded foreign rule, and to strengthen their resolve never to rest satisfied until every vestige of British interference in purely Irish affairs was swept away.

Mr. LEAMY urged that the Irish people were altogether in error in placing any reliance on the so-called Liberal Government, and that those who so placed reliance had no right to hope for a single hour of happiness, prosperity or freedom. He was extremely sorry that the Home Secretary had not acceded to the proposition that the operation of the Bill should be limited to a period of three years instead of five years, thereby leaving the measure more severe than the Act of 1875, which was the work of a Conservative Government. The assertion of the Home Secretary that this Bill would not interfere with a man who sought lawful ends by lawful means was obviously incorrect, as the most peaceful citizen might be stopped on suspicion, taken to the police barracks, and searched for arms. He did not think very much of the Home Secretary's boasted concessions, and remarked that the proviso for the storing and returning of arms was contained in the Act of 1847. [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: But not paying for them.] He (Mr. Leamy) only hoped a considerable price would be paid, considering that the purchase would be compulsory. However, he was very much afraid that a great spirit of irritation would be caused by the Bill, and he hoped the Government would take care to limit its operation to as few counties as possible.

MR. MACDONALD rose to give what the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) called a parting kick to this Bill. He did so, however, with feelings entirely different from those which actuated the noble Lord. He hoped his Friends on the opposite side below the Gangway would not allow themselves to be deceived by the language of the noble Lord. The noble Lord's parting kick was the kick of a loving parent rather than that of an enemy who desired to see the Bill mutilated or injured in any way. The noble Lord's principles and the principles of his Party were in harmony with coercion. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite said "No;" but he ventured to affirm that the principles of the government of Ireland by the Conservative Party had been bullet and bayonet, coercion on coercion, cruelty on cruelty, and iniquity on iniquity. He felt humiliated that a Liberal Government should have stolen the Bill, taken it from the hands of the Tories, put it on the Table in their own name, and then have got the smiling chaff and banter of the noble Lord for having performed their duty well. He regretted that his hon. Friends opposite had not taken his advice, and they would now have the Land Bill introduced, or they would have convicted the Government of insincerity and of trifling with a great question that required to be dealt with at the first moment. He objected to this Bill because, like the last, he thought it would only exasperate the Irish people and tend to create a stronger aversion than ever to English rule in Ireland. He regretted that instead of coercive legislation the Land Bill had not been introduced at the assembling of Parliament, for if it had been they would have given peace to Ireland instead of prospective unhappiness and misery.

MR. GILL thanked the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald) for the speech he had just made, but took exception to the amendment that the Irish Members, by their conduct in Parliament, had delayed the introduction of the Land Bill. But he believed they had not delayed the Land Bill a single day, and he believed it would not be laid before the House a day sooner if the Irish Members had not taken the course which honour and necessity compelled them to adopt. Less than three weeks ago *The Times* newspaper, which was the leading organ of public opinion in this country, stated that the Land Bill was not yet ready; but three or four days ago the same journal stated that, but for obstruction, the Bill would have been introduced in the middle of January. Now, if it was not ready three weeks ago, how was it possible it could have been introduced in the middle of January? This Bill was quite as objectionable, if not more so, than the Coercion Bill. It proposed greater punishment for mere trivial offences than the Coercion Bill did. By that Bill a man charged with inciting to the commission of outrages would be imprisoned comfortably for not more than 18 months; by this Bill a man found in the possibly innocent possession of firearms would be confined far more rigorously, though for a shorter period. Every opportunity would be taken to put the Act in force. Under its provisions any district could be proclaimed under the Bill without the slightest difficulty. The county of Westmeath, for instance, in which outrages had been singularly infrequent, had been proclaimed in consequence of a single murder. Surely an isolated outrage of that kind should not be made a reason for insulting 78,000 people, especially when the causes which led to it might be found to be other than agrarian, and to be of long standing. It proved the eagerness of the Government to test the efficacy of their measures. The Home Secretary had alleged over and over again that the agitation in Ireland was promoted only by Fenianism. The Irish Law Officers, who were in their places, knew that on the occasion of the late State trials the entire people subscribed for the defence of the traversers, and that amongst those who sent in subscriptions were 10 or 12 of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman for a moment say that an agitation with which the hierarchy of Ireland sympathized could be of the diabolical character which he described. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that the Bill was not opposed by the majority of the Irish Members; but that was not the fault of the constituencies, but of the Members who had broken the pledges they made to work with the active Irish Party. He believed that these Coercion Bills, instead of uniting the people of Ireland and conciliating them to English rule, would prove the greatest incentives that could be devised to the Irish people to struggle for the restoration of their native Parliament, without which, as the present Government taught them, they could have no beneficial legislation.

Captain AYLMER said, nothing could be more unfounded than the charge of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald), that the Conservative Party had always ruled Ireland with the gun, the bullet, and the bayonet. When the hon. Member made that statement, he must have forgotten the facts and merely relied upon his imagination. The hon. Member said that these measures would have been unnecessary if a Land Bill had been brought in at the beginning of the Session; but he (Captain Aylmer) could not believe that any person who had looked into the facts of the case would say that the Land Question was the main one in this agitation. It had only been used by the organizers of the Land League to hide the real purposes of the League. Those purposes were the disintegration of the Empire and the overthrow of the authority of the Queen. The League made laws for themselves, thus usurping the prerogative of Parliament; and they enforced these laws in Courts of their own devising, thus usurping the prerogative of the Sovereign; and, by so doing, in his opinion, were guilty of direct treason. If these Bills would not make the people less treasonable they would make them less warlike, because under their operations the weapons would be taken out of their hands. He could not but think that any Member of the House who aided the members of the Land League in their efforts would be among the worst enemies of the British Constitution.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN said, that as the curtain was about to fall upon the progress of this Bill through the House of Commons, he wished to say a few words upon it in its aspect as a complement to the Act for the suspension of the Constitution in Ireland. If the Government had brought in a Bill to prevent the carrying of revolvers, and made it applicable to the Three Countries, he would have supported it; but this Bill applied only to Ireland, and would deprive the Irish farmer of his fowling-piece, which might be considered an agricultural implement. What had happened before under Arms Acts might happen again. On the 18th of this month it would be just seven years since he made his first speech in the House of Commons, and on that occasion he called attention to the case of a poor old woman who kept a marine store in the town of Clonmel, who was taken up and brought before the magistrates because the police found amidst a heap of rusty iron one piece which had been the trigger of a horse pistol. He had already told the House of the amateur player who was taken up because he carried a sword or dirk while playing the part of Douglas. Again, the son of an Irish Baronet, who was now a Member of the House, returning home in the Vacation from his English University, was placed under arrest for carrying a fowling-piece over his father's estate, and every Irish Member was familiar with the Shinrone, county Tipperary, case, in which Sub-Constable Harker, with one of his sergeants, concocted with a wretched hireling a plot to place a gun in the thatch of a farmer's house, and to scatter Ribbon documents in another house, and, that being done, they proceeded and made several arrests of innocent people. The Government, on the application of the parish priest, ordered an investigation, which resulted in the dismissal and punishment of the guilty parties, as, no doubt, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary would punish those who abused the powers given by the Act. These accidents were likely to happen under the exceptional powers about to be conferred on the constabulary. It would have been a different thing if the Bill had been brought in for only two or three years. He supposed, however, they knew their own book—they knew their own Land Bill. They mistrusted their own policy, and refused to believe the efficacy of their measures. If there were any earnestness or truth in the Cabinet, they would show the House that they had a Land Bill which was capable of healing up the sores and wounds of Ireland. But the fact that the present Bill was to last for five years indicated that the Government had little confidence in the effect of the Land Bill they were to bring forward. They had learnt nothing from the previous failures of coercive legislation. In spite of the Stanley Arms Act of 1831, the agitation against tithes increased in Ireland. The description given of the condition of the country showed that it stood far more in need of severe measures than at present; but, although the magistrates recommended the renewal of the Insurrection Acts, the Government refused to renew them. On the Motion of Sir Henry Parnell the question was referred to a Committee, who reported that, without any departure from the principles of the Constitution, measures could be adopted to improve the state of things in Ireland. This was at the time of the Chief Secretaryship of Mr. Drummond, who once personally and alone quelled a riot from the power he had acquired over the people through refusing to consent to coercive legislation. The Home Secretary had endeavoured to prove a complicity on the part of men of the Land League with other persons whose conduct he had held up to approbrium; but did not Napoleon III. bring home to the Liberal Party complicity in an assassination plot? [*Cries of* "No, no!" *and* "Order!"] Well, he was sorry he had said that; he had no intention of going so far. Still, it was a fact that a Member of the then Liberal Government was so far compromised that he had to quit the Treasury Bench. Such being the case, it was unfair on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to suggest that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was plotting in Paris. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary seemed very much afraid of Mr. Redpath; but Mr. Redpath was not a member of the Land League, but was, as a matter of fact, a co-member with the right hon. and learned Gentleman of the Cobden Club. He confessed that it was a relief that to-night the debates on these coercion measures would be over. On Monday the troubles of the British House of Commons would begin. Before Business that day they had a taste of the Nemesis at hand. To accomplish this frightful blunder of legislation they had, as a Party and a Government, harmed and wrecked interests which ought to be dear to Englishmen, and, in their blindness and terror, broken down safeguards which, for many a year, they would endeavour in vain to recover. Let them not blame the Irish Members. All that was noble in Englishmen warranted him in saying that if England were an appanage of Germany or France, and the Government of that country wished to impose a Bill of that kind upon England, every man of them would have surpassed in resisting it what the Irish Members were blamed for doing. He could measure what they would do by what their fathers had done when their liberties were in peril. The resistance which Irish Members offered to the Bill was strong, because they felt it would be ineffectual for putting an end to crime, but most mischievous in putting down honest opinion in Ireland. Let not Englishmen hug the delusion to their souls that, having forced Irish Members to defend their country with the gag in their mouths, they themselves would easily get rid of the gag. There was no Government that had tasted despotic power which did not love its convenience and facilities. Any man could govern with a state of seige, whether in Italy, in Ireland, or the House of Commons. He who used to be plain Mr. Speaker had been turned into the august Cæsar of the House. That example would grow, and would be followed in after years. In order to make the motives and conduct of the Irish Members misunderstood, the English people had been told that they had stood in the way of beneficial measures, not only for Ireland, but for England. ["Hear, hear!"] But there never had been a Bill for the benefit of the English people which his countrymen had not been ready to sit from morning till night to promote. Not theirs was the choice which had put English legislation behind, and Irish legislation in the front. Why, then, blame them for defending their own country? They had simply done their duty. The last words he would say on this measure would be to remind that House and the English people, between whom and the Irish Members he hoped there would be no quarrel, that on three occasions they had to endure obloquy, reproach, and scorn as Obstructionists. The first of those occasions was in resisting the annexation of the Transvaal, and there was not an Englishman now who would not wish that the Irish Obstructionists, as they were called, had, in that resistance, been successful. The second was in resisting the application of the lash in the Army, and the third was in resisting that Bill. It would be for him for ever a pride that he took some part on those three occasions. Time had brought vindication of the resistance to the annexation of the Transvaal, time had brought victory in the matter of the lash, and time would bring triumph in the resistance to coercion.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he agreed with one remark of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan)—that the prevailing feeling in the House was one of relief that they were coming to the end of these debates. There was also a strong feeling that it would be a bad thing for anyone to prolong them, and he was not going to do so by more than a few words. Much had been said against the Bill—almost as much as could be said; and the arguments against it had been met by the advocates of the measure. His right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, who had kindly and efficiently done his (Mr. W. E. Forster's) work, had left him nothing to add in defence of the action of the Government with regard to this Bill. But it would not be according to usage if the Bill were to pass from the House without a word from the Minister who was most responsible for the government of Ireland. Much had been said in the debates, and as often as possible by hon. Members opposite—he did not mean to say it by way of blame, but hon. Members seemed to put off the actual question and to amuse the House by personal allusions and supposed inconsistencies in the action of his right hon. Friends and, perhaps, himself, in Opposition and in Office. He always wondered that the time of the House should have been taken up in inveighing against that inconsistency when there was apparently a far greater inconsistency, against which to declaim—that of a Government which that time last year thought it could do without an Arms Bill, and yet was now engaged in endeavouring to pass one through the House. It was, however, most reluctantly and to their great disappointment that the Government had come to the decision in the matter at which they had arrived. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in the speech which he made at the beginning of the evening, was so far carried away by his wish to amuse the House as to say that the Government alone were responsible for what occurred in Ireland last year. He did not suppose, however, that anybody but the noble Lord would say that, and no other Member, he imagined, thought so. The Government, no doubt, did hope last year that they would be able to do without not only the Bill which had just passed into law, but without the present Bill also. But, as he had said, they had been disappointed. Repeated advice had been given to the people of Ireland to arm themselves, and to anyone responsible for the good government of the country that advice did not seem to be calculated to lead to the preservation of order or obedience to the law. Besides, there was the additional fact that many of the Irish people had followed the advice thus given. Foolish young men and persons who were easily led away began to arm themselves all over the country. The Government could not be blind to the fact that quantities of arms were being brought into Ireland and were getting into the hands of those persons, and in some cases of persons whose intentions were bad, to an extent to endanger the peace of the respectable and law-abiding people around them. There was another consideration which, he might observe, had exercised a more powerful effect on his own mind than almost any other, and that was that, in the state of excitement which prevailed, the possession of arms might lead to disturbance, and, consequently, the police and the military, in making the law obeyed, might be driven to use the power placed in their hands to shoot the people down. That apprehension that there might be a great loss of life it was which, more than anything else, reluctantly brought conviction to his mind, and compelled him to advocate this year what he had refused last year to propose. Two or three alterations had, he might add, been made in the Bill which rendered it a measure of a less stringent character than when it was first introduced. Instead of its being at the option of the prosecutor to take the case before the Superior Courts, and have a possible punishment of a year inflicted, it must be taken before a magistrate, while the possible punishment would not be more than three months. Again, the power of searching the person was taken away, and replaced by the power to arrest. There was, he might add, one provision in the Bill against which much complaint had been made, and that was that the period of its duration was fixed for five years. He, however, hoped that it would not be found necessary to put it in force in the whole of Ireland at any time, and that long before the expiration of the five years the Government would be enabled to treat Ireland in a different manner. The experience of the present Session showed, at the same time, that such long debates on similar measures were as much as possible to be avoided. In 1875 the state of things was different. None would deny that as regarded agrarian disturbances the state of Ireland was a great deal worse now than it was in 1875. The House had then also to deal with an Irish Party which was differently conducted. He did not wish to say anything offensive to hon. Gentlemen opposite; but when the late Mr. Butt found that the House of Commons, having heard the arguments on a question, had made up its mind to take a certain course, he ceased to resist and to hinder the course of Public Business. Nor did he believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite would find that the course which they had adopted this Session was in the long run the best. No doubt, it was their right and duty to state the arguments against a measure to which they objected; but it was the very essence of a Representative Assembly that when the majority had clearly made up its mind on a question opposition to its will should speedily cease. The hon. and learned Gentleman who spoke last had said that a Nemesis would visit the House because of the course which it had taken with regard to the Bill, and the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) contended that the Government were exercising over the House an absolute and despotic power. But what, he would ask, had the Government and the majority of the House by whom it had been supported done? They had merely endeavoured to free the House from the absolute and despotic power of a small minority. There was an end to representative government if, by making use of the Rules of Debate instituted for the purpose of enabling a question to be reasonably discussed, a minority could prevent a majority from doing what, after a full hearing, it thought ought to be done. It was, no doubt, much to be regretted that, for the first time in the history of the House, it had been found necessary to curtail freedom of discussion in order to give the House control over its own deliberations. But for that, he maintained, neither the Government, nor those who supported them, were to blame, and he was sure the country would be of that opinion. He was perfectly certain that on a question affecting the immediate government of the country, and the preservation of law and order, when a large majority in Parliament was convinced that a certain course ought to be taken, they could not allow—and they would have been the laughing-stock of the world if they had allowed — their object to be defeated, and the country to be misgoverned owing to the Rules of the House being made use of for a perfectly different purpose to that for which they were established. Now they had come to the end of that chapter of protective legislation, as he called it, but coercive legislation, as hon. Gentlemen opposite called it, and this Bill and the Bill that had been passed had now to be carried out, and he did not expect hon. Members opposite to give him credit for any good intention in carrying them out. Sufficient proof had been given in the course of those debates that he had no right to form any such expectation. He should not, however, object—if that was the time to do it—even in their present excitement, to appeal from hon. Gentlemen opposite to the people of Ireland. For he had watched that agitation with great care and attention, and he had observed one or two facts with regard to it. Different persons, some of them friends of his own, who had been at some of the largest of the public meetings held in Ireland, had all told him that there was an extraordinary absence of enthusiasm at those meetings; that, to judge by what was called enthusiasm at an English meeting, it did not exist; that there was, indeed, curiosity, interest, and a hope among some of the people present that some good might result from the agitation; but that there really was no strong enthusiasm. Then, again, the persons who went to those meetings never heard the other side of the question. Hon. Members were able to address them, they read the papers which took their own side; and his own belief was that if a real reform of the Land Laws was introduced, and if they found out that the Government, notwithstanding all the reproaches cast upon them by hon. Members opposite, were determined to remove their real grievances, the attacks which had been made upon the Government would very speedily be forgotten. He had noticed throughout all the opposition to that Bill, and to that desperate attack, as it was called, on the liberties of Ireland, that a small minority of the Irish Representatives had appeared in the House and continued their protest. Did anybody believe that, if there was an overpowering feeling in Ireland, if there was a real outburst of the public opinion such as they had in former days seen in England and also in Ireland, hon. Members from Ireland—he was not speaking of those who agreed with the Government, nor even of those who sat below the Gangway on the Ministerial side—would, so many of them, have been absent from the House? If, he said, there was an overpowering feeling among their constituents, why had those hon. Gentlemen not been in their places? He was sure that he could venture to appeal with confidence from hon. Members below the Gangway opposite to their constituents. [An hon. Member: Try!] He did not make any appeal to those hon. Gentlemen; but he did wish to make one to hon. Members on the Ministerial side, and also, if he might be permitted to do so, to many Members of the Opposition. Much had been spoken in those debates, by hon. Members advocating, as they said, the interests of the people of Ireland, which must have been grating, unpleasant, and sometimes almost offensive to those who had thought it their duty to support the Government, and especially to Liberal Members. He hoped that they would, every one of them, forget it; he hoped that they would regard those remarks as though they had never been made. Above all, he trusted that they would not let their determination to do justice to the people of Ireland to be in the slightest degree influenced by any recollection of any words they had heard. After all, they must remember the past history of the Irish people; they must remember what even now was the suffering of many among them; they must remember, also, their great virtues. His experience of the last few months had not been an altogether pleasant experience of the Irish character. But in one or two matters he had even a higher opinion of the people than he had before. Their strong domestic affection, their love of their homes, the willingness of the poor to help the poor, the remembrance on the part of the men who had gone to a far distant country to earn their living, of those whom they had left behind—all that had been more brought home to him than it was ever before. And there was one part of their character which, although it made the hard task of any man who had to do with their government more difficult, yet also gave cause for hope if they could but reach their hearts, and that was their loyalty to one another—even when wrong, even when engaged in a crusade against the Government, and in what must be considered atrocious attempts against law and order. Above all, it must be borne in mind that the English and the Irish people were united together, and must live together, and must, therefore, do justice to one another. He was perfectly sure that what had happened in that House would have no effect; but that the Liberal Party—aye, and the Conservative Party — would be determined to do their duty to Ireland.

Lord ELCHO said, that as he had not taken any part in these debates, he asked for the kind indulgence of the

House. He had heard his noble Friend near him (Lord Randolph Churchill) and his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary in their brilliant duel. His noble Friend, who had throughout supported the Bill, said that he wished, before it left the House, to give it a parting kick. He had no wish to give the Bill such a kick. But the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had told them that these measures were only introductory to a real reform in the Land Laws; that Irish grievances were to be removed—that this country had determined to be just to Ireland. He thought, therefore, that the time was opportune for asking the House whether that perpetual alternation of coercive or, as it was sometimes called, protective legislation and of remedial measures, so called, had been successful. That course had not proved successful in the past, and would not be so in the future. He would ask whether any country or people could be governed on principles of that kind? They had had coercion followed by concession, and concession exacted by lawlessness. No country, no nursery, could be governed on such principles. He had with great reluctance supported the coercive measures of the Government. Every Member of that House must feel a like reluctance, as they must all desire to see Ireland free, prosperous, and contented. But there was no doubt of the absolute necessity for such measures. The only question had been raised whether they ought not to have been brought in earlier. He was bound to say that it was very questionable if the Government would have been as successful in carrying such measures at an earlier period. There would have been a large number of their supporters who would have sharply criticized them. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He had not spoken on that subject before, and he would appeal to the tolerance of Liberal Members—of which they had not seen much—to allow a person who had not before spoken to say a few words. How had the Government been met? They had been met in such a way that the House was compelled to surrender many of its liberties to the Speaker and to the Government. He hoped that the powers so given would be wisely used. But they had been told that remedial should have preceded coercive legislation. By that argument the Home Rule Members had shown a strange illogical inconsistency. They had endeavoured to refute the figures of the Government, and to prove that there was no lawlessness in Ireland, and in the same breath boasted that the law of the Land League had superseded the law of the land. It was absurd to deny that the Queen was not in Ireland in all causes and over all persons supreme. He gave his support to the Bill undeterred by all the warnings of his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle, undeterred by any fallacious appeals to liberty, or by the parrot cry that "force was no remedy." There were times in the history of nations when force was a remedy, and the only remedy. It had been stated that there had been 48 Coercive Acts applied to Ireland, of which he believed 33 came from Liberal Governments. And, on the whole, they had been effective. He believed it would be much more true to say that concession was not conciliation, than to say force was no remedy. As he had pointed out, coercion had as naturally followed concession as the fruit followed the seed. He believed the root of the evil lay in the Land Act of 1870, which laid down the false principle that the tenant had a possessory right in the soil; and when that right was once given by legislation, what was more natural than that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the Land League should ask them to proceed further in the same direction? He repeated that this coercive legislation proceeded necessarily from measures of remedial legislation founded on false principles. He trusted that any legislation which might be attempted in regard to the Land Question would be founded on sound principles, and principles of justice; but if not, they might rest assured that it would in its turn, having laid ground for a new agitation, again lead to coercive measures. The only way to benefit the Irish people was to tell them the truth, that so far from having been oppressed in the matter of land legislation by the Parliament of this country, they were, at the present moment, the most favoured tenantry in any part of the civilized world. [*Ironical cheers.*] He asked those who gave ironical cheers to disprove his statement if they could. If, instead of telling the Irish that they had grievances, they were told that laws had been passed more favourable to them than to any tenantry in Europe and America, and that those laws must be obeyed, they would become again a peaceful people, capital would again flow into Ireland, and it would become prosperous and contented. But to bring that about the two Front Benches should agree to take the same course; they should cease to make Ireland, as it had hitherto been, the battle-field of Party, and should not, by remedial measures or otherwise, scramble for the Irish vote. If they pursued the course which had hitherto been adopted—first concession and then coercion—to be followed again by concession leading to fresh coercion, the end would be certain—that end which had been pointed out by the hon. Member for the City of Cork—namely, separation and the disruption of the Empire.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 255; Noes 36: Majority 219.—(Div. List, No. 152.)

Main Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 250; Noes 28: Majority 222.—(Div. List, No. 153.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill do pass."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 236; Noes 26: Majority 210.—(Div. List, No. 154.)

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

RESOLUTION.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, on rising to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should take steps to provide for the protection of Ancient Monuments,"

said, that the House, having in previous Sessions devoted so much time to a Bill providing for the preservation of ancient monuments, and having often assented to the principle, and more than once to the details, of the Bill, it might be natural to suppose that those interested in the subject would re-introduce the measure which the House had so often sanctioned. He would not, however, occupy many minutes in explaining why it was inadvisable to do so. It was true that the House, by increasing majorities, had passed the second reading, and that though, no doubt, there were differences of opinion on details, so far, at least, as the last House of Commons were concerned, there were few Members who did not approve the general principles of the Bill; still, there remained a few, though but a very few, staunch opponents; and he need not remind the House that Mondays and Thursdays were Government days, and on Tuesdays and Fridays Notices of Motion came before Bills, so that practically, under the half-past 12 Rule, Wednesday was the only day on which a private Member could bring a Bill before the House. Wednesdays were balloted for at the commencement of the Session, and at once occupied—every one, for instance, being now bespoken up to the middle of July; so that, even if he had been lucky enough to secure a Wednesday for the second reading, he would have had scarcely any chance of obtaining an opportunity of bringing it up for Committee, Report, and third reading. The fact was that, under the present system, private Members had hardly a chance of carrying a Bill to which there was any opposition, even of a single Member. Under these circumstances, he felt that, as the opinion of the House had been so often expressed, he might fairly call upon Her Majesty's Government to take up the question; and he ventured to ask the House to assent to the present Motion, not in any spirit of criticism on the Government, but to strengthen their hands. On previous occasions he had given numerous instances of cases in which ancient monuments had been destroyed. Many of our most interesting monuments had been altogether destroyed; and there was hardly one which was not more or less mutilated. It was said that they should stand by and leave them to the protection of public opinion. But that had been tried; and it must be remembered that if the growing education of the country tended to enlarge the number of those who took an interest in these monuments, on the other hand, it also weakened the superstitious feelings—though, indeed, he hardly liked to call them superstitious in the ordinary sense—to which many of them were mainly indebted for their preservation. These feelings had been so strong that even as lately as the year 1859 a farmer in the Island of Anglesey, near the Tynwald, was said to have offered up a heifer as a burnt sacrifice to appease the spirit of the deceased for having allowed a chambered tumulus to be opened—probably the last example of a burnt sacrifice in civilized Europe. At a recent meeting the Council of the Society of Antiquaries passed a resolution with reference to this point that—

> "Again and again have the anniversary addresses from the Presidential Chair given utterance to the hope that these precious remains of antiquity might be rescued from the injury and destruction by which their value is constantly being impaired and their number irretrievably diminished."

Without troubling the House by reading a complete list, he would mention the following among the more important monuments which had recently been greatly mutilated or wholly destroyed:—The earthworks at Dorchester, the Roman Camp on Hod Hill, Banbury Camp, a stone circle near Lulworth, a dolmen near Portesham, a dolmen on Lytton Down, a dolmen on West Compton Down; Cæsar's Camp at Wimbledon, a dolmen near Maiden Newton, a Camp on Shenborough Hill, Icomb Camp, Charlton Abbots Camp, Bagendon Camp, Rodborough Hill Camp, Bourton-on-the-Water, the Green Ditches, Hibdown Camp, the Toots near Oldbury, Blaize Castle, Beachley Green earthworks, the Ogham Stone at Clonmacnoise, one of, he believed, only three cases in which Ogham characters were accompanied by a corresponding inscription in Roman letters; the Rath of Kilbannon, the ruins on Holy Island, in Loch Derg; the fine Menhir, known as Le Quesnel, in Jersey; a portion, he believed the last visible piece, of Roman wall at Cirencester, had recently been destroyed in order that the materials might be used to inclose a field. Mr. Clark, than whom there was no higher authority on such a subject, assured us that though—

> "The traces of a camp are not so easily swept away as those of a barrow, nevertheless most of those known to have existed in the lower and more highly cultivated lands are gone, or remain in their names only."

He was continually receiving pathetic or indignant letters from persons lamenting the destruction of some venerable monument in their own locality. Only a few days ago a cutting was sent him from a local newspaper, regretting the removal of the last remains of Sandwich Castle, associated with Shakespeare's *King John*, which was being removed for agricultural purposes. England was, he believed, almost if not quite the only civilized nation in Europe which entirely neglected its national antiquities. Denmark, long ago, purchased a considerable number of the more remarkable examples; Holland had done the same. In Italy, any monument that was in danger could be taken by the State. France had a National Monuments Commission. His suggestion was that a Commission should be appointed, and that if the owner of any important ancient monument wished to destroy it, he should be required, before doing so, to offer it to the nation at a fair price. As long as the owner left the monument intact it would remain in his charge and custody—the Commissioner would have no right of interference. Now, as these monuments wanted no repairs, but only required to be left alone, it seemed to him that the Commission would not be expensive or laborious, and that one Commission, on which Scotland and Ireland would be well represented, would be sufficient. Even if they purchased a good many monuments the expense would still be trifling and the labour small. In some cases it might, perhaps, be desirable to place a fence round the monument; in a few cases, such as some of the sculptured stones, it might be well to put up a simple shelter, as, for instance, at Sueno's Stone, near Forres. In all this, however, there would be no difficulty; no interference whatever with property. The Bill contained no new principle. If land was required for a railroad, for waterworks, for other public purposes, we never hesitated to take it, of course at a fair valuation. But it was not proposed to go so far even as this. Owners were not compelled or asked to sell, unless they wished to destroy. If they valued a monument the case could not arise. So far from interfering with the rights of property, it was actually sought to protect them. There was a case on record in which the occupier of a farm wished to destroy a very interesting monument in order to build a barn with the stones. The landlord objected to this; but if it had not happened that the tenant had omitted to pay his rent he could not have interfered, and the monument would have been destroyed under the very eyes of its owner. Indeed, the tendencies of such a measure were wholly conservative. A Bill which rested on a feeling of respect and reverence for the past and for the memorials of the dead must surely commend itself to the instincts as well as to the heart of the hon. Members opposite, and had, indeed, always received from them a warm and cordial support. We took an enlightened interest in the monuments of other countries. When it was supposed that some danger threatened St. Mark's, in Venice, we were up in arms; when the Turkish Government proposed to demolish the walls of Constantinople, the English Ambassador interfered to protect them. Hundreds, nay, thousands, of pounds had been spent on the monuments of Egypt and Assyria, and yet we neglected our own. In one of the recent Reports on Cyprus it was mentioned as a striking instance of maladministration that when any stones were required for building they were taken from the roads. Surely, if we did not do it at home, we should regard it as even a more conclusive proof of barbarism that we should suffer most ancient and interesting monuments to be broken up for such purposes. For why had our monuments been sacrificed? It had not been for any national benefit; they had not been required in any important emergency; they had interfered with no great engineering works; the land they occupied was seldom of much value. It was not necessary to deny that there were cases in which the claims of science, of sentiment, must give way to exigencies of modern life: in which the welfare of the living must override the claims of the dead. But such cases were very rare. Numbers of these monuments had been destroyed for the most paltry and trivial reasons. The earthworks had been carted away to serve as manure; the stones had been broken up to mend roads: some had been destroyed out of sheer ignorance or the mere spirit of mischief. In the striking words of Mr. Myers, even in some cases it had happenned that our "Occupation roads are mended with the immemorial altars of an unknown God." In conclusion, he hoped he would be allowed to say a word in regard to the Amendment which his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had placed upon the Paper. That Amendment proposed that Her Majesty's Government should confer upon the local authorities the necessary powers to provide for the protection of ancient monuments; but he hoped that his hon. Friend would not press it, as it was desirable that the hands of the Government should be left perfectly free to deal with the matter as they thought best. He would not trespass further upon the time of the House. He was grateful to the House for having allowed him the opportunity, at that late hour, of bringing the subject forward. The present state of things was unworthy of a great Empire, and had, over and over again, been condemned by the House. He begged to move the Resolution, and he hoped that it would be accepted by Her Majesty's Government and by the House.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should take steps to provide for the protection of Ancient Monuments,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for the University of London contained two points which I am entirely unable to reconcile one with the other. The first was that he desired to leave the hands of Her Majesty's Government perfectly free, and the second was that he begged another hon. Member not to move an Amendment, because it would interfere with the passing of this Resolution. But my hon. Friend cannot suppose for a moment that if he passed his Resolution he would leave the hands of Her Majesty's Government perfectly free. On the contrary, he would bind them to propose a plan on a subject with respect to which they feel great interest, but with respect to which it is impossible for them to propose a scheme that would meet with the acceptance of the House. We have most of us viewed with great interest and sympathy the efforts made by the hon. Member to dispose of this subject by way of legislation; but my hon. Friend, it appears, is beginning to despair of success in these efforts, that is, to frame a plan to which he could obtain the acceptance of the House. If he thinks he can frame such a plan we shall be most happy to see him go forward with his labours, and, if circumstances permit, assist him in their prosecution. But if he abandons his labours, the reason of that must be that he finds it impossible to obtain the consent of Parliament, notwithstanding it has shown an interest in the subject, to any scheme he has devised. The declaration of my hon. Friend is that when he finds himself unable to obtain the consent of Parliament to his plans, he will throw himself into the hands of the Government, who have no plan which they are in a position to recommend to the House. That cannot be supposed to be making real progress with the subject. To make no progress when it is desirable that progress should be made is truly a bad thing; but there is another thing worse, and that is to seem to make progress when, in reality, you are making no progress. Perhaps my hon. Friend will say to the Government—"Do you mean to say you can do nothing?" I do not mean to say that, because it would be adopting an extreme proposition on the other side. If any plan can be submitted to us by my hon. Friend, or by others who have given the subject adequate consideration, we shall receive it with respect and examine it with interest, and we shall be very glad indeed if we can found a proposition upon it. But my hon. Friend will see that it would be an absolute breach of duty on our part to go beyond an engagement of that kind, when we are totally unable to see whether it would be in our power to frame a project or not. My hon. Friend, I am sure, does not want us to take a leap in the dark. He can see his way in the matter, and if he can give the Government such information as will enable them to see their way also, they will be very glad to follow him. But, situated as we are, overcharged many times with duties and engagements of which we are only able to discharge a small portion satisfactorily, it would be a very unworthy part for us to take with respect to the question, to deal in promises when we have no opportunity of giving attention to the subject. I should like to have the opportunity of considering very fully the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley. It appears to me there is undoubtedly much to say in its favour, while there may be much to be said against it; but the proposal is one on which I am not prepared to pledge myself. I tender the assurance I have given to the hon. Baronet frankly; and I trust, under the circumstances of the case, he will not expect us to assent to this Motion.

Mr. E. STANHOPE could not understand to what the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister objected in the proposal of the hon. Baronet. The Motion had been brought forward, and embodied in a Bill, year after year. The Bill had been year after year amended, and at last a conclusion had been arrived at which had been accepted as reasonable, and which ought not to be dismissed in a cursory manner. He could only say, if five or six years was not sufficient time for consideration, it was difficult to know how much time the Government wanted. He did not, in the least, wish to misinterpret the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; but he understood him to say that the Government were not in a position to make up their mind upon this important question. At any rate, it appeared to him that the subject was not so difficult that if the Government tried they could make up their mind upon it. It was a question to which many of them attached great importance, and he certainly thought that in one way or another the ancient monuments of the country ought to be preserved. He did not think this should be done by interfering with the rights of landowners; on the contrary, he thought they ought most jealously to preserve the rights of every landowner with respect to his property. But he certainly protested against the doctrine laid down by the right hon. Gentleman, that the House was not in a position, after so many years, to deal with the subject. His hon. Friend was quite right in pressing the present, or any other Government, to endeavour to arrive at some conclusion as to the manner in which our ancient monuments should be preserved, and if he went to a division he should certainly vote with him.

Mr. RYLANDS doubted whether there was a general consensus of opinion as to the best means of preserving ancient monuments. He had ventured to put upon the Paper an Amendment which, if the Government had been disposed to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for the University of London, he should have pressed on the attention of the House. If they were to preserve ancient monuments at all he thought the House must be careful not to throw upon the over-burdened central authority the duty of attending to this matter in all parts of the Kingdom; and when the hon. Baronet said there should be a National Commission to purchase ancient monuments and throw the cost upon the National Exchequer, he (Mr. Rylands) replied that the proposed system was most objectionable, and one which would certainly lead to considerable expenditure. He contended that the local authorities, who would know the value of the ancient monuments in their district, and who had power to raise rates for local purposes, should have the necessary powers given to them. His hon. Friend thought that public opinion had deteriorated with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments; but this he utterly denied, so far as monuments were concerned which it was desirable to preserve. After the statement of the Prime Minister he did not think it necessary to move his Amendment; but he trusted, if the Government did take this matter into their consideration they would consider how far any steps to be taken with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments should be left to the local authorities. If his hon. Friend thought fit to introduce a Bill, the House would have, at any rate, an opportunity of discussing his plan, and no doubt in Committee a satisfactory conclusion of the matter would be arrived at. But having been in the House on former occasions when the hon. Member brought forward this subject, he ventured to say that there was a great difference of opinion with regard to it amongst hon. Members; certainly there was not an unanimous feeling in favour of the plan proposed by him. It was, therefore, hardly fair to say that the House had expressed itself in such a manner as to justify the hon. Member in calling upon Her Majesty's Government to proceed with it.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND trusted the House would support the Resolution of his hon. Friend opposite. A Bill on this subject had already passed the House, and would have gone up to the other House had it not been too late in the Session. The Government had therefore full information upon the question, which was by no means a new one. It had been discussed over and over again; but a private Member had no chance of passing a Bill, certainly not in the evil days upon which the House had fallen; his only chance was to look to the Government to accept the principle of his Bill and work out its details. The hon. Baronet had accepted in the most friendly way the Amendments that had been put forward from all quarters; and therefore those whose Amendments had been accepted felt bound to support him. He could not understand why the Government should not accept the responsibility of working out the principle which had been sanctioned by the House.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS thought the hon. Baronet had, by anticipation, disposed of the arguments of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in favour of local authorities dealing with the preservation of ancient monuments. The fact was, their preservation had never been, and never would, be matter of care to Boards of Guardians. It was only those who knew how important it was to retain the continuity of a country's history, who would take the best means to that end by preserving its ancient monuments. There were many places in the country in which that House would do well to preserve existing monuments. He remembered that in his own county a man destroyed a Roman Camp for the purpose of growing potatoes on the land. Although, however, the camp was destroyed, he was glad to say the man did not get the potatoes. Again, in the case of one of the most perfect ancient villas in the country which contained a Roman pavement, the roof placed over it by the owner had fallen into disrepair, and the pavement had been destroyed. There were also many monuments in Wales and Ireland which threw great light upon the historical condition of those countries, and those in Ireland were of much philological interest in connection with the most instructive and important language to be found amongst ancient dialects. There was in the neighbourhood of St. Albans a monument which had been described with extreme accuracy by a chronicle of the time, and from which it was supposed that the body of a saint had been disinterred. A local antiquary, however, who had been able to identify the tumulus as part of a British burying ground, found that it contained the body of an unclothed savage. He hoped the Government would consider the very important facts which had been brought forward by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London. He believed there was nothing of more practical value to those who interested themselves in the history of the country than the preservation of its ancient monuments. Those which existed in the different parts of the United Kingdom had only been imperfectly studied; and our knowledge of most important periods in our history would be lost, unless some precautions were taken for their preservation. If Stonehenge had been in the neighbourhood of a road, it would have been absorbed by the road long ago. Many monuments in Oxford had been destroyed in that way. He did not pretend to say that the Government was not very fully absorbed in Business which had been regrettably postponed, and he did not think that they would be unwilling to consider the question of these important monuments, which were a great portion of our national history; but there were very many of those relics—especially in those parts of England inhabited by descendants of ancient races — which required constant care and were of great value.

MR. DAWSON said, the Irish people had often been accused of lacking the refinement which other nations enjoyed; but the ancient monuments were evidences of their taste and culture in the past. Was it possible that the Government would say that it should be in the power of any person, unappreciative of those monuments, to destroy them; and that they would not make penal the destruction of those monuments, which illustrated the history of the country? They had been told a good deal about the rights of property; but these monuments were not the property of any particular individual; and he thought that if the Government could not maintain and restore them, at least they could prevent the demolition of those monuments which was daily taking place.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK wished to direct the attention of the House to a remarkable contrast which existed between the way in which we in this country treated our recorded history and our unrecorded history. He believed no country in the world had taken greater care of its written records, or done more to place them within the reach of every historical student; but while that was so, he believed that no country in Europe, except, perhaps, Spain, had done less to preserve the remains and relics of pre-historic ages, which were all the records we could have of a very considerable portion of the history of these Islands. There were two reasons for adopting the mode of treatment with regard to historical monuments which prevailed in some other countries. The first argument was in favour of the course he wished to suggest, which was the appointment of a Royal Commission to put on permanent record all the historical monuments of this country, as had been done by Denmark. Somewhere about 1807 the Government of Denmark did what the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) proposed last year. They placed under the protection of the law certain historical monuments in that country. The practical result was that after the lapse of about 40 years that plan was found to be a failure; the monuments which were placed under the protection of the law were not so well taken care of as those not under that protection. In 1849 the Government of Denmark placed the whole management of their historical monuments under the care of a Director and Inspectors. That plan was tried for some years, and was also found unsatisfactory; and in 1873 the Government of Denmark adopted the method which he now wished to suggest. They appointed a small Commission to divide the country into districts, and to preserve on paper the record of all that remained of the monuments of prehistoric ages. The Historical Manuscripts Commission in this country was an analogous case. He was sure that of all the Commissions which had done good service to this country, there was none to which historical students owed more than they did to that. But it would be within the recollection of the House that when the Commission was first appointed very considerable, and not unnatural, jealousy was felt as to what might be supposed to be an interference with the rights of private property, in searching records, and in making the necessary investigations. What had been the practical result? Instead of that feeling existing, he believed that the Royal Commissioners had now more applications from private individuals to examine their charters than they could deal with; and he believed that the result which the hon. Baronet and other hon. Members wished to see, by the bringing forward of this Motion for the preservation of historical monuments, would be, to a great extent, indirectly achieved by the appointment of some such Commission as the one which had already dealt so well with historical manuscripts. He hoped the Government would reconsider the position they had taken up, and would not oppose the most reasonable and proper Motion of the hon. Baronet.

MR. J. W. PEASE rose to recall the House to the actual question before it. The hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), and the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers), had discussed the question rather of the value of the ancient monuments, and the need of taking care of them, than the actual position of the question before the House. There seemed to be but one sentiment in the House as to the value of these monuments, which were daily increasing in value as records of the past and objects of historical interest; but the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) having got his Bill so far as the second reading in "another place," now seemed to be utterly discouraged, and to wish to have the responsibility he had so well borne taken off his own shoulders and thrown on the shoulders of the Government, as the Prime Minister put it. And then came the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who asked why the Government would not take the responsibility. The hon. Member was a Member of the Government which gave very little assistance to the hon. Baronet. There were many important national questions before the House, without the Government taking up this matter, which came before the House in an awkward manner, on the Motion to leave the Chair. Was the House, in the midst of all the Business that the Government had brought before it—and especially that important measure with regard to Ireland, for which many hon. Members had been waiting for two months—to say that whatever turned up, or whatever it had in hand, and however important the exigencies of the State, the Government must take up this question and bring in a Bill; and also, besides bringing in a Bill, provide the money for taking care of these monuments? He deprecated the idea that the Government must pledge themselves to bring in a Bill now for the protection of these monuments. The Prime Minister had certainly gone as far as any Minister could go when he expressed his sympathy with the hon. Baronet and his interest in the monuments; and he thought his hon. Friend might be quite sure that that sympathy would be made practical on the first opportunity. He therefore would suggest that his hon. Friend should proceed in his old way of bringing in his own Bill, relying on the support of the Government; and he trusted the Bill would receive a third reading in "another place" instead of only a second reading.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON thought the hon. Member who had just spoken had been answered by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. All that the hon. Baronet asked the Government to do was to take cognizance of the matter, and to deal with it, not now, but at some convenient time. This was not a new question; it had been before the House for many years, and, he believed, it had had the sympathy of both sides of the House. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) said he objected to the Motion, because its purpose was centralization, and that it was a matter which ought to be dealt with by local authorities. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had great confidence in local authorities in all matters relating to paving and lighting, but not in regard to matters of history or taste. Let them consider these monuments for a moment; let them take, for instance, Stonehenge, or Adrian's Wall. Who would wish to see any of those disturbed? Who would wish to see Stonehenge removed, in order to allow a railway through that part of the country, or the stones of Adrian's Wall removed by some enterprizing speculator for building purposes? Who would not demur to such destruction of an ancient relic? These monuments were the landmarks of history; they illustrated past ages, they showed the state and progress of civilization, and were the links between ancient and modern times. It should be the pride of every Englishman and every Irishman and every Scotchman to preserve the monuments of his country. They were national monuments, and were among the glories of the nation; and he thought that the Government should take charge of them, and not allow them to be demolished.

Earl PERCY pointed out that the resistance which he and some who acted with him in this matter in the last Parliament offered against the measure of the hon. Baronet was justified, in spite of the large majority they always found against them. On the present occasion those who previously opposed the measure of the hon. Baronet had not said one word; and when he had had a fair field for his own Resolution, it turned out that his own Government was unwilling to support him, and that the hon. Member for Burnley, who for many years had supported the hon. Baronet's Bill for throwing upon Imperial rates the maintenance of ancient monuments, now found himself entirely wrong. There was so much diversity of opinion as to what should be done, and as to the objects which ought to be embraced in an effort of this kind, that the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) thought that it ought to be extended even to the works of Nature. He could only say that he was as anxious to see the ancient monuments of the country saved from destruction as anyone in the House. The subject on which he differed with some was as to the means which should be employed to preserve them.

Mr. WARTON hoped the hon. Baronet would allow him to express the sympathy he felt for him—the sympathy he felt for one who had so persistently and so good-naturedly brought forward this subject year after year. At last the hon. Baronet sat "like Patience on a monument, smiling at Grief"—the grief to which his Motion always, inevitably, came. He must, again, express his sympathy with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, inasmuch as he could not understand the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He (Mr. Warton) had been unable himself to understand that language; he had been unable to understand the real motive which animated the Prime Minister—it was obscure as that of the ancient monuments themselves. He would only say that, sympathizing as he did with the hon. Baronet's perseverance, he could not agree with his Motion. He had seen the cloven hoof peeping out in the speech of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson). He was a sentimentalist, and would preserve ancient monuments, if they could do it consistently with the preservation of the rights of property. The hon. Member for Carlow announced the doctrine that all property belonged to the State; and it was because of that principle, now timidly put forward, but soon to be boldly advanced, that he objected to the Motion.

Mr. BROADHURST said, that unless the Government could give them some more definite promise to deal with this question he should certainly support the hon. Baronet. The subject, to his mind, was one of the greatest possible interest to all classes of the country; and he was sure that all must agree in the necessity for the preservation of these ancient monuments that still remained to us. He understood that the Prime Minister's argument was not so much against the application of Government powers to protect the monuments, as showing the inconvenience of being called upon to exercise their powers at the present moment. But the Government would not be obliged to bring in a Bill immediately to carry out the object of the hon. Baronet if the Resolution were agreed to. If they would give a promise that they would, on as early a day as possible, take steps to prevent any further destruction of these monuments, it would meet with hon. Members' views and give general satisfaction. As for the argument of the hon. Member for Burnley, to his (Mr. Broadhurst's) mind, it was a good joke. Surely the hon. Member did not seriously ask the House to relegate to local vestries the protection of the ancient monuments of the country. The hon. Member apparently objected to this statement of the case; but what did his speech mean if not that? The hon. Member had asked them to make local bodies responsible for the preservation of these monuments. Would the hon.

Member leave the protection of Westminster Abbey in the hands of the Westminster Vestry? What would become of the building if left in such hands? Why, it would probably, ere long, be turned into a butcher's shop. He trusted the hon. Member would assure them he was only joking when he asked the House to commit these great interests into the hands of local bodies. On the other hand, he hoped they would receive an assurance from the Government that they would do something in this matter.

Mr. HERBERT said, that at that late hour of the night it was not his intention to detain the House more than a moment; but being, like the noble Lord (Earl Percy) one who had opposed the hon. Baronet's Bill, he should like to say a few words. The noble Lord had tendered his forgiveness to the hon. Baronet for several remarks he had made in a little volume he published not long ago, and he (Mr. Herbert) was ready to tender his; but, at the same time, he could go farther than the noble Lord, for he was prepared to support the Resolution. He had always opposed the Bill; but this Resolution was a very different thing. It did not pledge anybody to do anything; it was a mere abstract sentiment that ancient monuments should be preserved. No member of the present or late Government could disagree with it, for they all agreed that ancient monuments should be preserved, the only question they fought about being the method of preserving them. He could not help thinking that the hon. Baronet had been hardly treated, and had a right to feel disappointed at the manner in which the Prime Minister had acted towards him. Year after year he had brought forward the subject; and all he now got in return from the right hon. Gentleman was a few words to say that the Resolution was only brought forward now to make a show of making progress with the subject. The hon. Baronet had been making a "show"—a promise, an appearance—of progress for five or six years; and it was hard on him, after the indomitable energy and pluck he had shown, that he should be thrown on one side the moment he found his own Party in power.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK wished to say a word in explanation, because the general impression seemed to be that it would be necessary for the Government to bring in a Bill if the Motion were passed. He would point out that a great deal could be done in the way of preserving ancient monuments without bringing in a Bill at all.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 56; Noes 79: Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 155.)

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should take steps to provide for the protection of Ancient Monuments.

Supply Committee upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

HERRING BRAND (SCOTLAND).

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Baxter, Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Blake, Mr. Donald Cameron be *nominated* Members of the said Committee."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Robert Duff be one other Member of the said Committee."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he wished to object to the name of Mr. Baxter.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is too late. All the names have been agreed to down to that of Mr. Robert Duff.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR would object, then, to the name of Mr. Duff. His reason for taking this course was not that he was in any way prepared to maintain that the Gentlemen nominated were not perfectly competent to fulfil the duties it was proposed to confer upon them. His objection was of a more general character. He found that it was proposed to nominate upon this Committee nine Gentlemen from the other side of the House who were Liberals, while the remaining six were drawn from that (the Opposition) side of the House, and were Conservatives. It would be perceived, therefore, that there was a large preponderance of Liberal names over those of Conservatives. It would be recollected by hon.

Members that last Session an attempt was made to alter the traditional constitution of Committees by giving an undue preponderance to one political Party in the House. The attempt was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and it was resisted by the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition. Finally, it was agreed that no steps of that kind should be taken until full opportunity had been given to the House to discuss the question. That being so, he observed with some surprise that the traditional distribution of Members, as between the two Parties, had been departed from in the case of the present Committee. Since he gave Notice of opposition to the nomination of this particular Committee, it had been pointed out that there would be considerable difficulty, in the case of a small and non-political Committee, in invariably adhering to the old arrangement. That difficulty arose, principally, from the fact that in addition to the two Parties—Liberal and Conservative—there now existed a third Party, which did not in any way obey the traditional organization of the other two. He might say at once that he had no objection, in the case of small and non-political Com mittees, to a distribution such as that which was contained in the proposal now before the House. All he required was, that instead of the arrangement being made upon some tacit agreement between the Whips outside the knowledge of the House, there should be some formal and explicit statement made by the Government, to the effect that there should be a preponderance of Members from the Government side of the House only in those Committees which dealt with comparatively insignificant subjects, and subjects respecting which there was no Party controversy. The appointment of such a Committee should be no precedent, in any way, in the formation of a larger Committee which might have to deal with important public questions. If he could obtain any assurance of that kind from any Member of Her Majesty's Government, he would withdraw his objection; but, in order to afford an opportunity for such an assurance to be given, he begged now to object to the name of Mr. Robert Duff.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the House will allow me to say a word or two upon the objection which has been raised by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). It is quite true, as stated by the hon. Member, that my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government did last year suggest that there should be a certain amount of change in the mode in which Committees have hitherto been constituted; but I do not think that the hon. Gentleman has stated the nature of the change quite accurately. I do not think the change which my right hon. Friend suggested was that Committees should be appointed in any way in accordance with the proportions of the supporters and opponents of the Government; but what took place was this:—My right hon. Friend stated, on behalf of the Government, that, in their opinion, the change which has taken place in the constitution of Parties in this House required some change in the mode of nominating Committees, in order to secure the continuance of that which has always hitherto been the practice—namely, that the Government of the day, possessing the confidence of the majority of Members of the House, should have, on all important Committees, a majority of the Party supporting themselves. In the present state of the House, when the House is not divided, as in former times, into two Parties, but into three or four Parties, that can only be accomplished by some change in the old arrangement; and all my right hon. Friend said last year was that it would be necessary to consider the subject, and to secure that while the different political Parties of which the House was constituted were recognized, the majority of the Members appointed upon all important Committees should be selected from among the usual supporters of Her Majesty's Government. For instance, it is proposed, as in this instance, that a Committee should consist of 15 Members, that eight of them should be supporters of the Government—I think the hon. Gentleman is mistaken in suggesting that nine of the Members proposed on the present Committee are supporters of the Government. The proportion is, I think, eight Members from among the supporters of the Government; six selected from among the regular Opposition, and one hon. Member chosen from below the Gangway on the other side of the House. It does not appear to me that the claim made by the Government is an unreasonable one, and really the question is not raised on the composition or appointment of this Committee, which has no political character at all. My noble Friend (Lord Richard Grosvenor) and hon. Gentlemen opposite, in order to prevent any unnecessary inconvenience or any obstruction to Public Business, have arrived at an understanding that in regard to the nomination of Committees of this description, which do not concern any political questions at all, the observance of the ordinary Rule should not be insisted upon. Of course, the case would be different when we come to appoint an important Committee. I can quite understand the view of the hon. Member that any understanding made privately, without the knowledge of the House, should be recognized inside the House. But in regard to the appointment of the present Committee I believe there is no particular principle at stake, and that the question which the hon. Member desires to raise is not in any degree involved.

Mr. E. STANHOPE was not disposed to quarrel with the proposition laid down by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India. But the noble Lord talked of the fact that there were now three political Parties in the House instead of two as formerly, and said that it made a change in the mode of nominating Committees necessary. But he wished to ask the noble Lord if there were not also three Parties in the House during the existence of the late Government? Nevertheless, the late Government invariably observed the Rule of only nominating an exact majority of the Members of a Committee from among their own supporters. What he now understood the noble Lord to suggest was that upon every important Committee there should be a majority of Liberals over Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. It was not worth while to argue the matter in reference to the appointment of the present Committee, in which there was no political principle involved; but on that side of the House they would content themselves for the present with protesting against the adoption of any Rule upon the subject without regular Notice, so that the question might undergo full discussion. Therefore, the nomination of the Committee as now proposed would not be objected to, on the understanding that the Government were not seeking to lay down any precedent, and that they would agree not to raise the question of principle without affording an opportunity for a full and thorough discussion of any novel feature they desired to introduce. The noble Lord intimated that in regard to this Committee an understanding had already been come to between the Whips on the two sides of the House. If that were so he had nothing to say on the subject. All he desired was that the Government should adhere to the suggestion made last Session, that no fundamental change should be proposed in the constitution or mode of appointing Committees without affording full opportunity for discussing the novel proposition. Upon that understanding, he had no doubt that his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would withdraw the objection he had made.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH had no wish to continue the discussion. He only wished to say that it was the desire of the Government to keep up the old proportions in regard to the composition of Committees—namely, that a majority—and a majority only of each Committee—should be selected from among the usual supporters of the Government.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Remaining names *agreed to.*

Lord Elcho, Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Andrew Grant, Admiral Sir John Hay, Mr. John Holms, Mr. Hermon, Mr. Marjoribanks, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Pender, and Mr. Williamson *nominated* other Members of the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records:—Five to be the quorum.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS (URGENCY).

Mr. SPEAKER addressed the House as follows:—I desire to lay upon the Table certain Additional Rules, framed by me, in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of the 3rd February, for the regulation of the Business of the House, while the state of Public Business is urgent. They are designed to facilitate the consideration of the Supplies required for the public service, and I trust that they may be found effectual for that purpose.

Additional Rules Framed by Mr. Speaker, for the Regulation of the Business of the House, while the state of Public Business is Urgent.

11*th March*, 1881.

Committees of Supply and Ways and Means.

1. That when certain Votes in Committees of Supply and Ways and Means have been declared urgent, and such Committees have precedence, by any Standing Order, or by any Resolution of the House, agreed to upon a Motion made, after Notice, by a Minister of the Crown, put forthwith, and decided by a majority of three to one; on the Order of the Day being read for either of the said Committees, Mr. Speaker shall forthwith leave the Chair, without putting any Question; and the House shall thereupon resolve itself into such Committee.

2. That, in lieu of the customary forms of procedure in the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, when certain Votes have been declared urgent, the general rules of the House concerning the proposal of Questions and Amendments be observed in such Committees.

3. That while any Vote, declared urgent, is before the Committee, Questions confined to matters of fact, in relation to such Vote, may be answered by a Minister, in charge of the Estimates, without affecting his right to speak generally to the Question before the Committee.

4. That if it shall appear to the Chairman, during any Debate, when certain Votes have been declared urgent, to be the general sense of the Committee, that the Question be now put, he may so inform the Committee; and on a Motion being made "That the Question be now put," the Chairman shall forthwith put such Question; and if the same be decided in the affirmative, by a majority of three to one, the Question previously under Debate shall be forthwith put from the Chair.

Ordered, That the said Rules be printed. [No. 73.]

Mr. SPEAKER further stated, That the House having passed the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, it becomes my duty to declare, in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of the 3rd February, that the state of Public Business is no longer urgent.

INCLOSURE PROVISIONAL ORDER (LANGBAR MOOR) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Courtney, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the regulation of certain lands known as Langbar Moor, situate in the township of Nesfield-with-Langbar, in the parish of Ilsley, in the county of York, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 111.]

INCLOSURE PROVISIONAL ORDER (BEAMSLEY MOOR) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Courtney, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the regulation of certain lands known as Beamsley Moor, situate in the township of Beamsleys Both, in the parish of Skipton, in the county of York, in pursuance of the Report of the Inclosure Commissioners of England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Courtney and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 112.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 14*th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Highway Acts, *nominated.*

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) * (46); Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * (48).

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

The Queen's Answer to the Address of Monday last reported as follows;

I HAVE received your Address praying that a Commission may be issued to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts as created or modified under the Reformation Statutes of the 24th and 25th years of King Henry the Eighth and any subsequent Acts:

And I have given directions that a Commission shall issue for this purpose in accordance with your request.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, all your Lordships will have heard with consternation of the frightful crime which resulted in the death of the late Emperor of Russia. Her Majesty's Government have received no information as to the details beyond that which has appeared in the newspapers. I wish to give Notice that to-morrow I will move that an Address be presented to Her Majesty the Queen on the assassination of her Relative and Ally, the late Emperor of Russia, and that, at the same time, I will ask your Lordships to assent to a Message of Condolence to Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh.

HIGHWAY ACTS.

Select Committee on: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

D. Somerset.
D. St. Albans.
Ld. Steward.
E. De La Warr.
E. Fortescue.
E. Onslow.
V. Hardinge.
L. Clinton.
L. Carrington.
L. Meldrum.
L. Leigh.
L. Wolverton.
L. Cottesloe.
L. Norton.
L. Shute.

The Committee to meet on *Friday* next, at Four o'clock, and to appoint their own Chairman.

March 15—Lord Hartismere *added.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 14*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Henry William Eaton, esquire, *for* Coventry.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Railways, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Caine, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, and Mr. Phipps *added.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81 — Class I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Votes 5, 12, 13, 14, 24; Class II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 25, 35; Class III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18; Class IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Votes 4, 6, 7, 11, 15; Class V. — FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, Votes 1, 2, 3, 7, 9; Class VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES, Vote 1; Class V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, TREASURY CHEST; Class VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, Votes 1, 2, 3; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1, 3, 4, 5; CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES), Classes II., III., IV., V.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*) — *Second Reading*—London Sea Water Supply *.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered—First Reading*—Poor Law Officers (Scotland) Superannuation * [113].

Second Reading—Metropolitan Commons Supplemental * [99]; Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) * [107], *debate adjourned.*

Select Committee — Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment * [102], *nominated.*

Committee—Report—India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) [91]; Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) [83]; Exemption from Distress [92].

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * [88], and *passed.*

PARLIAMENTARY OATH—MR. BRADLAUGH.

MR. BRADLAUGH rose in his place, to present a Petition, when——

MR. GORST, interposing, said: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I submit that the Gentleman who has just risen, for the purpose of presenting a Petition to this House, is not a Member of this House, and as such cannot present a Petition. I will give very shortly my reasons for thinking that the House should come to the determination that it is impossible for the Gentleman who has just risen to present a Petition. It will be in the recollection of the House that last Session the Gentleman in question came to the Table of the House, claiming the right to make a solemn Affirmation in lieu of taking the Oath prescribed by law. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, which considered whether the claim to make a solemn Affirmation in lieu of the Oath was founded upon any legal right. The Committee reported to the House that the Gentleman in question had no legal right to make the

Affirmation. That finding of the Committee was afterwards adopted by a Resolution of this House, and it stands now upon the Records of this House that no Gentleman in the position of the Gentleman in question has a legal right to make a solemn Affirmation in lieu of the Oath prescribed by law. It was afterwards, by a Resolution of the House, determined that Mr. Bradlaugh might at his own risk and peril——

MR. BRADLAUGH: I rise to Order. There is no such Resolution on the Books of the House.

MR. GORST: The Gentleman interposed before I stated what the Resolution was. The Resolution said——

MR. LABOUCHERE: I rise to Order. I wish to ask whether the hon. and learned Gentleman can speak of a Member of this House by his name?

MR. CALLAN also rose to Order. May I also ask——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member for Chatham is speaking to a point of Order.

MR. GORST: I am sorry that I have not got the terms of the Resolution; but it was practically this: that the Gentleman in question—I really do not wish to be offensive; I would call him the "hon. Member," but it would be inconsistent with my argument, and I will, therefore, call him the "Gentleman in question" —might, if he pleased, make a solemn Affirmation and take his seat; but at his own peril, and without prejudice to consideration by a Court of Law. Now, on Friday last, the decision of the High Court was given, and was in accordance with the opinion of the Committee and of the House itself, that the Gentleman had no right to make a solemn Affirmation in lieu of taking the Oath prescribed by law. Therefore, the first vote he gave, and the first day he sat in this House, the seat for Northampton became by law vacant, exactly as if the holder of it were dead. The seat did not become vacant on Friday last, but on the first occasion when Mr. Bradlaugh gave a vote in this House. What I submit to the House is that, under the circumstances, when its own Committee has determined that he is not entitled to make an Affirmation, when the House itself has confirmed by Resolution the opinion of that Committee, and when a Court of Law in this country has decided that he is not entitled to make an Affirmation instead of an Oath, he ought not to sit and vote and take part in the proceedings of this House as long as the opinions and judgments of the Committee, the House, and the Court of Law remain uncontradicted and unreversed. I have heard that it is the intention of Mr. Bradlaugh to appeal; but I know of my own knowledge that no notice of appeal whatever has, up to the present time, been given. [Mr. BRADLAUGH rose to explain; but being received with loud cries of "Order!" sat down again.] I have heard from the best authorities that an hour ago no notice of appeal had been given; but I do not care about the appeal. It seems to me that when the matter is *sub judice*, it is so on one side as well as the other; and, at all events, until the judgment of the Court, which has confirmed the opinion of this House, be reversed, the Gentleman has no right to take part in the proceedings of this House in any matter whatever. If it should be the pleasure of the House, I should have no objection to moving for a Committee to inquire whether Mr. Bradlaugh has the right to sit and vote; but until some notice has been taken of this matter by the House, I submit that, as a matter of Order, he ought not to be permitted to sit and vote in this House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am aware that it is very inconvenient to enter upon anything approaching a discussion on a subject like this on a point of Order. I ask your permission, Sir, to speak to the point of Order; and I hope the House will allow me very briefly to state my views in answer to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. It is a matter which would have been better discussed on the Motion of which the hon. and learned Member has given Notice, to issue a New Writ for Northampton; for, on that Motion, hon. Members would have been able to express their opinions more fully than they can on a point of Order. I will, however, confine myself strictly to the point of Order. My hon. and learned Friend correctly says a Committee decided that the hon. Member for Northampton was not entitled to make an Affirmation; but he will also recollect that on the 1st of July, 1880, the House came to a Resolution, general in its terms, giving to a Member who claimed it permission to make Affirmation, subject to the risk of penalties imposed by law. It was under that Resolution, wiping away the previous Resolution, that the hon. Member for Northampton took his seat. He has sat and voted under that Resolution ever since; and if my hon. and learned Friend is correct in basing his objection on the opinion of the Committee and the confirmatory vote of this House, he should have taken that objection on those grounds earlier, any time since last July down to the present. The hon. and learned Member must, therefore, rest his argument on the decision given by a Court of Law on Friday last. I quite agree that although it is a judgment by way of demurrer, it determines that, in the opinion of the learned Judge, the hon. Member for Northampton has not relieved himself from the necessity of taking the Oath, because he was not entitled to make an Affirmation the equivalent of the Oath. I quite admit that, by the effect of that judgment, construing the Statute of 1866, the Membership for Northampton is now vacant as if the holder of it were dead. What effect, then, ought this House to give to that judgment? I submit that when the Resolution of the 1st of July was passed, the intention of the House was that the right of every Member to make Affirmation, if he made it under protest, should be determined by the legal tribunals. A judgment has now been given by the Court of First Instance, and the Judge himself stayed execution of the judgment in every respect, in order that the opinion of the Court of Appeal might be taken. It is the inherent right of every subject, when his rights are in question, that the Court of First Instance shall not determine them finally, but that the Courts of Appeal should be the ultimate tribunals to determine them; and if an action of ejectment were brought against a person to recover an estate, the judgment of the Court of First Instance would not be conclusive, for the Court of Appeal would have power to reverse it. If for the word "estate" you will substitute "status," you will see the position which the hon. Member for Northampton occupies at this moment. He is entitled to have the judgment of the Court of Appeal to determine his right, and until that judgment is given I submit that he has a right to take his seat in this House. The contention of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham might, if successful, place the House under great difficulty. If you were to decide that the seat for Northampton is vacant, of course a New Writ would issue and a Member be elected, and if in three weeks from this time the Court of Appeal decided that the judgment of the Court of First Instance was wrong, what position would this House be placed in? If the present hon. Member were not returned again, we should have practically two Members for Northampton. There would be one sitting by virtue of the real election, which would never have been vacated, because the Court of Appeal would have held that the judgment was wrong, and would treat it as if had never been given, and that there was no vacancy; and yet there would be a second newly-elected Member. It is a matter for your determination alone. I respectfully submit that the greatest inconvenience would result to the House and the greatest injustice to the hon. Member, and, above all, to his constituents, if you deprive him of the inherent right of every subject of the Crown to appeal from one Court of Law to another.

Sir JOHN HOLKER: It seems to me, Sir, that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General has mistaken the question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). The question which the hon. and learned Member desires to bring to the attention of the House is, not whether there shall be a New Writ issued for Northampton; but whether, a Court of competent jurisdiction having decided that the hon. Gentleman who was Member for Northampton is not Member for Northampton, but that his seat is vacant, it is seemly on the part of the House altogether to ignore that decision, and allow the hon. Gentleman to exercise the same rights and privileges as if no decision had been given? Of course, if the hon. Gentleman be allowed to do what we all suppose he intends to do—that is, to remain in the House—he will influence the House in the course of its debates. He is a Gentleman of great intellectual power. He is a practised speaker, and has shown that he will very likely exercise considerable influence in debate; and he is to be allowed to do all this when, according to the decision of a Court of Law of competent jurisdiction, he is not a Member of the House. More than that, he would be allowed to vote on every question which arose as though he were a Member of the House; whereas, actually, he is not a Member of the House at all. All that is asked now is, not that there should be a New Writ for Northampton; but that the hon. Gentleman shall not sit and vote in this House until it has been decided whether that would be within his right or not.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I hope the House will permit me to say a few words, as my hon. Colleague is unable to speak. Perhaps I may be allowed to read a letter which I have received from him, and which will reply to the observation of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that no notice had been given of my hon. Colleague's intention to pursue the appeal in this case. Mr. Bradlaugh writes to me as follows:—

> "March 12, 1880. My dear Labouchere,—May I trouble you to say to the House, if Mr. Gorst proceeds with his Motion, that I have instructed my solicitor to give the necessary notice of appeal in the action against me on account of Henry Lewis Clarke, and that I undertake to prosecute that appeal in due form and without delay? Will you add that while I protest against any attempt to declare my seat vacant, as creating an improper embarrassment in the legal procedure still pending, I am quite willing, in order to avoid the waste of public time by a purely personal conflict, to voluntarily vacate the seat and at once submit myself to the judgment of my constituents? I wish in all this to show due respect to the House, while safeguarding my legal and constitutional rights and duties. So long as I have the honour to be one of the Representatives of the borough of Northampton it is my clear duty to sit and vote at all risks and perils.—Yours very sincerely,
>
> "C. Bradlaugh."

The hon. Gentleman owes duties, not only to this House and himself, but also to the constituency which he represents. It is all very well for the hon. and learned Member for Preston (Sir John Holker) to say that the hon. Member in question should remain suspended from the service of the House, and that Northampton should be deprived of one of its Representatives until the appeal is decided; but I, as the other Member for Northampton, protest in the name of the constituency against such a course. It would be most unfair to the constituency. I am not a lawyer myself, and perhaps that is the reason why I do not particularly appreciate the legal observations of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham; but it appeared to me that they were entirely overthrown by the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. The Court that has decided against Mr. Bradlaugh is a Court of First Instance. Mr. Bradlaugh, as I have shown by his letter, intends to prosecute his appeal from the decision of that Court, and it can hardly be fairly said that the matter is judicially decided so long as he intends to go to a higher Court. I will take the case of an estate. Supposing that I were sued for the possession of an estate. I should not be deprived of that estate by an adverse decision of a Court of First Instance, if I gave notice of my intention to appeal. The position of a defendant or appellant remains unaffected pending the appeal. Besides, there was a clear understanding between the House and my hon. Colleague. He was told that the House would not pronounce an opinion on the question whether he might affirm or not, but that he might do so at his own risk and peril. He did affirm at his own risk and peril, and he is quite willing to accept the ultimate decision of the Courts on the case; but I appeal to the sense of fair play of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House not to allow the matter to be prejudiced *pendente lite.*

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, there are two or three facts which should be brought to the notice of the House. When my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham, on Friday last, gave Notice of a Motion for the issue of a New Writ for Northampton, he did so under the belief that it was not the determination of the "Gentleman in question" to sit and vote in this House, and it was my hon. and learned Friend's intention to at once take the decision of the House upon that Motion. But there was on Friday an understanding, which was greatly strengthened by the fact that the "Gentleman in question" did not appear in the House after my hon. and learned Friend had given his Notice, that while the matter was *pendente lite* the Member for Northampton did not intend to take part in the proceedings of the House. [Mr. Bradlaugh dissented.] My hon. and learned Friend did not wish either unfairly to prejudice the question, or raise a debate which would embarrass the Government. But the case is different to-day, when my hon. and learned Friend comes down to the House and finds that the Gentleman who was Member for Northampton is in his place, taking part in the Business of the House, and evidently intending to vote and speak on any question which may come before the House. Upon that, my hon. and learned Friend had no choice but to raise the question immediately. I am perfectly certain that if the Gentleman who was Member for Northampton would consent to consider his status *sub judice* while the House considered the issue of a Writ premature, my hon. and learned Friend would not trouble the House further on this point of Order. I submit that if the House is willing to forego the issue of the Writ, the hon. Member should be willing to withdraw from the House pending his appeal. Of course, I do not distrust or throw doubt on any statement made by the Member for Northampton, or his Representative, the senior Member for that Borough; but I submit that the House has no security whatever that an appeal will be lodged, at any rate, before the expiration of nearly the whole of the 12 months' interval allowed by the law. It is, therefore, in the power of the Gentleman against whom judgment has been given not to appeal for that time, during which he might be taking part in the proceedings of this House, and voting on most important questions.

Mr. BRADLAUGH [*Cries of* "Order, order!"]: Mr. Speaker——

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I understand, Mr. Speaker, not having been present when the matter arose, that a Question has been put to you on a point of Order. It would be greatly to the advantage of the House if you were able at once to decide that point; and it would be very undesirable that we should, in the present state of affairs, expend more time than is absolutely necessary on this subject. I hope that my hon. and learned Friend who has given Notice to move for a New Writ will not on the present occasion make that Motion, but that we shall have another opportunity of discussing the very serious question which he raises. Its discussion would take up much time; and he will feel that there are many reasons why it is not desirable to bring it forward again to-day.

Mr. BRADLAUGH again rose, this time simultaneously with the Speaker, and the hon. Gentleman at once gave way.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Northampton rises in his place. I presume the House will extend its indulgence to him, and desire that he be heard.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I only desire to say, as a matter of fact, that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was misinformed in saying that no notice of appeal had been given. I myself gave notice of appeal in Court to the learned counsel; and, on my giving it, the learned Judge who tried the case at once stayed execution. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) is either mistaken or misinformed as to the law. By the Rules of the Court, on an interlocutory judgment, I am bound to prosecute the appeal within 21 days, as the noble Lord would have discovered on reference to any ordinary law book.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) has appealed to me on a point of Order of great difficulty. He, in fact, desires me to state, upon the authority of the Chair, whether the seat for Northampton is vacant or not. That is a matter, not for the determination of the Chair, but for the determination of the House; and I feel bound to say this—that until the House shall otherwise order I should consider myself obliged to look upon the hon. Member for Northampton as filling the seat for Northampton. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham having interrupted the hon. Member for Northampton while he was presenting a Petition to the House, it is my duty now to call upon the hon. Member to proceed with the presentation of his Petition.

Mr. Bradlaugh accordingly *presented* 53 Petitions, having 7,000 signatures, in favour of the Motion of which he had given Notice for inquiry into Perpetual Pensions, and which Petitions were *ordered* to lie upon the Table.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will to-morrow move an humble Address for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the House on the assassination of Her Majesty's Ally and Relative, the Emperor of Russia.

Subsequently,

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish to correct an error of omission in relation to the Notice which I gave of an Address to the Crown on the subject of the assassination at St. Petersburg, and to say also that I propose to move a Message of Condolence to Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh.

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES—PAY AND PENSIONS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it is intended to extend to the non-commissioned officers and other ranks in the Royal Marines corresponding advantages in pay and pension to those now proposed to be granted to the Army?

MR. TREVELYAN: In answer, Sir, to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the Board of Admiralty, now that they have the scheme of the Secretary of State for War before them for reference and comparison, I do not say for guidance, will at once come to the consideration of the questions relating to the Corps of Royal Marines. There is no need for appointing any more Committees to inquire. The Board has information enough before it to approach the matter with a view to a prompt and practical decision.

STATE OF IRELAND — PROCESS-SERVERS IN DONEGAL.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware, and, if it be true, that some three or four months ago a large number of the process servers of the county of Donegal resigned office on the ground of intimidation on the part of the Land League; whether their places have as yet been filled up; and, if not, why not; whether at the last Quarter Sessions at Carndonagh, county Donegal, only five processes were served, the usual number being about one hundred and fifty; and, what steps the Government propose to take to provide the means for suitors to recover debts in that district?

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that three process-servers in the barony of Innishowen, in the county of Donegal, had resigned their appointments, the reason of their resignation being that they anticipated danger to themselves in the discharge of their duties, in consequence of the disturbed state of the district. In two cases they had offered themselves for re-appointment; but, as yet, no person had been found willing to take the office of process-server in the district of Carndonagh. There were only 10 processes served last Quarter Sessions. The Government had proclaimed this barony as being in a state of disturbance by a special proclamation under the Coercion Act.

FEVER AND SMALL-POX HOSPITALS (METROPOLIS).

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, after the recent decision of the House of Lords in the Hampstead Hospital case, he is prepared, by legislation or otherwise, to secure to the inhabitants of the Metropolis the advantages which were intended to be conferred by the establishment of hospitals for fever and small-pox under the provisions of "The Metropolis Poor Act, 1867?"

MR. DODSON: Sir, I am desirous of doing what the hon. Member asks; but the matter is one of much complication, and I am not prepared, until I have had more time to review the whole subject, to indicate what steps should, in my opinion, be taken to meet the present difficulty. I may add that the recent decision of the House of Lords has only been given with regard to one of the appeals in the case, and a month has been allowed to the managers to prosecute the second appeal if they think proper to do so.

ARMY—STAFF PAYMASTERS.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, If he cannot mitigate the hardship inflicted on

Staff Paymasters, who are to be compulsorily retired on 30th September next, by allowing those whose period of five years' grace (secured by Royal Warrant of 22nd October 1877) expires in 1882, to complete that term of service, and thus, in some cases, to complete 25 years' service, and to become thereby entitled to a higher pension; whether he has considered the hardship suffered by those who were (in terms of Royal Warrant of 1st May 1878) gazetted "Staff Paymasters" (the highest rank then granted to officers of the Army Pay Department, all senior Paymasters who joined the Department being gazetted with that rank, according to seniority), and who were superseded by the establishment on 23rd December 1880 of the higher grade of "Chief Paymaster," to which junior officers were appointed; and, whether it is not in his power to grant to Staff Paymasters similar advantages of extra pension on compulsory retirement which is secured to Chief Paymasters by Paragraph 7, Clause 2, of Royal Warrant of 23rd December 1880?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, the hon. Member is really a little unreasonable. On the 4th instant I answered a Question on this subject, put to me by the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer), and I said that I would look into it. I have every desire to mitigate any real grievance; but this is not a question of the New Warrant giving any officer less retired pay, but of pressure to obtain for certain officers larger boons than those granted in 1877. Considering that these matters involve careful discussion between Departments of the Government, it is really out of the question that, especially at a busy time of the year like this, they can be dealt with in a week. If the hon. Gentleman will repeat his Question some time hence, I will endeavour to give him an answer.

NAVY—THE NAVAL RESERVE.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that although some of the Officers of the Naval Reserve have for sixteen years and upwards served in the rank of Lieutenant, there are no Officers of the rank of Commander in the Reserve; and, if so, whether promotion to that rank will be given to any of the Officers in question, as in the other branches of the Navy; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return of the numbers of the Naval Reserve, stating the class of seamen, whether 1st, 2nd, or 3rd?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, promotion to the rank of commander in the Naval Reserve, which is an honorary rank, can only be conferred on officers who have attained the age of 50, and who have distinguished themselves in action, or by their zeal in promoting the efficiency of the Reserve. Hitherto, no cases fulfilling both these conditions have been brought under the notice of the Admiralty; but any application sent through the Board of Trade on behalf of officers whose cases satisfy these requirements would meet with the favourable consideration of their Lordships. In answer to the last part of the hon. Gentleman's Question, I may say that on the 28th of February last the numbers of the Royal Naval Reserve were—First Class, 12,050; Second Class, 5,496; Third Class, 111; total, 17,657.

INDIA—MILITARY STATIONS IN BELOOCHISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for India, If he will place in the Library of the House a map showing the stations, if any, in Beloochistan and Afghanistan at which he proposes that troops should be stationed?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, this question of the stations of the troops in Beloochistan and Afghanistan is entirely or mainly a matter for the consideration and decision of the Indian Government, and we are not sufficiently in possession of their views to give the stations. I should, however, have no objection to put up a map without the stations.

INLAND REVENUE—RECEIPT AND POSTAGE STAMPS.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will be good enough to consider the desirability of meeting the public convenience by an arrangement which would make the existing Penny Postage Stamp available either as a Receipt or a Postage Stamp?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I have long desired that the public should be relieved from the inconveniences which attend the obtaining of Inland Revenue stamps as compared with the great facilities for obtaining postage stamps, and there is no way that I know of removing those inconveniences except the union of the stamps—that is to say, allowing postage stamps to be used for Inland Revenue purposes. There would be a certain amount of disadvantage for fiscal and statistical purposes in the arrangement; but, on the whole, the convenience would be so great that I think I may say that we propose to carry it into effect.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE.

Mr. CHARLES LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, on Her Majesty's Government giving authority to Sir E. Wood to negotiate for prolongation of the armistice with the Boers, he had any instructions to make it a part of the arrangement for such prolongation that the troops of the enemy should be withdrawn from Natal?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the case stands thus: The armistice, as it was originally framed, was to expire last night, the 13th, at midnight. On Saturday, the 12th, the Cabinet made a communication to Sir Evelyn Wood, which he was requested to send on to the leaders of the Boers, and which required an answer from the Boers. We could not reasonably expect that that answer could possibly have been received by him in the course of yesterday; and, having previously authorized him to prolong the armistice if necessary, we, on Saturday, instructed him to prolong it, if it were desired by the Boers, for the purpose of giving time for an answer within the limit which we named, which was the 18th—next Friday, but not beyond that, and, perhaps, an earlier day. Under these circumstances we did not instruct Sir Evelyn Wood to make any change in the conditions of the armistice, which would have led to further delay, and been the subject of further communications. I may as well take this opportunity of referring to a Question which was put to me on Friday last with regard to the original armistice. We have telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Wood upon that subject, and have received an answer as respects the communications between Mr. Brand and Sir Evelyn Wood in regard to the original armistice. I have already referred to them in this House, and can revert to them if it should be desired. But Sir Evelyn Wood now gives us information with regard to the communications between President Brand and Joubert, and between Joubert and himself, and he states that—"On the 3rd of March, Brand appealed to Joubert to meet me," for the purpose of making an arrangement for the conclusion of an armistice, "and on the 4th of March, Joubert sent me Brand's message asking how far I would cooperate." That is the important part of the communication made by Sir Evelyn Wood—"how far I would co-operate." Sir Evelyn Wood adds—it is written—"so he wishes;" but we read it "as he wishes to stop his patrols on the 5th of March, I offered to meet him on the 6th."

Sir HENRY TYLER asked, Whether the armistice had been prolonged?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he had no information on the point, but would probably have in the course of a day or two.

SOUTH AFRICA—CETEWAYO, LATE KING OF THE ZULUS—ARRANGEMENTS FOR DETENTION.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What arrangements have been made for the future detention of Cetewayo; what amount of liberty will be granted to him; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will allow him to be joined by such members of his family as he may wish to have with him?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, Cetewayo is now, and has been for more than a month, residing about four miles from Cape Town, on a farm, or small estate, of some 1,600 acres. He and his are free to range over this and the neighbouring location occupied by his neighbour, Langalibalele, from sunrise to sunset, as much as they please, and all the necessaries and comforts of life are supplied to them. Strangers will not be allowed to trespass on the location at their own pleasure; but all proper visitors will be able to obtain orders from the Secretary for Native Affairs. Four or more of Cetewayo's wives and a few followers, the number to be determined by the Cape Government in concurrence with that of Natal, are permitted to reside on the location. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies long ago gave very positive orders as to the spirit in which the detention of Cetewayo was to be carried into effect. I read these to the House in reply to a Question of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), and I think the House was quite satisfied as to their humanity.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1872—SCHOOL CHILDREN—THE CENSUS.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he will give instructions that School Board officials or others authorised by them may have access to the Enumeration Books containing copies of the contents of the schedules in the forthcoming Census, in the hands of the sheriff clerks or town clerks at any time between the period when, by the Registrar General's Instructions, these are to be placed in their hands by the Registrar of the district, viz.: 23rd April, and the time when they fall to be transmitted to the Registrar General, viz.: 4th May, for the purpose of extracting therefrom the names, ages, and other particulars regarding all children of school age, and the names and particulars of the parents or guardians of such children; and, whether, should it be necessary, he will authorise an extension of the time during which the Enumeration Books may remain in the hands of the sheriff clerks or town clerks so as to facilitate the carrying out of the purposes of "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872?"

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren): I find, on inquiry at the office of the Registrar General for Scotland, that there are serious objections to communicating the Census Returns to school boards. Those Returns are held to be of a confidential character, and we are afraid that if they were to be given to any person outside the Department it might interfere with their accuracy.

INLAND REVENUE—SURVEYING OFFICERS.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the hours of duty of the Surveying Officers of Inland Revenue have been much increased by the new duties imposed upon them by the Act 43 and 44 Vic. c. 20; and, if so, whether it would be possible to give them, in compensation, some increase of leave?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, in order to meet the increase of work referred to by the noble Lord, 100 officers have been added to the Staff, and the business has been re-arranged with a view to avoid giving more work to any officer than he is required and able to perform according to the regulations of the Service. It is, of course, impossible to say that in some particular case some officer may not have more to do than formerly, especially as, from the nature of the duties of the Surveyors, their work is not performed at specified hours; but, as I stated the other day in reply to the hon. Member for Queen's County, the present allowance of leave is considered sufficient.

THE CENSUS (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. BELLINGHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the teachers of the National Schools who have filled the Census Returns are entitled to some remuneration commensurate with the amount of labour which those Returns involve; and, if so, whether the Government can take any steps in the matter?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that as the National School teachers were only called upon to perform these Census duties once in 10 years, and as he found that no other public officials were remunerated for doing them, he did not see why there should be any exception made in their case to the general rule.

TURKEY IN ASIA—ARMENIA.

Mr. BRYCE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the injuries now being inflicted on the peaceable inhabitants of Armenia, both Christians and Mohammedans, by the Kurds who have been driven back from Persia into Turkish territory, and to the conduct of the Porte in quartering Kurdish nomads upon the Armenian villagers;

and, whether Her Majesty's Government has already represented, or will represent, to the Porte the necessity of ceasing this practice of quartering ferocious tribes on its unarmed subjects, and the duty of taking prompt and vigorous action to check the excesses of the Kurds?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, we have heard from Vice Consul Clayton that fugitive Kurds from Persia have been quartered by the Turkish authorities upon the villagers in the country to the south-east of Lake Van, and that the villagers have been ordered to support the fugitives for the winter. Colonel Clayton's Report came through the Embassy at Constantinople; and Her Majesty's Ambassador, who is greatly interested in the condition of the Armenian population, will make representations in regard to the hardship entailed on the villagers by having to maintain these fugitives, if he has a favourable opportunity of doing so, or thinks that such representations are likely to be of use.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE CONSTABULARY—AFFRAY AT WINDGAP, CO. KILKENNY.

THE O'DONOGHUE (for Mr. MARUM) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a statement appearing in a local paper, that during the last month a patrol of three sub-constables were sent from the police barrack of Windgap, in the county of Kilkenny; that the men, instead of going on patrol as directed, retired to a public-house in the locality, and commenced to drink and play at cards; that a row subsequently ensued, when a sub-constable struck a comrade with a tumbler, split his upper lip, knocked out two of his teeth, and fractured the jawbone; that they attempted to shoot one another in the house, and also when they got out; that the constable who struck the first blow was subsequently placed under arrest and removed to Callan; and that the men, when sent on patrol, were in the habit for some time past of resorting to this public-house; and, whether he will cause inquiries to be instituted into the matter, to prevent repetition of such conduct?

MR. CHARLES LEWIS also wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, If the publican has not been guilty of a gross breach of the law in allowing the police to remain in his house under such circumstances?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I have made inquiry into the matter, and I regret to find that it is one of the very rare—almost the only—case since I have been in my present position that has come to my knowledge where members of the Royal Irish Constabulary have been shown to be guilty of gross misconduct. The facts, however, are not quite so bad as they are represented. It was after the men had returned from the performance of their patrol duty that the occurrence took place; no attempt was made by the sub-constables to use their firearms; and I can also give a distinct denial to the allegation that the police when on patrol duty were in the habit of resorting to this public-house. This appears to have been an exceptional case; but though this may be some palliation, yet no excuse can be offered for their conduct. However, a stringent inquiry has been undertaken by the Inspector General into the circumstances of the case, in order that it may be seen what steps should be taken in the matter. In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Londonderry, I have to say that the publican, as well as the sub-constables, was brought before the magistrate and fined for a breach of the Licensing Act.

VACCINATION ACT—VACCINATION IN PRISON.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the medical officers of Her Majesty's Prisons are required by the regulations to vaccinate all children born in the prisons before they are allowed to go out; and, if so, whether such regulations are strictly enforced, especially in the case of the female prison at Westminster?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, there is no absolute rule on the subject, nor could there be. It is uncertain at what age a child may be at the time it is discharged. As a general rule, a child is vaccinated in prison when it is old enough, and the mother makes no objection. The answer I have received to a question is, that all the children born in Westminster Prison are vaccinated if they are old enough and not too delicate.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) ACT—REPORT OF ELECTION COMMISSIONS.

MR. ONSLOW asked Mr. Attorney General, What steps Her Majesty's Government are taking in order to secure the presentation of the Reports of the Election Commissioners who have not as yet reported before the close of the time specified in the Act for the commencement of a prosecution for corrupt practices; and, in the event of any of the Election Commissioners not reporting in time to prosecute any of those who may be scheduled in these Reports, what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take in order that there may be no miscarriage of justice?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Sir, at one time there were apprehensions entertained that these Reports would not be presented in time for the purpose stated in the Question; but a practical method was found of getting over the difficulty. It was pointed out that if the labours of the Commissioners were not brought to a close to enable certain steps to be taken by the 31st of March, great inconvenience would result to the public interest; and the Commissioners came to the conclusion that the business was urgent, and they also came to the conclusion that it was of importance to the public interests that the business should be proceeded with without delay. Their doing so was the best way of getting rid of the difficulty; and the proof of it is that their having done so has rendered it unnecessary to answer the second part of the Question.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the report of the proceedings of the Oxford Election Commissioners, by which it appears that on the 30th of October the Chief Commissioner stated that they had notice to conclude the local inquiry in the long vacation, but having been unable to do so, it was adjourned to the 22nd of December; whether that adjournment had his sanction, and whether the professional engagements of the Commissioners had anything to do with the arrangement; and, whether it has not followed that the inquiry is still incomplete?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the Oxford Commissioners and the other Commissioners did, from time to time, apply for power to adjourn, and that power I granted, at the same time giving instructions that it was desirable and important that the Reports should be made as soon as possible. It is quite true that the Oxford Commissioners had hoped to have concluded their Report in October; but at the end of October they stated that, with every desire to have concluded the inquiry during the course of the Long Vacation, they had been unable to do so, owing in great measure to the fact that the vouchers presented by Mr. Walsh, the Conservative agent, who had destroyed his accounts, had been found to be unreliable, and they had been engaged during the greater portion of the inquiry in procuring from those who had the management of the different districts their accounts, which they had to render in some cases from memory, and in others from imperfect memoranda. The inquiry has now nearly reached its end. As to the other part of the Question, I am unable to give information.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, that the main question was, whether there was an adjournment from October to December?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I believe that was so. The Commissioners wrote to me that it was an adjournment of their sittings in Oxford; but they held sittings in London during the interval. I may say that it has been rather the business of the Oxford Commissioners to examine me, than my business to examine the Oxford Commissioners.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the main point of the Question was, whether the long adjournment had anything to do with the professional engagements of the Commissioners?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not know. I think it is very likely.

ARMY—THE SEPARATION ALLOWANCE FOR SOLDIERS' WIVES AND CHILDREN.

GENERAL BURNABY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to a letter, on the subject of "soldiers' families," in the "Times" of the 9th instant; whether it is true, as therein stated, that from the

> "allowance of 9*d.* a day to each non-commissioned officer's wife, 7*d.* to each private's wife, and 3*d.* for each child,"

in quarters, the sum of

> "6*d.* a day would be recovered from each non-commissioned officer's pay, 4*d.* from each private's, and 1½*d.* in respect of each child,"—"so that it would appear that the exact allowance this wealthy Country is making to these poor women amounts, besides a little coal, to exactly 3*d.* a day for themselves, and 1½*d.* a day for each of their children;"

and, whether he can promise to increase these allowances?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I must appeal to him whether it is reasonable that I should be asked to reply to a letter in a newspaper written by a Member of Parliament, whose Question on the same subject I had fully answered, and with great detail, a few days before. What is called the "separation allowance for soldiers' wives and children" has been in force for many years, and I find has been the subject of full inquiry by my right hon. and gallant Friend and Predecessor, who declined to increase it. I have, however, out of consideration for the women and children who came home in the *Jumna*, their husbands having been hurriedly separated from them, advanced them a further daily allowance, instead of keeping them waiting for the remittance from their husbands, and I have undertaken to look into the whole question. It would be unreasonable to ask me to decide it in a hurry, after the positive refusal of my Predecessor and the late Government to make any change.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — MICHAEL BOYTON.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the report which has appeared in several newspapers to the effect that the United States Minister has made representations to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the arrest of Michael Boyton, on the ground that he is an American citizen; and, whether any information can be given to the House, as to the course to be adopted by Her Majesty's Government on this and other similar cases?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir. No representation has been received from the United States Government upon the subject.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE ARMISTICE.

MR. S. LEIGHTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is correctly reported to have said at Oxford, that the proposal for an armistice after the defeat at Lang's Nek came from the Boer side?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Yes, Sir; the report seems substantially correct. What I actually said was this—that we had been obliged to give rather cautious answers in Parliament to Questions about the armistice, because Ministers replying to Questions in Parliament are expected to be rigidly accurate, and not to go one inch beyond the documents which they have in their hands; that, however, at a festive gathering, one was not bound to be so rigidly accurate, and that I had no hesitation in saying there what I do not think I should have been justified in saying in the House of Commons, that, as far as my opinion went, based on the best study I could give to the telegrams, I had no doubt that the first suggestion of the armistice came from the Boers.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (MILITARY OPERATIONS) — THE NEWCASTLE AND LANG'S NEK ROUTE.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the Secretary of State for War, to be so good as to inform the House, Whether the late Sir George Colley advanced towards the Transvaal with the force at his disposal by the Newcastle and Lang's Nek route in full telegraphic communication with England; whether the disadvantages and dangers of that route, in comparison with an alternative route, were fully pointed out to and admitted by the Intelligence Department in England, by an officer lately returned from the Transvaal; and, whether such information was telegraphed to Sir George Colley; or, if not, why it was withheld from him?

MR. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I have to state that Sir George Colley was in telegraphic communication with England when he advanced by the Newcastle and Lang's Nek route. It is also true that a gentleman who had formerly been a lieutenant in the Army suggested to the Intelligence Department a different route for an advance on the Transvaal. But it is further true that Sir George Colley was fully aware of this route, and of its disadvantages and advantages. I must ask the hon. and gallant Gentleman, under these circumstances, not to include in any Question he may address to me indications of a route for military operations which is perfectly well known to us, but which had better not be made known to others.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS)—THE NATIVE POPULATION.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in any settlement of the Transvaal Question, Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the question of providing not only for the protection of the loyal inhabitants of the Transvaal of European origin, but also in respect of the lives, liberties, and property of the native inhabitants of that country?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I really think I need only refer to what has been said by myself and by other Members of the Government upon the subject to show that the position of the Native population in the Transvaal was one of the most important matters present to our minds in view of any practicable settlement of the question.

ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (SCOTLAND).

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Lord Advocate, If he will arrange to supply the House with as full information about the roads and highways of Scotland, as that promised to be supplied about the English and Welsh roads and highways by the President of the Local Government Board of England and Wales?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren), in reply, said he thought that the Returns regarding the highways and roads in England were not in a form that could be given for Scotland; but he should be very glad to consider, along with his hon. and gallant Friend, in what form the Returns could be given in order to secure the specific information he desired.

MEDICAL POOR LAW GRANTS (SCOTLAND).

Mr. CRUM asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the following paragraph in the "Times" of 9th March correctly represents the views of the Government; and, if so, whether they will give effect to these views in the present year:—

> "Last night a deputation from the Parochial Boards of Scotland waited upon Mr. Gladstone to ask for an increase in the Medical Poor Law grants. Mr. Gladstone told the deputation that he was under a mistake as to the nature of their application, and he must refer them to Lord Frederick Cavendish, who, after hearing their statement, gave an undertaking that he would grant an increase if the Parochial Boards were willing to allow the Poor Law supervision to exercise some control over the appointment and dismissal of their Medical Officers?"

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, I have to thank my hon. Friend for giving me an opportunity of removing a misapprehension which could not, I think, be shared in by any member of the deputation referred to in the Question. The facts are as follows:—In reply to an observation made by a member of the deputation that there was no necessity for legislation, and that all that was needed to secure equality between England and Scotland was to place an increased sum in the Estimates for medical relief in Scotland, I pointed out that, to place England and Scotland on an equality, it would be necessary to make the condition of the grant the same as well as its proportions, and that that could not be done without legislation. I added that, to secure the desired equality, we must not look at this particular grant in aid alone, but include in our survey other grants in aid, such as that for pauper lunatics. I then as nearly as possible repeated the statement which I made a short time ago in this House in reply to a Question, that the Government was considering the subject of grants in aid at large, with the view, if possible, of devising some better method of regulating the appropriation of public money for local purposes, and that, in the meanwhile, we did not consider it desirable to insert an additional sum in the Estimates for medical relief.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS—LOWTON SCHOOL, LANCASHIRE—REPORT OF A DEPUTATION.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been drawn to a statement in a local newspaper, purporting to be a report of a deputation respecting the school of Lowton, in Lancashire; and whether the same is a true report? He would not have troubled the right hon. Gentleman with the Question, if the reported speeches had not contained serious charges against a gentleman concerned.

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, his attention had been called to a statement which filled nearly two columns of the newspaper. The deputation consisted of a very few persons, and he did not know how such a report of what was stated to have taken place could have been made, as no speeches were made. Instead of making speeches to the Education Department, the deputation must have sent them to the local newspaper.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—SUPPLY AND "URGENCY."

MR. DILLWYN said, he desired to ask the Prime Minister some Questions of which he had given him private Notice. They were:—Firstly, Whether it was correct to say that the demand for "urgency" was partly made because the Government wished to preserve the time between Easter and Whitsuntide for legislation? Secondly, whether, if the Supplementary Estimates were not passed between the 24th and 31st March, the House would have no security that the law would be observed with regard to them? Thirdly, whether it was usual to postpone the first Votes of the Estimates? Fourthly, whether the original Estimates which were now followed by these Supplementary Estimates were framed by the present Government, or their Predecessors? Fifthly, and lastly, whether at the time of the Supplementary Budget of 1880, the Government were possessed of a trustworthy Estimate of the expenses of the Afghan War?

MR. GORST: I rise to Order, Sir. Is it not a Rule of the House that the Motion of "Urgency" shall be put without discussion or delay? If it is so, I wish to ask, whether it is not an invasion of the Order of this House if the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dillwyn) puts a Question to the Prime Minister which will enable the Prime Minister to state his reasons for the Motion of "Urgency" he is about to make?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Swansea having risen in his place and put certain Questions to the Prime Minister on certain points, I am not in a position to interpose.

MR. RITCHIE: Will the hon. Member for Swansea say at whose request he has put these Questions?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will take care, Sir, to obviate the reasonable apprehension of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), by confining myself in the strictest manner to matters of fact. It is not the case that the present demand for "urgency" is made, either wholly or partly, because the Government wish to reserve the time from Easter to Whitsuntide for legislation. It would be their duty to make the demand, if they had no wish on the subject of legislation, although we do desire to use some of the time in question for legislation. The change which we have made, which led to my reference to the subject, is that, in consequence of this desire, the Government have to ask for a Vote on Account for the Civil Service of 1881-2 for a longer period than we should otherwise have asked for it. I am asked, secondly, whether, if the Supplementary Estimates were passed on the 24th of March, the House would have any security that the law could be observed with regard to them, and I must say, in reply, that in the conviction of the Government the House can have no such security. I will not enter into details, which would be of a technical character; but I may be permitted to say, as a matter of fact, that during 20 years past the Votes for Supplementary Estimates have never been granted later than the 21st of March, and never but once so late as March 21—namely, in the year when the Government had very recently assumed Office. With regard to the third Question, I have to say that it is not usual to postpone the first Votes for the coming year, and the Ways and Means Act relating to them, until after the 31st of March. That Act has always been passed before March 31st, since the Exchequer and Audit Act was passed, and the stricter Rules came into practice. As to the fourth Question, I have to say that the original Estimates, of which the Supplementary Estimates represent the consequent result, were framed by the late Government, and were presented anew by the present Government, with, I think, one or two changes in some matters of detail. With regard to the last Question, whether, at the time of the Supplementary Budget of 1880, the Government were possessed of a trustworthy estimate of the expense of the Afghan War, the matter stands thus:—On the 5th of February, 1880, those expenses were estimated by the Indian Government at £5,500,000. On the 4th of May, 1880, they were estimated at a sum which it was stated would be nearly £10,000,000, and on the 1st of June the Government received a telegram from the Viceroy of India stating that the expenses would largely exceed £10,000,000.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I certainly do not rise, Sir, to attempt anything like a discussion; but I wish to put a Question upon one of the statements of the Prime Minister which is simply a matter of fact, upon which I do not think his answer was quite full. The right hon. Gentleman said he would not go into details as to the possibility of passing the Ways and Means Act on the 31st of March if the last Vote was taken in Supply on the 24th. I wish to ask him whether that is a correct statement as to what the course of Business might be if the last Vote was taken on the 24th? Assuming the last Vote to be taken on that day, and the Resolution in Ways and Means also taken on that day, would not the Supply Votes be reported on Friday, the 25th, and the Resolutions on Ways and Means be also reported on that day, and the Bill be brought in and read the first time? Would it not then be possible by sitting on Saturday—["Oh, oh!"]—well, I am suggesting it as a choice of evils—to read the Bill a second time? The Committee might then be taken on Monday, the 28th, the Bill be read a third time on the 29th, and be sent to the House of Lords and read a first time there; whether the House of Lords would not on the 30th pass the Bill through its remaining stage, so that it might receive the Royal Assent on Thursday, the 31st?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I will answer the Question of the right hon. Gentleman in detail. It is correct to say that we could take the stages mentioned on Thursday, the 24th, and Friday, the 25th. It is not, however, usual at this period of the year to sit on a Saturday, especially when Her Majesty's Cabinet were occupied in considering questions of peace and war of the utmost delicacy and anxiety, which are not of their seeking. No doubt, as regards the House, it is a matter of convenience or inconvenience; but the Government have to contemplate another state of things, in which the Ways and Means Bill might be made the subject of debate, occupying the day on Saturday; and certainly it would not be possible for Her Majesty's Government to discharge their duty at any meeting of the Cabinet that day. But, overlooking that, let us assume that the second reading of the Bill would take place on Saturday, the 26th. On Monday, the 28th, we might have the Committee on the Bill. On Tuesday, the 29th, we might have the third reading of the Bill; but the Government have no command of Tuesday, and we have no means of insuring that we should read the Bill a third time on Tuesday, the 29th, so as to send it to the House of Lords, that it may go through its first stage on that day. The next Question is, whether it should not be read a second time and passed through its remaining stages in the House of Lords on Wednesday, the 30th. Sir, I presume it might; but I know very well the practice of the House of Lords is not to sit on Wednesday. [Mr. T. P. O'Connor: They sat to pass the Coercion Bill on a Wednesday.] At any rate, the Government have no right whatever to calculate upon any change being made in the practice of the House of Lords to suit the convenience of the House of Commons. ["Oh!"] The hon. Member who interrupts me will be pleased to allow me to finish my statement. We have no right whatever to calculate, and it would be most imprudent in us to calculate, on such changes in the practice of the House of Lords to meet the immediate difficulties which it might be said the House of Commons had the means of averting. But let me pass that over. The right hon. Gentleman then asks whether the Bill, having passed on the 30th, might not receive the Royal Assent on the 31st? What I have to say in reply is, that if it did not receive the Royal Assent on the 31st, the law could not be fulfilled, and the necessary transactions and communications between the Government and the Departments and the Banks of England and Ireland could not be carried out. That is my answer; and I hope it will be considered sufficiently clear by the right hon. Gentleman.

ARMY—ABOLITION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT—THE TROOPS IN NATAL.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War a Question of which he had given him private Notice — namely, Whether he has received any report from South Africa confirming the telegram in the "Standard" of that day, to the effect that—

> "The abolition of corporal punishment in the field is placing the military authorities in Natal in a very grave difficulty?"

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, I must appeal to the House whether the sending of a note to a Minister on this Bench, as to whether a telegram published in a newspaper is confirmed by information received by him, is not an extremely inconvenient course to adopt. The Question put to me is, whether the military authorities in South Africa are not placed in a certain difficulty by the abolition of corporal punishment? I presume the hon. Member, in his allusion to the abolition of corporal punishment, refers to the Act passed in 1879, which took away corporal punishment in certain cases. All I have to say is that I have read the telegram in *The Standard*, and we have received no similar telegram whatever.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—MR. BRADLAUGH—BOROUGH OF NORTHAMPTON — ISSUE OF NEW WRIT.

MR. GORST, who had a Motion on the Paper—

> "That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a new Writ for the election of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton, in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, who, since his election for the said Borough, has voted as a Member in the House of Commons in the said House, and has sat during a debate after the Speaker had been chosen without having made and subscribed the oath by Law appointed,"

said, that the Motion in question was one which ought not to undergo any unnecessary delay. Delay would apparently make no difference to the hon. Gentleman whose seat was involved in the question; but it would make a difference to the House of Commons and to the constituency of Northampton. Therefore, he had great reluctance to postpone the Motion of which he had given Notice. At the same time, he could not but be sensible of the difficult position of Supply; and it appeared to him it was the duty of every Member of the House not only to put no obstacle in the way of the Government, but to give the utmost encouragement in their power to enable them to lay Supply before the House of Commons in an ordinary and Constitutional manner. Therefore, for that reason, and that reason only, he did not intend to move his Resolution; but he gave Notice that, on the earliest possible day when the exigencies of the Public Service would allow him to bring forward the question without interrupting Supply, he should renew his Notice, and take the opinion of the House as to whether the seat was vacant or not.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—(URGENCY).

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise to declare, in my place, as a Minister of the Crown, That the Votes in Committee of Supply for Excesses for the service of the year 1879-80; for the several Supplementary and other Estimates for the service of the year 1880-81: Votes A and 1 for the Army, Vote 1 for the Navy, and the Vote on Account of the Civil Services, and Revenue Departments, for the service of the year 1881-2, now before the House are urgent; and that it is of importance to the public interest that the same should be proceeded with without delay.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the state of public business is urgent." —(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 296; Noes 212: Majority 84.

AYES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Agar-Robartes, hn. T. C.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Allman, R. L.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Bradlaugh, C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Buxton, F. W.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Carington, hn. Colonel W. H. P.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Cavendish, Lord F. C.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Chitty, J. W.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. la T.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowan, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, D.
Davey, H.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dilke, A. W.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, rt. hon. M. E. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. H. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grenfell, W. H.
Grey, A. H. G.
Guest, M. J.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, G. J.
Howard, J.
Hutchinson, J. D.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johnson, E.
Johnson, W. M.
Joicey, Colonel J.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Law, rt. hon. H.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Laycock, R.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Litton, E. F.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lyons, R. D.
Macdonald, A.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
M'Laren, J.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, Sir D. C.
Marjoribanks, E.
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, R. B.
Mason, H.
Massey, rt. hon. W. N.
Matheson, A.
Maxwell-Heron, J.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Milbank, F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Nicholson, W.
Noel, E.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Conor, D. M.
Otway, A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Peel, A. W.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hon. L.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Pugh, L. P.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, Lord A.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, E.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Story-Maskelyne, M. H.
Stuart, H. V.
Summers, W.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, H. H.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Waugh, E.

Webster, Dr. J.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Williams, B. T.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, Capt. J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Bentinck, G. W. P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.
Burghley, Lord
Burnaby, General E. S.
Burrell, Sir W. W.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Callan, P.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Close, M. C.
Cobbold, T. C.
Coddington, W.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cowen, J.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, rt. hon. G.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hn. L. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Egerton, Sir P. G.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Major-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Finigan, J. L.
Fitzpatrick, hn. B. E. B.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Helmsley, Viscount
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon, E.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holker, Sir J.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Captain D. M.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lee, Major V.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Col. R. L.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, hon. W.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
March, Earl of
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hn. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, H. S.
Northcote, rt. hn. Sir S. H.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Palliser, Sir W.
Patrick, R. W. C.
Peek, Sir H.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Powell, F. S.
Power, J. O'C.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Rankin, J.
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Sandon, Viscount
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.
Storer, G.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hn. Col. T. E.
Thomson, H.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question not having been affirmed by a majority of three to one, as required by the Resolution of the 3rd February, I have to declare that the Question has not been resolved in the affirmative.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, with regard to my second Notice—

> "That, unless the House shall otherwise order, the Committee of Supply have precedence of all Orders of the Day, and Notices of Motions, from day to day until the Votes declared urgent have been disposed of,"

that Notice is consequential upon the first, and I shall, therefore, not move it.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I move, Sir, that you now leave the Chair, and in doing so I will only say that, the House having, for strong reasons, thought fit, with regard to the question of "urgency," to place the direction of its proceedings in the hands of the minority of the House, I, of course, accept and acquiesce in that decision. We shall now, Sir, allow the Motion to be made in the ordinary course, and I hope that hon. Gentleman in all quarters of the House will feel a disposition to expedite as far as they can the proceedings in and connected with Supply. As far as the Government are concerned, it will be our duty, of course, to watch the progress that may be made, only reserving our own discretion and liberty to make hereafter whatever proposals we may think may be required by the honour and dignity of the House, and by the convenience and necessity of Public Business.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS, who had on the Paper a Notice of Motion—

> "That a Select Committee of this House be appointed to consider the working of 'The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875,' and the amending Act of 1879, with a view of considering how the expense of carrying out these Acts may be reduced, and also of inquiring into any causes which may have prevented the reconstruction of dwellings for the Artizan Class to the full extent contemplated and authorised by these Acts, and of recommending such Amendments as may be most expedient for carrying out the full intention of these Acts, and also to consider the working of the Metropolitan Streets Improvement Acts, 1872 and 1877, with the same objects,"

said, that in withdrawing it he gladly fell in with the suggestion of the Prime Minister, and he hoped that other Members who had Notices on the Paper would find some more convenient season for bringing them forward.

Mr. O'DONNELL, who had given Notice that he would call attention to proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill on Tuesday, March 8th, with regard to Order, and move—

> "That Mr. Chairman of Committees was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair,"

said, that although he felt that he and his constituents had suffered an undeserved wrong, yet in consideration of the exigencies of Public Business and in the hope that the important case involved would receive the fair attention of English Gentlemen, he did not propose to proceed with his Motion that night.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

(1.) £2,192, Public Buildings.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished, before the Vote was put, to make one or two remarks upon the conduct of the Government in reference to these Supplementary Estimates. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had represented to the House that they were urgent; but the Government had themselves failed to take the steps that were necessary, if there were any real urgency. The noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) had for years been a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, and in that capacity the noble Lord was responsible for sundry paragraphs in successive Reports made by the Committee bearing upon the question. But the Committee of Public Accounts——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman cannot discuss the Supplementary Estimates generally upon the Vote now before the Committee; but only this particular Vote.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR presumed that it would be in Order to discuss them on a Motion to report Progress.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is entitled to make a Motion to that effect; but he cannot discuss the Estimates generally on one particular Vote.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR thought he was at liberty to show the general bearing of the Estimates. The Government had failed to take the steps that were necessary to enable the Committee to form a proper judgment upon the proposal they were now submitting, and he thought before these Supplementary Estimates were placed before the Committee, the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) should present some Report from the Public Accounts Committee. Nothing could be more emphatic than the language of the noble Lord as Chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts upon that point, and although he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was unable to see in what respect he was out of Order, he submitted to the adverse ruling of the Chair. Otherwise, he should have desired to urge the matter, which he regarded as an important one, upon the attention of the Committee. He thought he should have been able to show conclusively that the course taken by the Government in this instance was an objectionable one. In regard to the particular Vote now before the Committee, he should be glad if the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury would state whether anything was included for the Engineering Department in the Estimate of £1,500 for the Survey Buildings?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE was understood to reply in the negative.

MR. BRAND asked when the Survey was likely to be completed?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had stated a few days ago, in answer to a Question that was put to him, that if the Committee consented to vote the sum now asked for the Survey could be completed by the end of the year 1890, or about nine years hence.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR complained that a part of the sum in the Vote was not really for Supplementary Estimates, but for entirely new works, which were not provided for in the original Estimates of last year. Instead of voting a sum to cover a particular expenditure for the year, and then to ask for a Supplementary Estimate in order to cover any additional expenditure for that voted service, the practice now-a-days seemed to be to have two distinct sets of Estimates for two distinct services in the course of the same year. He strongly objected to the practice, and hoped that the Government would do something to prevent it from occurring again.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, his hon. and gallant Friend (General Sir George Balfour) had a right to be jealous of these Supplementary Estimates; but how were they to avoid cases where unexpected demands were made on the Exchequer for expenditure which was not contemplated when the Estimates were framed? For instance, there was the sum included in the present Vote for the site of the Mint, which might be taken as an illustration. Before the present Government entered upon Office, the question of the purchase of the Mint site was referred by the late Government to arbitration, and the sum now asked for was in payment of the fees of the arbitrators. He could not suppose that his hon. and gallant Friend would wish that the arbitrators should be kept out of their fees, because the question had not occurred at the time the Estimates were originally framed. When it became necessary to pay such an item of expenditure the Government did all they could in the matter by drawing attention to the item in a note. The next item in the Vote was one of a similar character—namely, the payment for Metropolitan improvements. Arrangements had been made for acquiring certain property for improvements, and it was necessary to pay the purchase money into Court, as it was not clear at the time to whom it would have to be paid. As soon as the right to the money was established it was paid out of the sum deposited in Court. In regard to the item for Survey Buildings, the increased expenditure was due to the fact that the House last year desired that the Survey should be expedited, and the Government were endeavouring to comply with the wish thus expressed. It was necessary, in order to do this, that the Survey should be commenced in new districts.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR did not object to any further expenditure that was necessary for the purpose of expediting the Survey. It was highly necessary, he thought, that the Survey should be completed as soon as possible; but the Vote included a demand for work entirely new. He should be glad, however, to have some information as to the mode in which the sum of £141,000, which was the total cost of the Survey for the year 1880-81, was made up. He would not oppose the Vote; but he was strongly of opinion that it was most objectionable to vote money in the shape of a Supplementary Estimate, when, in reality, it was nothing of the kind.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he had no wish to object to these Supplementary Votes, and could fully understand the difficulty which the Government found themselves placed in. He presumed in regard to the item for the Mint site, that it only had reference to a preliminary arrangement, and that the matter would, on some subsequent occasion, be brought before Parliament in such a form that a discussion could be taken upon it.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH stated that the present Estimate would in no way interfere with any subsequent discussion.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that he found from the Appropriation Account of the Estimates last year, that something like £120,000 was received from the sale of two prisons. The sum of £49,000 was derived from the sale of the Queen's Bench. It, therefore, appeared to him, that this particular Department did not require any Supplementary Vote at all. Instead of requiring a further grant, there ought to be something carried forward to this year's account. He wished to know if there were any other prisons for sale?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that the money was devoted to the relief of the Exchequer.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £3,000, Surveys of the United Kingdom.

Sir HARRY VERNEY thought that great injustice had been done to certain parts of the country in the manner in which the Ordnance Survey had been conducted. The whole country paid for the Survey—only a portion of the country benefited by it. The work ought to be pressed on as rapidly as possible—more surveyors and draftsmen employed—more money expended, which would be in great degree refunded by the sale of the maps. Sir Henry James, the late Chief of the Survey, had said to him that there ought to be no absolute limit to the number of the men employed in making the Survey, but that whatever number of men were found to be necessary should be employed. He trusted there would be no unnecessary delay in completing the Survey.

Mr. GLADSTONE was afraid that it was not altogether possible to meet the difficulty referred to by his hon. Friend of an appearance of unequal dealing in the progress made with the Survey in different parts of the country. It was manifestly impossible to proceed with the Survey at an equal rate of progress all over the country. It was the desire of the Government to expedite the completion of the Survey as much as possible so that they might be in a position to invite the House to legislate at an early period upon questions connected with the registry and transfer of land. So far as the registry and transfer of land were concerned, it was a matter of public expediency that they should have the Survey completed as early as possible. They were limited, however, in their operations by the impossibility of proceeding with the Survey beyond a certain rate of progress; but everything that could be done to expedite the completion of the Survey would be done.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR remarked, that the sum now asked for was in addition to the sum of £138,500 included in the original Estimate for 1880-81.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked, that there was a claim upon the Landed Estates Court in Ireland, in connection with the Survey, which amounted to a sum of £10,600, and which had been allowed to stand over for a considerable period. The fact that it had been allowed to stand over so long was sufficient to show that the administration of the Department was not all that might be wished. Unless the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury was able to give a satisfactory explanation, he should feel inclined to object to any subsequent Estimate.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH explained that steps had been taken in Ireland to expedite a settlement; but the matter was not a very easy one to deal with. The Treasury were in communication with the Landed Estates Court on the subject, and had called upon them to hasten a conclusion.

Mr. BIGGAR said, it seemed to him that the Landed Estates Court in Ireland had no idea of making any payment at all. As long ago as the month of May last they promised to pay, and if there was any Public Department that had any control over them they ought to be made to pay.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £5,087, Science and Art Department Buildings.

Mr. RYLANDS thought the Vote required a little explanation. He did not understand why there should be an Estimate of £2,500 for new buildings at South Kensington, in addition to the original Estimate of £15,000, and a further sum of £1,456 for maintenance.

Mr. MACDONALD regarded the state of things displayed by this Vote as most unsatisfactory. The additional sum for maintenance was £1,456, and it included a charge for works and alterations, but without specifying the details. To his mind, this bore all the colour of a job—which was alike to be deplored under whatever Government or Party it was perpetrated. He thought that in all such cases it would be better to give the items. He trusted that, in future, in preparing these Estimates, the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would take steps for having them simplified.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, there was nothing more difficult than to decide, on framing the Estimates, what details ought to be given. One hon. Member accused the Government of presenting a mass of details which nobody could understand, while another complained that the details supplied were altogether inadequate. The expenditure at South Kensington was due to the fact that it had been found necessary to erect an additional storey to the offices of the Science and Art Department. He believed the necessity of doing something in the matter was impressed upon the late Government; and when it came before him he found, on inquiry, that a considerable number of the clerks who were employed in the existing offices were absolutely made ill by the insufficiency of the accommodation and the bad ventilation. The number of clerks had been considerably increased, owing to the urgent nature of the work, and still no additional accommodation was provided. In addition, the chimneys of the room in which they were employed smoked, and he had found it necessary to consider whether it was proper to retain a number of valuable public servants in this unsatisfactory condition for another year. He came to the conclusion that it was not; but it was not until after careful investigation that it was decided upon adding a new storey to the building. In regard to the Estimate for maintenance, it was principally due to the removal of the Metallurgical Laboratory from Jermyn Street to South Kensington, and partly to the renewal of a portion of the internal painting of the Industrial Museum at Edinburgh. When the House in Jermyn Street was given up, a claim of £450 was made for delapidations, and there was a further sum for providing accommodation at South Kensington, and for the expense of removal.

Mr. BRAND asked for some further explanation in reference to the erection of the additional storey to the offices of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. He wished to know why it had only been found necessary to erect the additional storey recently, and when it was that the additional number of officers were appointed for whom the extra accommodation was required?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the additional accommodation had been urgently required for the last two years. When the matter was brought under his notice, he did not feel himself justified in condemning these unhappy clerks to the room they had been occupying, for another year. He had hoped. however, that the cost might have been defrayed out of the Estimates voted last year.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON was able to confirm the statement of the noble Lord, that the Department had been pressing for several years for the addition to the building of this storey; and if, like the noble Lord, he had been fortunate enough to possess a large surplus, he would certainly have yielded long ago to the pressure which had been put upon the Government. He was also able to confirm the statement of the noble Lord that the number of clerks had been lately increased, which added weight to the other arguments for additional accommodation. One argument was that the chimnies throughout the building smoked. That was met by altering the stoves, but it did not satisfy the clerks; and he was certainly able to say that, in the last year of his tenure of Office, the grievance had become a substantial one, He had no doubt that the noble Lord had been pressed very strongly upon the matter, and that he had acted wisely in providing the additional accommodation.

Lord ELCHO believed that the jealousy with which increased expenditure upon South Kensington was regarded was not altogether unfounded.

Sir HARRY VERNEY had been informed by Professor Owen that all the ground on the north side of the new Museum would be wanted for the enlargement of the Museum in the course of time; that the new building was sufficient for a generation, but not more; and that the ground now offered for sale for building ought not to be sold. Any buildings erected there would have to be pulled down when the ground was wanted for the extension of the Museum.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the system of dividing these Votes into Ordinary and Supplementary Estimates was very misleading, and was adopted by the Government in order to produce an impression, when they presented their original Estimates, that they were in favour of economy and retrenchment. Yet, having taken that course, they invariably came forward to ask for Supplementary Votes. He believed that the Estimates last year were considerably below what they ought to have been, and the Supplementary Votes now asked for abundantly proved it. They showed that the original Estimates had been largely exceeded; and in some instances there seemed to have been three series of Votes for the same service—an original Estimate, then a first Supplementary Estimate, and now an additional Supplementary Estimate. In regard to the particular items contained in the sub-heads of the present Vote, he found that for the year 1878-9 the original Estimate was £20,774. In that year the actual expenditure was only £20,400. In 1880-81, the Government asked for £20,706; but they now found that that sum of £20,706 was too little by £5,087, and they therefore presented a Supplementary Estimate for that amount. In the Estimate for next year, he found they were actually doing the same thing—namely, cutting down the Estimate unreasonably, and asking for less than they were likely to require. Under the second sub-head of the Supplementary Estimate for the supply of water, precisely the same thing occurred—£270 was asked for 1879-80, and £270 for 1880-81; but £50 additional was demanded in the shape of a Supplementary Estimate. Nevertheless, the Estimate for the present year was fixed at the same sum of £270; and, of course, it would be necessary to ask Parliament for a supplementary grant. The same thing occurred in the sub-head for fuel and light—£1,405 was asked for in 1878-9; £1,447 in 1880-81, and a Supplementary Estimate was required for £250, making the total expenditure £1,700. Notwithstanding that fact, the Government only asked this year for £1,525. It was perfectly clear that upon each sub-head it would be necessary to present a Supplementary Estimate next year, and the House had no real check whatever upon the expenditure.

Mr. RYLANDS rose for the purpose of asking the reason for the present supplementary expenditure. He objected to the system of framing the Estimates which placed in the possession of the Departments sums of money far above their actual necessities, and thought that where a Department had the means of estimating expenditure, the exact sum reasonably expected to be required should be laid before Parliament. No doubt, Parliament had a right to complain when Estimates were carelessly prepared, and when items, supposed to have been already provided for, made their appearance in Supplementary Estimates. The foot-note stated that the item of £250 was for water, fuel, and light at the Natural History Museum, for which no provision had been made. But, surely, the Department must have known it was necessary to make provision for these things. It appeared from the note, not only that the Department had not estimated the amount required, but that no provision whatever had been made for purposes that would clearly be necessary. He protested against the Estimates being prepared in such a manner as to prevent the Committee of Supply judging of the total expenditure, and objected to the necessity of being called upon for further sums in Supplementary Votes.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the item in question was a new one, and would probably be larger next year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £800, British Museum Buildings.

(5.) £1,838, Diplomatic and Consular Buildings.

MR. RYLANDS considered this a most objectionable Supplementary Estimate. He ventured to warn the Committee that the Embassy houses abroad were a standing source of expense to the country. It appeared to him that there was no sufficient control of the expenditure either in Constantinople or St. Petersburg. The alterations, partly made at the suggestion of Ambassadors' and clerks of the works, were continually costing the British Exchequer very large sums of money. In fact, the amounts that had been spent on the Ambassadors' houses, which he thought the country had unwisely purchased, reached an almost incredible total. He thought, also, that large sums of money were spent, not only in this, but in other ways, for which the country received no benefit at all; and he ventured to say that the Department were bound to tell the Committee how they justified the expenditure for the present year. Let the Committee consider that a sum of £3,450 had been laid out in one year upon the palace of our Ambassador at St. Petersburg. That was a sum which he thought ought not to be allowed to pass without criticism, and he trusted the noble Lord would justify so serious a demand.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had only stated about one-fourth of the expenditure. The Estimates for last year only asked for £1,357, which sum showed an apparent excess of £320 over the previous year. But in 1879, after having first asked for £1,440, the Government claimed a further sum in the Supplementary Estimates of £8,356—that was to say, six times the amount originally asked for — and yet, when the Estimates of last year were produced, they showed only an apparent excess of £320 over the previous year. He, therefore, supported the appeal of the hon. Member for Burnley for information as to how much the palace of St. Petersburg had cost during the last 18 years.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he could not say how much the Ambassador's palace at St. Petersburg had cost during the last 18 years.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(6.) £260, Treasury.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury for information as to the way in which the sum for preparing Bills, paid in the Office of Parliamentary Counsel was laid out, and by whom it was received? In the case of the £800 voted the year before last with respect to Scotland for drafting Acts of Parliament, hon. Members knew how the money was spent, and who it was that received this money; but they had no knowledge of who got possession of the sum now asked for. This extra grant was in addition to the liberal salaries paid for salaried officers kept up to prepare Bills, for which lump sums were now demanded. It would, he thought, be also an advantage if Parliament were informed of the cost of Bills intended to become Acts of Parliament of which no use was made.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had complained, in a former year, that after making their Estimate for additional Counsel the late Government were rather misleading the Committee by putting down a sum which, from their experience, they must have known to be inaccurate; and he had suggested that this was done to divert the attention of Parliament from the great charges thrown upon the Treasury in consequence of the Department of Parliamentary Counsel not being sufficiently strong to do the work on Acts of Parliament. He believed his hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Selwin - Ibbetson) was responsible for the sum passed in Committee of Supply last Session. The Committee were again asked to grant to the Government, as an additional charge for salaries and fees to Counsel, a sum equal to the amount of the original Estimate. It was quite true that the Vote the Committee were asked to pass was only for £260; but the actual expenditure of money placed in the pockets of additional Parliamentary Counsel amounted to £1,660, of which £1,400 was met by savings upon other items of the Vote, so that those savings had not reached the Exchequer. The hon. Baronet opposite, when he rose to reply, would, no doubt, be able to tell the

Committee what changes had occurred since he left Office to account for this item of £1,660, seeing that his original Estimate amounted to £1,700. He could not understand why, after so large a sum of money had been voted for the Office of Parliamentary Counsel, the Committee were again asked for a further large sum for additional assistance, when very little legislation was shown.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, this was one of those Votes which it was almost impossible for the Secretary to the Treasury to estimate with any degree of exactness. Many of the Acts prepared in the Office of Parliamentary Counsel required peculiar knowledge, and it was impossible always to ensure the work being done in a satisfactory manner without the benefit of technical knowledge which only existed in the minds of particular lawyers. No one, therefore, could pretend to estimate in advance the exact sum required for their remuneration. These were the reasons why, very much against the wish of the Secretary to the Treasury, who, of course, desired that his original Estimate should be sufficient, Supplementary Estimates in this Department became necessary.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, it was the wish of the Treasury that, as far as possible, all Public Bills should be prepared in the Office of the Parliamentary draftsman; but, however much that was desirable, it was found that additional skilled assistance was in some cases required. With regard to the point raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardine (General Sir George Balfour), the information as to the names of persons, and the particular work to which the money received by them was applied, would, he believed, enormously add to the mass of the Appropriation Accounts.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the Committee had no information whatever with regard to the large sums spent for drafting Bills. It would be very easy to state in a simple form the exact sum paid for any Bill as well as the names of the persons who received the money.

Mr. W. FOWLER thought the whole sum demanded was very moderate; he wished all the money estimated for was as well spent as in this case. Nevertheless, constant complaints were made of the carelessness and unintelligibility with which Bills were drawn. Bills presented to the House ought, of course, to be thoroughly well drafted, and therefore he looked upon any cutting down of their necessary cost as a great mistake. The Accounts altogether only came to something over £3,000, and as he had already said, he regarded this as very moderate.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR observed, that the salaries alone amounted to £6,000 for that Department, and there was an additional sum demanded, about the appropriation of which no information was given in the audited expenditure, so that nearly £8,000 were taken up; and if the whole of the cost was set out, it would amount to a very large sum indeed.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR thought the explanation of the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury as to the source of the £1,400 was partly inaccurate. The question arose from the fact that the Premier had consented to accept £7,500 instead of £10,000 for his joint Office; but, after the Estimates of the previous Government were accepted by the present Administration, a revised Estimate was introduced, showing that a smaller sum would be taken by the Prime Minister, he being also Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Estimate upon which those figures were drawn was a lower Estimate; therefore, the £1,400 could not have accrued from any portion of that saving. He wished also to mention that whereas the Estimates introduced last year showed £700 as the sum voted in the year before, they were misleading, because in the year before there was a Supplementary Estimate of £900, and the total for the year 1879-80 was £1,660. This year, again, there was a Supplementary Estimate of £1,660, and they would be asked for £3,000. He could not understand the Government perpetually putting the original Estimates so evidently below the amount required. The Supplementary Estimates so complicated the Accounts that the Committee had no check upon them.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury to explain this particular Estimate. The Estimate last year was £2,600 altogether, this year it would be £3,360, which was an advance of something like £700. What was the reason of the difference?

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £14,000, Foreign Office.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND wished to call attention to the enormous increase in the telegraphic expenses. The original Estimate was for £7,000, but the additional sum required nearly doubled that amount. In Class V., Diplomatic and Consular Services, he found that £7,900 were spent in telegraphing; and thus there had been £28,300 spent in telegrams for the Foreign Office alone. He should like to know whether, in the beginning of the year, no better Estimate could have been formed—looking at the then unsettled state of Europe—than £7,000? The result of the small original Estimate was that the Committee was now called upon for a supplementary £13,400. He should like to know in what months that enormous increase had been caused, because then the Committee would be able to judge whether the Foreign Office was to blame for having originally framed an insufficient Estimate?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was not the slightest mystery about the matter. The increase in the cost of telegrams had been caused by the character of the negotiations which went on in June last, and especially in August, September, and October. The character of those negotiations necessitated the repetition of almost the whole of the telegrams to five other capitals of Great Powers, besides Constantinople. Every telegram had to be repeated seven times; that accounted for the increase. There was a certain increase caused by the war between Chili and Peru, by reason of mediation, and those telegrams had been exceedingly costly, each word costing £1 6*s.* or £1 3*s.* But the main increase was caused by telegraphing to six or seven other capitals of nearly the whole of our telegrams. There was in this Estimate one item which in itself cost £700—a series of short telegrams announcing the fall of the late Government and the acceptance of Office by the present Ministry. Those telegrams were always sent, not only to every Embassy and Mission, but to every Consulate, and the result was a charge of £700. He hoped, however, that as the result of an inquiry that had been made at the Foreign Office, that expenditure might be saved, because now such matters were announced in the newspapers in almost all parts of the world, and, therefore, perhaps, it was hardly necessary to send formal telegrams. With regard to telegrams generally, there had been a careful inquiry instituted; and although at the present moment, in consequence of the Greek negotiations, the Government were repeating telegrams to five other capitals, and to the Ambassador in Constantinople very freely, great care was exercised, and he hoped it might be possible to effect a decrease in telegraphic expenditure in future. The increase had been very large this year; but it was almost entirely due to the negotiations and the repetitions of telegrams.

MR. RYLANDS, admitting that there was a satisfactory side to the hon. Gentleman's explanation, thought it did not entirely meet the objections to the cost for telegraphing; and he pointed out that the newspapers of Europe and other parts of the world were now supplied with news with such rapidity that foreign Powers would have information of events before the Foreign Office telegrams could reach them, and thus the Government might forego some of this large expense for telegrams. He understood that an inquiry had been made into this matter; but he should like to know by whom it had been made—whether by a Departmental Committee or not? The hon. Gentleman knew as well as he (Mr. Rylands) did—for in former days it had been a joke in common between them—that the Foreign Office, not rarely, was without information which was known to the rest of the community; at all events, it appeared that through the newspapers a large amount of information was obtained in advance of that obtained by the Foreign Office. His impression was that if the matter was carefully looked into it would be found that a very considerable amount of expenditure on telegrams from the Foreign Office might be avoided, and that of many matters—not with reference to special negotiations, but ordinary matters which might affect negotiations—the Foreign Office knew quite as much without their own telegrams as with them. He thought some check ought to be put on the telegraphic expenditure of the Foreign Office.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the inquiry was a very searching one, and one clerks had occupied some weeks in going into the matter. He did not know that a very formal inquiry was necessary, for, if made as suggested, it would fail to elicit any new facts; but he hoped a good effect would be brought about in the future. The exceptional expenditure, to which reference had been made, was due to exceptional circumstances.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND suggested that the Foreign Office should issue a Circular directing that telegrams should be cut down as much as possible. He had dissected several telegrams lately, and he was sure, with a little care, telegrams might often be reduced one-half. Words were used without any regard to expense, and he thought a Circular, such as he had suggested, would tend to lessen the telegraph cost.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I think, perhaps, something may be done in that direction.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £1,550, Colonial Office.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, while agreeing with much of what the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) had said as to the amount of detail it was necessary to give in regard to some of the Votes, thought the information in this case was not very explanatory.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £5,500, Board of Trade.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he could not agree in the proposal to grant a Supplementary Estimate on account of Law Charges of £5,500. They had seen, under Vote 3, Class II., that the Government proposed to meet an extra charge by appropriated savings on that Vote; but he could not understand why the Treasury should adopt that course in regard to their own Department, and not in regard to the Board of Trade. If the officials concerned would look into it, they would find that under this Vote there would be savings more than sufficient to provide the £5,500 required. On looking at the Appropriation Account for 1879-80 he found that there were savings under no less than 26 out of 31 sub-heads, and the savings amounted to over £4,000. Under those circumstances, he did not understand why the Board of Trade should not be allowed to appropriate the savings in aid of this supplementary sum on account of Law Charges. But even if there were no savings at all, he thought the Committee should hesitate, because the Board of Trade did their work so exceedingly badly. There were constant complaints with regard to almost every department of their work. The Public Accounts Committee year after year had complained of the Board of Trade authorizing the continuance of expenses which they knew to be unnecessary, and year after year the Governments had taken steps in Parliament to cover the delinquencies of their officials. In the Report of that Committee last year it was stated that, as the Committee were informed, it was intended last Session to introduce a measure dealing with two or three points to which attention had been called, and a hope was expressed that if such a measure was not passed it would be found possible to introduce it early this Session, "as the present proceedings are of doubtful legality." Nothing, however, had been heard from the Government of any intention to introduce a Bill of that kind. He believed that Committee referred to the legal acceptance of contributions from seamen, who would thereby be entitled to pensions. The Department had, in fact, been constantly getting into trouble. Under the sub-head he found £7 5*s.* for a seaman detained under the direction of the Board of Trade as a witness upon a prosecution under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854. That Act prescribed that no action should be brought after the lapse of six months, and yet this man was paid 5*s.* a-day for nine months, or three months after the date when it was possible to take proceedings. He also found two payments of £1,600 and £1,270 for damages and plaintiffs' costs in an action against the Board of Trade officials for illegally detaining a vessel. Those costs were exclusive of the cost of maintaining the action. All those things required explanation; and it seemed to him that the Board of Trade had been playing fast-and-loose in a manner which would not be allowed in any other Department.

Mr. LABOUCHERE would like to have some explanation with regard to the Law Charges, especially with reference to the Inquiry into the accident to the Tay Bridge. He believed there were inspectors and other officials receiving permanent salaries, whose duty it was to inquire into such matters, and he did not understand on what grounds the country was charged £5,500 for Law Charges incident to that Inquiry. He presumed the Department had a Law Officer. Another point was this—the accident was entirely due to the Company; and he thought that when that was the case, there ought to be some power to charge the Railway Company with the expenses of the Inquiry. In this case, we were bound to pay an extra £5,500, because the North British Company built a bad and dangerous bridge, and precipitated a large number of persons into the river. He thought the President of the Board of Trade would do well to consider the desirability of throwing the charges on the Company.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR regarded the Board of Trade as one of the worst Departments of the Government, and thought the sooner it was made away with the better. It was an amalgamation of every Department under the sun, and it was impossible for one man to control it. What he complained of was the mode in which money was paid out. There might be any amount of work carried on by that Department, and the House would have no check upon it. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would give instructions for ascertaining what was the mode in which every fraction of money was paid away, and he thought that nothing would be more beneficial to the Board itself than having details of the money payments shown in the Appropriation Accounts. With regard to the Tay Bridge accident, he agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) — he thought they ought to look in such cases to the Company for payment.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN was sorry to find that the hon. and gallant Member (General Sir George Balfour) had such a bad opinion of the Board of Trade; and he could not help thinking that the hon. and gallant Member was a little prejudiced by the fact that he (Mr. Chamberlain) himself had recently had to decline an application from the hon. and gallant Member for Railway Returns connected with that Department. He had suggested to the Secretary to the Treasury that he should require from the Auditor vouchers for all expenses incurred in the Department.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR explained that what he wished was that the Secretary to the Treasury should require the Auditor to show how expenses were incurred in the form in which the money was shown to have been spent for the Law Departments of Scotland.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, referring to the Tay Bridge accident, said, the Inquiry was ordered by his Predecessor at the Board of Trade, and there was the greatest public interest in that lamentable accident. The cost, however, did not arise in connection with the expenses of the permanent officials of the Department, nor with the expenses of the Wreck Commissioner, Mr. Rothery, who was appointed to the Inquiry. That gentleman gave a a great deal of extra services to the State in that matter without receiving any extra pay. The charges were for counsel and other persons employed outside the Department, and also for the engineers, one of whom was an assessor. He found that the counsels' fees alone amounted to £1,554, while the engineers' expenses amounted to £2,158. Then there was £620 for shorthand notes, £615 for printing, and a number of smaller items, which made up a rather larger amount than the Government asked for. They were in hopes that some of those items might be reduced, and that it might be possible to confine the expenses to the sum set down. They did not get this sum out of savings from other deductions. He believed that there were savings amounting to something like £3,000; but against that they had set an item of account for the Wreck Commissioner's inquiries, which appeared for the first time as a charge on the Votes. Those charges had hitherto been met by the proceeds of unclaimed wreck; but it was only another way of keeping the Accounts.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: There would have been a separate Vote for that?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN replied, that there would have been a Vote, but for the saving of £3,000; and, but for the Tay Bridge accident, there would have been no necessity for the Supplementary Vote. Then the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) also drew attention to £78 for a witness whose case was referred to in a Report last year. He (Mr. Chamberlain) did not think that strictly arose upon the Vote before the Committee, which was only a Supplementary Vote; but the matter had been referred to, and there would, no doubt, be a Report made upon it. The hon. Member had also said that there was a slight technical irregularity last year in the mode of keeping Accounts, and asked why the Government had not brought in a Bill to regulate that. They had not done so, because they introduced a Bill last year, and it passed the House without any opposition.

Mr. RYLANDS was bound to say that the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) upon the Estimate was entirely satisfactory; and he did not think the Committee was in a position to complain of the item with reference to the Tay Bridge accident. He quite thought that the Inquiry was necessary in the interests of the public, and that the public would not have been satisfied if the Board of Trade had not initiated it, and no one would complain of a certain amount of cost being incurred. Still, such an Inquiry was made for the benefit of the Railway Company, as well as for the benefit of the public. It appeared to him worthy of consideration whether, when expenses of that kind were incurred, some legal power should not be invested in the Board of Trade to recover from the Company concerned, under certain circumstances, expenses incurred by the Inquiry. Such an Inquiry ought to be made with great care; lawyers and engineers employed should be paid; but it was worth considering whether in some of these cases it might not be proper to give the Board of Trade legal power to recoup some portion of the expenditure.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN admitted that that was a suggestion quite worthy of consideration, and something of the same sort already obtained in regard to inquiries into shipping disasters, the Court having certain power to award costs against the shipowner, if he had contributed by neglect to the accident. But, in this particular case, there was no doubt that the Railway Company had been sufficiently mulcted, their expenses being estimated at no less than £500,000 in consequence of the accident.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £1,800, Civil Service Commission.

Mr. RYLANDS thought this charge was scarcely justified, judging from the explanation which was given. It appeared that the original Estimate for assistant Military Examiners was £10,000, and that was an increase of £2,000 on the previous year; but the increase on the previous year was justified by the fact that £4,000 were required for the expenses of examination which were of a new character. In this case, the Committee were not informed what portion of the £1,800 was for the military examinations. He also thought that the Committee ought to be informed how much of the £10,000 was paid to officials already in the receipt of salaries. It was possible the amount paid was insignificant, and, if so, that would remove any criticisms he might have to make; but if it were shown in the Estimate that, of that £10,000, a large sum went to pay gentlemen in the Public Service, it would be a matter well worthy of the attention of the Committee. If they allowed gentlemen who were already in the receipt of salaries to receive other and additional remuneration, they would be placed in this dilemma—they were either paying those gentlemen salaries which were in excess for the labour they returned, or else they were expecting them to do additional work in the time which ought to be devoted to the Public Service, and, instead of covering that additional work by their salaries, they were giving additional payment. He was not raising any complaint as a principle against the cost of the Civil Service Commission; but the Committee ought to have a distinct explanation as to why the Vote was so largely increased, and how it was that the Department could not estimate more nearly the amount which would be required. A considerable sum was received by the Civil Service Commissioners for stamps as fees. He observed that the sum received in 1880-81 was estimated at £12,500, while the actual amount received in previous years was only £7,428. He, therefore, presumed that there was an increase in the receipts.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR drew attention to the fact that this Supplementary Estimate was merely following the precedent of previous years, there having been a Supplementary Estimate last year for the same purpose. A system was pursued of loosely drawing up the Estimates, which, when first presented, appeared to show that the Government was practising great economy; but, in a short time, a Supplementary Estimate was brought forward which entirely dispelled that impression.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the long and the short of this matter was that, after two or three years, the candidates for examinations had increased the Vote. With regard to the remuneration for examinations, salaried officials were not the persons employed. The Civil Service Commissioners settled, from time to time, who should be employed, and it was impossible to give the information asked for. For many years, however, the Department had been trying to keep the Estimate down.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £250, Friendly Societies Registry.

(12.) £4,976, Local Government Board.

MR. RAMSAY desired to draw attention to the Supplementary Estimate for Teachers in Poor Law schools, and mentioned that on various occasions he had objected to any such amount being given to the Local Government Board. He had no objection to the education of the pauper children, for whom the schools were provided; but he deprecated the system of educating those children in schools where there were children only of their own class as being detrimental to their progress. If they were taught in ordinary public schools, it would be a very great advantage and a saving to the State. They would, he believed, display equal ability with the children in public schools, and he objected to stamping them as paupers without any effort being made to relieve them of the stigma by having them educated with other children. He trusted that those who were responsible for the grant would take the matter into consideration.

MR. COURTAULD also objected to keeping up Union schools for pauper children, and mentioned that the Union with which he was connected had successfully abolished workhouse schools, and sent the children to the town schools. That experiment had answered well, both in giving the children a brighter prospect, and in regard to economical considerations.

MR. HIBBERT admitted that there was a great deal to be said in favour of sending pauper children to the common schools, and that principle was being more and more adopted. Most of the small workhouses had lately made arrangements for sending children to the the National Schools, but it was not possible in many districts. Great experiments were going on with respect to pauper children, and during the last two or three years several places had adopted the home system. Instead of having the children educated in the workhouse schools, separate schools had been established on the cottage system. At Birmingham, for instance, the experiment had turned out very successful. Many other places had decided to adopt the same plan. There was no feeling at all on the part of the Local Government Board against sending workhouse children to national schools, and the system was adopted whenever there was a chance of carrying it out.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE referred to the amount set down for Poor Law Medical Officers, and objected to that on the ground of injustice to Scotland. That question had already been brought before the House that night, and it was stated that the increase of a grant to Scotland could not be entertained until the whole question of local grants in aid could receive consideration. That was unjust to Scotland. The grant to Scotland had only been £10,000 for many years, and although they had received promises on the subject, those promises had never been fulfilled, and they had now to wait an indefinite time. He thought that a re-consideration of local grants in aid was greatly needed, and that it was hard that Scotland should have to wait until a full inquiry was made, without receiving any addition for their Poor Law expenditure. He was aware that the additional payment in England was necessary; but he thought that was further reason for

Scotland pressing the Government to allow more for Scotland, and to place Scotland in the same position as England. For Ireland, the sum of £75,500 was allowed; but in Scotland, only £10,000, although, in proportion to the population and taxation, Scotland ought to receive from £20,000 to £30,000.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is talking on the General Estimates more than the Supplementary Estimate, and the proper time to discuss those will be when the General Estimates come before the House.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE wished the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury to clearly understand that Scotch Members were not disposed to sit down under this injustice.

MR. BIGGAR was of opinion that hon. Members for Scotland, if they were not disposed to fight the question, were not entitled to the smallest consideration with regard to this Vote or to any other Vote.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought that all the grants in aid ought to be abolished, for they were injurious to the people and to the country. He found that the medical grants in aid to England and Ireland now covered half the amounts expended, and were increasing year by year; but the claims of Scotland were entirely neglected, and no increase had been made to that grant for many years, so that Scotch claims had been sacrificed.

MR. RAMSAY thought it was necessary he should state, in answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), that the reason given for the maintenance of the rule in regard to the education of pauper children was not, in his judgment, satisfactory. He could give the grounds upon which he came to this conclusion, if it were not that it was undesirable to occupy the time of the Committee by discussing a general principle. When they came to the General Estimates, an opportunity would be afforded for discussing the subject, and then he should be able to show that whatever loss might accrue it would be of advantage to the State, and of great advantage to the children, that the system should be put an end to.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £5,000, The Mint, including Coinage.

(14.) £39,750, Stationery and Printing.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND thought the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury could hardly expect to get through this Vote without having one or two questions put to him. Those which he (Sir Henry Holland) wished to ask were only short, and he had no doubt his noble Friend would be able to answer them satisfactorily. He would not raise any question as to the first two items—for salaries, wages, and allowances, and for incidental expenses. But he wished to know whether the sum in this last item of £252 for unforeseen expenses connected with legal proceedings for breach of contract, had reference to a matter brought before the Committee on Public Accounts, in which it appeared that a contractor, instead of destroying waste paper, had shipped it off to the United States, to be converted into pulp, regardless of the fact whether it contained communications of a confidential character or not? He wished to know whether the sum of £252 was the charge to the Treasury for legal expenses in connection with that case? Passing over that matter, the item under sub-head F was the one which showed the most important increase, and in regard to it there was a note that—

> "The necessity for the remaining £19,000 is owing to the fact that demands for almost every class of work and supply for which paper is required have increased during the year."

He was quite aware that a great deal had been done in cutting down the expenses of this Office by his hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. Winn); but, looking at the still enormously increasing expense of the Department, he would ask the noble Lord if he was not of opinion that the time had arrived when a Committee might be again usefully appointed for the purpose of thoroughly overhauling the management of the Department? He did not wish to be understood as saying one word against Mr. Pigott. He believed that gentleman had done all he could to cut down the expenses; but what was required was some superior authority and discretion upon certain points—as, for instance, printing Blue Books for Members. Mr. Pigott, of course, could have no authority to deal with that question; and he, therefore, asked the noble Lord if he was not of opinion that the time had arrived for appointing a Committee of the House to go into the whole question of printing, and the distribution of Blue Books?

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR joined with the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) in recommending that a Committee should be re-appointed to inquire into the results attained tince the former Inquiry. The Committee appointed a few years ago worked exceedingly well, and he believed it was only by some such means that they could bring a proper control to bear upon the public expenditure for printing and stationary. It was found that the publication of the expenses of the different Offices for printing and stationery was an excellent mode of keeping down the expenditure. There were no other means so well adapted for exercising a control over these charges as by printing the amount. Seeing that the different Offices made their own requisitions, it was very difficult indeed for the head of the Stationery Office directly to interfere with any effect. He could always show up the cost of the several supplies, such as for paper, small stores, and printing, in as full detail as might be practicable. It was only by the action of an efficient Committee of the House of Commons, and a careful examination, that any wholesome supervision could be exercised in the matter over the results of the head of the Stationery Office.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, he had no wish to find fault unnecessarily with the Vote; but he could not conceive how those who had the charge of the Estimates could make such a preposterous blunder as to give an Estimate amounting to £40,000 less than was actually required. His hon. Friend the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) talked of the expense of Blue Books; but he would find that the expense of Members' Blue Books only amounted to £5,000 or £6,000, and really formed a very small matter in these Estimates. The heads of Departments always prided themselves on being wonderfully accurate in their calculations, and therefore he was unable to understand how it was that they could have miscalculated to the extent of £40,000. He did not intend to move any Amendment; but he would recommend the heads of Departments, in the time to come, to keep the expenditure a little nearer the mark if they could. There were hon. Members who professed to understand all these matters, and to sift the Estimates when they were brought on. They were not at present in their places, and he had no desire to act for them. All he wished to point out was the desirability of entrusting the management of the spending Departments to persons of sufficient capacity to enable them to understand what they were doing.

MR. THOMASSON wished to direct the attention of the Committee to an excess of £5,000 in the item for Parliamentary printing. He believed that some portion of this excess arose from the excessive number of divisions which had taken place this Session, and the necessity of printing the Lists. He would venture to suggest that when a state of "urgency" was declared in future—upon the Irish Land Bill, for instance—it would be desirable for Mr. Speaker to prohibit divisions on purely formal matters, such as the Chairman leaving the Chair, or on the Question that the Bill do pass.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was sorry that his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Thomasson) had thought it necessary to repeat that dreadful word "urgency." The less they heard of it in future the better. He hoped, in the constitution of the suggested Committee, the Government, during the long tenure of Office they seemed to expect, would consider the desirability of inquiring into the whole question of Parliamentary reporting. He could speak feelingly of the want of anything like a trustworthy record of their Parliamentary proceedings. He had had, in the course of his professional duties, to refer to many speeches delivered in Parliament, and the great obstacle he had experienced was the uncertainty of knowing whether the speeches when discovered could be relied upon as accurate representations of what had really been said. The difficulty in regard to Parliamentary reporting of late years had rather increased than diminished. Owing to the vast increase in the number of subjects of interest which were now dealt with in the newspapers, there did not at present appear in most of the cheap journals that fullness of Parliamentary reporting which characterized the London papers some years ago. In *The Morning*

Chronicle, and other daily papers published 30 or 40 years ago, the speech of every Member, however humble, was reported almost at entire length. In these days it was only the speeches of prominent Members of the Government and of the Opposition that were reported at anything like length. The speeches of private Members were cut down to mere lines, or the names of the speakers only mentioned. He thought it was disgraceful to a wealthy country like this that the British Parliament, of all Parliaments, both in the Old World and the New, should be alone in that respect. We were even behind the Colonial Legislatures, which were the children and offspring of the Parliament of this country. It was deeply to be regretted that we were so much behind everybody else in regard to a full and faithful record of the proceedings of the House.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the short conversation which had just taken place comprised a wide range of topics. In the first place, in reply to his hon. Friend the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), he might say that his hon. Friend would be aware, as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, that the legal proceedings to which reference had been made, although taken by the direction of the Treasury, applied to the Stationery Department. With reference to the great increase in printing, and the consumption of stationery, he did not think he could add anything to the explanation already given in the printed Estimate. It was extremely difficult to foresee what the expenditure would be; but he was inclined to believe, if they looked at the enormous mass of printing lately done in connection with the Election Commissions, that much of it would be accounted for. One thing which had attracted his attention, and, no doubt, that of other hon. Members, was the steady increase in the amount of correspondence connected with all the Public Departments. He could give no other reason for the incessant and steady increase than the interest which was taken in the work of every Department, owing probably to the stimulating effect of education being more generally diffused. He believed there was not a single Department in which it would not be found that there had been a large increase in its general correspondence, and it would certainly be impossible to diminish the Stationery Vote by checking that correspondence. In regard to the suggestion thrown out that there should be a Committee appointed to consider this Vote, it would be remembered that a Committee sat in 1874. That Committee made a number of most important recommendations, most of which had been acted upon. The Report of the Committee, over which the hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. Winn) presided, met with full approbation, and it would be found that the suggestions made by the Committee had been adopted, and that the expenditure had been kept down as much as possible. As to the suggestion that the Government should watch more closely the expense connected with the printing and distribution of Parliamentary Papers, the Committee would be aware that all the arrangements connected with the distribution of Parliamentary Papers were under the superintendence of the Speaker, who had the assistance of a Committee when he considered it necessary. Although, on the one hand, some hon. Members received more information than they ever attempted to digest; on the other hand, some hon. Members did not receive quite as much as they desired. It was not easy to draw the line between the distribution of too much information and too little. The great expense in connection with the production of Blue Books was not the printing of an extra number of copies, but the setting up of the type was the most serious part of the cost. He could only suggest, as a possible means of effecting economy, that hon. Members should, as far as possible, avoid moving for unnecessary Returns. The various Departments were disinclined to discourage the moving for a Return, for fear it might be thought that the Department itself had some object in withholding it; but very often it turned out, after Returns were obtained at considerable trouble and expense, that they had added nothing new to the information already in the possession of the House. If the House would like to have a Committee to consider the whole question, he could only say, for his own part, that he would have no sort of objection. There was one point upon which he thought that the investigation of a Committee would be of service, and that was in reference to the printing of the Division Lists. Those Lists were adopted on a Resolution passed by the two Houses of Parliament; and he saw no reason why there should not be a Joint Committee to consider the subject. In regard to the question of the official reporting of the debates referred to by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), he had only to remark that the question was fully considered a few years ago by a Committee of that House, and an arrangement had been come to which he believed to have worked satisfactorily. A grant was made to Mr. Hansard for reporting certain debates in the House of Commons—such debates, for instance, as that which was going on at that moment in Committee of Supply, the discussion in Committee of the clauses of Bills, and also the debates which occurred at a late hour of the night, when they were not ordinarily reported at length. If hon. Members would refer to the Estimates for the present year they would see that there was a considerably increased grant for that purpose. This had been rendered necessary owing to the late hours to which the House was now accustomed to sit and also to the increased length of the Session. He believed that the full reports supplied by Mr. Hansard, at times when the debates were not reported by the newspapers, had given very great satisfaction. He had only heard of one complaint in regard to them, and that was that some hon. Members were so anxious to secure that their speeches should appear in *Hansard* that they were inclined to delay their remarks until after 12 o'clock rather than rise to address the House at an earlier hour. By taking this course an encouragement was given to protracted Sittings and long speeches, which he could not say was altogether required at the present moment.

MR. BIGGAR wished to make a remark upon the suggestion of the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. Thomasson). The hon. Member thought that in order to reduce the printing expenses the Division Lists should not be published, and that certain divisions should be prohibited altogether. He (Mr. Biggar) entirely differed from the hon. Member, and was of opinion that it was most desirable to retain the power of dividing upon every Question that a Bill should pass a particular stage. It might have a most prejudicial effect if the House were to consent to delegate its authority either to the Speaker, or to the Prime Minister, or to the Government for the time being. If they could not divide upon the vital question whether or not a Bill was to become law, he did not see what question they ought to divide upon at all.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked that the present Vote was an instance of the imperfect manner in which the Estimates were drafted and introduced into the House. Last year the Estimate was supplemented by Votes under sub-head A, of £600; under sub-head E, of £10,000; F, £9,700; H, £3,500; I, £750; J, £5,000; K, £6,000; and M, £400—making a total of nearly £36,000 upon an original Estimate of £453,000. With that experience before them, the Government introduced Estimates for this year amounting to £459,979. They ought to have known perfectly well that that sum would not be enough, and the only object they had in putting the Estimate at that figure was to make a show of reduction. The result was that they were compelled again to introduce a Supplementary Estimate, wasting the time of the Committee and preventing the Committee from having that check over the Estimates which it ought to have, and rendering it necessary to vote more money this year to make up the deficiency. Nor was there any assurance that there would not be an excess upon the present Vote. He wished to ask the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury one or two questions which arose from the Report of the Controller of the Stationery Office. That officer, very much to the surprise of most people, but very much to his (Mr. O'Connor's) satisfaction, in order to show how clean a new broom could sweep had presented a Report in the first page of which appeared an extraordinary statement that the actual outlay of the Department was considerably more than the actual sum voted for the Department — that large sums which did not appear in the Estimate were spent for the India Office and for other Departments which had, in most cases, funds independent of Parliamentary Votes which they expended in stationery and printing. He (Mr. O'Connor) wished to know what the Departments, other than the India Office, which had funds independent of Parliamentary Votes were. He thought the news was news of a startling character to most hon. Members of that House. Personally, he was certainly not aware that there were Departments which had funds entirely independent of Parliament. The next point to which he wished to call the attention of the noble Lord had reference to the Foreign Office printing. The Controller said—

> "Your Lordships may observe from the figures that the confidential printing executed for the Foreign Office is still paid for at an extravagant rate. Messrs. Harrison, who receive the sum of £150"—

the Report did not say why they should receive it—

> "are paid for confidential work executed for the Foreign Office 27 and 28 per cent more than they receive for confidential work executed for the War Office, and about 41 per cent more than they receive for the ordinary work executed on their own premises, all of which they are expressly bound to treat as confidential work."

Now, that was a point upon which he thought the Committee ought to ask for an explanation at the hands of Her Majesty's Government. Then, again, in regard to binding, the Office seemed to have made some curious arrangements in regard to that matter. The Irish binding appeared to be done at a cost of 50 per cent less than that which was done in this country. Surely if there was so important a difference in favour of Irish binding, it would be better in future to have all the work done in Ireland. Furthermore, the Controller said—

> "The responsibility for the arrangements with regard to the distribution of Acts of Parliament is divided between your Lordships, as the Treasury, the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Controller of the Stationery Office, the latter of whom makes a provision in his Estimates for the sale of the Bills; but he has no means of testing their accuracy."

It appeared very extraordinary that the Controller of the Stationery Office was obliged to pay bills furnished for work done for every Department when he was utterly unable to tell whether the bills were accurate or not.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he was not responsible for the Estimates submitted last year, and if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would refer to the figures, he would see that the Estimates for this year were £41,000 more than last. He did not wish to cast any blame upon his Predecessor; but he had reason to anticipate a considerable reduction. Apart from any desire there might be last Session to keep down the Estimates, it must in justice be remembered that the Estimates were framed at the commencement of what was expected to be an ordinary Session, whereas the Dissolution made two Sessions, and the second was unusually prolonged. With respect to the offices receiving stationery paid for by Government, if the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would refer to Appendix D, he would there find the offices specified. As regarded confidential printing, the word "confidential" covered a wide range of documents. When it was recollected that there was a vast number of secret documents, and that it was of the first importance to the country that not the smallest part of their contents should become known, it would be seen that it was quite possible that a higher class of men must be employed in printing these documents than in printing others. For instance, the Foreign Office was obliged to conduct many confidential and secret negotiations with foreign Powers, and on this account the confidential printing connected with that Office was greater than that of any other Department of the State. He could, however, assure the hon. Member that the subject was not being lost sight of, and if they saw their way to reduce the cost they would be only too glad. The binding contracts were, he believed, put up for public tender in 1877-8. The lowest was a good tender; it was accepted, and the result had been most satisfactory.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the noble Lord had not dealt with the payments by the Controller of the Stationery Office which he was not able to check.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the matter should receive very careful consideration.

Sir ANDREW LUSK said, the stationery in the Library was not quite as good as it ought to be. It was of an inferior quality, besides which the ink was thick, and the pens were bad. Many counting-houses in London were much better supplied in this particular, and he mentioned the matter in the hope that something respectable would be given them in the Library where they wrote their letters.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £750, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. PARNELL trusted the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would consent to postpone the Irish Votes. There were several English Votes on the Paper to occupy the remainder of the evening. The Irish Members did not expect that the Irish Votes would be reached that evening, and few of them were present. At the present moment, he and his hon. Colleagues near him were not prepared to discuss the very important questions of principle which were involved in the Votes for the late Political Prosecutions in Dublin and the Irish Constabulary. There were several matters of importance connected with those Votes which could scarcely be taken at this Sitting, and he hoped that, under the circumstances, the right hon. Gentleman would agree to postpone the Votes until to-morrow.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he did not know whether to-morrow would be at the disposal of the Government; but that was a matter which applied more to his noble Friend (Lord Frederick Cavendish) than to himself. With respect to the Vote now before them, he was quite prepared to give any explanation.

MR. PARNELL said, he had no objection to the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office; but he presumed the right hon. Gentleman would not take the two Votes he had just mentioned. Perhaps he ought to say it was very necessary, too, to postpone the Vote for the Board of Works Department, because under this Vote would arise questions regarding the Relief of Distress in Ireland.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office simply provided for extra remuneration for certain clerks.

MR. LEAMY would like to have some explanation of the item of £450 for gratuities to clerks for extra work.

MR. W. E. FORSTER explained that the gratuities had been granted for extra labour in connection with the state of Ireland, more especially with respect to the Relief of Distress. The £450 was to be distributed amongst eight clerks, and he considered the money had been well earned by them. He had had some experience of public offices, and he had never seen an office so hard worked as this Irish Office was last year. The clerks were engaged from 10 o'clock to half-past 6 every day, and very often up to 10 o'clock. They had frequently to attend on Sunday, and frequently they had to attend on public holidays, and in many instances had to forego their usual vacation.

MAJOR NOLAN trusted the right hon. Gentleman would consent to the postponement of the Vote. [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: No; not this Vote.] There were three Votes—the present one, that for the Board of Works, and that for the Local Government Board—under which the question of administration might be raised. The question of relief works in Ireland might very well be raised under any one of the three. He had some experience on the subject; not so much from his own observation, but from the reports of many people. His constituents were anxious to know what was going to be the future policy of the Government in regard to the relief works. Many of the works for relief purposes were left unfinished. The Chairman did not live in Ireland, and therefore he did not understand the Vote, which provided for the remuneration to Royal Engineers in the supervision of relief works, and for the gratuities to certain extra clerks who went into the details of the works. Unless there were these works they could not pay the Engineers or the clerks, so the question might be fairly raised on this Vote as to what would be the policy of the Government with respect to the relief works when the spring work was over. There was not the same general distress in Ireland as last year; but in certain isolated spots in the country there was even more distress. In a town like Loughrea, for instance——

THE CHAIRMAN did not quite understand how the general subject of relief could be raised under the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office, which merely provided for the remuneration to clerks.

Major NOLAN drew attention to the fact that the first Vote had no reference to clerks, but to the remuneration of Royal Engineers employed in the supervision of relief works presented for at the baronial sessions. The Chairman could not understand how his arguments applied to the Vote. No Chairman could be expected to understand it. No Scotch Member could be expected to understand it in the absence of his (Major Nolan's) explanation. They had a baronial presentment session instituted by the late Government, and followed up and amplified by the present Government, and this presentment session could present up to the 1st of January. They had ceased to be able to present, and consequently there was no power at the present moment for instituting any relief works whatsoever in Ireland. Several of the works presented were, as he had previously said, unfinished, and he desired to know whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland intended those in certain distressed districts to be re-commenced? If the Chief Secretary for Ireland could give a reason why the works should be left unfinished, or why the works were not wanted, he would raise no objection to the £300 for the remuneration of Royal Engineers. He pointed out that some relief works were commenced last year a few weeks before the harvest was gathered, and on this account the relief works and the harvest competed with one another. The right hon. Gentleman would, perhaps, say whether, after the spring work was over, he would, in certain exceptional cases, consent to the completion of the relief works. In short, he desired to know what policy the right hon. Gentleman intended to pursue between the completion of the sowing time and the harvest?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the Question of the hon. and gallant Member (Major Nolan) was perfectly proper; but it would have presented itself more conveniently when the next Vote was reached. With regard to the presentments which had been made, work had been stopped on account of the spring agricultural labour. He was anxious that it should be resumed when it was most needed—that was to say, before the harvest. It became desirable last year, on the assumption that the distress in Ireland would be greatest before the harvest was gathered in, to know how far the loans made had been really used for the advantage of the people. Consequently, the Government took power to appoint four engineers to report upon the matter, and it was for that purpose that the sum of £300 in question was asked. He believed the money had been well spent. As he had already explained, the £450 was rendered necessary by the exceptionally hard work which had been done.

Major NOLAN had no objection to the Vote, although he had thought it necessary to take up a little time in explaining its bearing upon Irish distress. He was anxious to know whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland had really taken into consideration the necessity of executing works in certain parts of the country when the spring sowing was over, and before the harvest was got in. In other words, had the Board of Works made preparation and the Local Government Board given orders on that point? He could hardly over-state the importance of this to the poor in isolated cases in which distress was sure to be felt.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he could not do more than the Act of Parliament allowed him to do. He was aware that one or two districts would require all the aid the Government could give, and he was as anxious as the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) to make use of the powers they possessed to get the works into operation by the time when they would be of most use.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman having spoken of the four officers who were employed to see how the works were going on, he begged to ask whether those officers had made any Reports; whether these were of a confidential or public character; and if of the latter character, whether the right hon. Gentleman would submit them to the inspection of hon. Members?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: We have had Reports almost from week to week.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR believed the right hon. Gentleman was aware of the anxiety which existed with regard to this question amongst hon. Members for Ireland last year as to the extent to which this relief would be carried out.

Several Questions were then put as to the manner in which the Act affected the relations of debtor and creditor as between the landlords and tenants. Therefore, he asked, whether the Reports received by the right hon. Gentleman did show that the persons who received the money under the Act took advantage of the loan for the payment of debts?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER thought the Question was one to which, on account of its importance, he could hardly be expected to give an immediate answer. Looking at the Reports, however, they did not give him the impression that the money had been applied in the way suggested by the hon. Member—certainly not to any large extent?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Then it was so applied to some extent?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER did not admit that. The Reports related to the extent of the works, and not to the conditions on which the money was being applied. He could not, however, reply off-hand, and without looking into the matter.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he would remind the right hon. Gentleman of the great inconvenience that was felt last autumn when the works were suspended. There was at that time much misunderstanding between the Irish Government, the Board of Works, and the Standing Committees. The Committees considered they had no power to resume the works, while the authorities in Dublin were of opinion that they had such power. The result of the opinion of the Committees that they had not the power of resuming the works was that a large number of persons were left without employment. He now understood that the works had been again suspended, and, if that were so, he could not but regard it as a very deplorable error, because in many of the localities where they had been carried on the spring work was of little importance. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to say that discretion should be given to the Standing Committees for the resumption of any particular work.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished to know why it was that these allowances were placed under this head. He thought that they would more properly come under the next Vote for the Irish Local Government Board.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the item of £450 was strictly for the purposes of the Office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. No doubt, the item of £300 might have been placed under the Vote for the Local Government Board; but he believed his noble Friend the Secretary to the Treasury thought it better to include it in the present Vote, in order to make him (Mr. Forster) almost personally responsible for the money being required. The officers were employed by the Department of the Chief Secretary in Dublin to find out how matters were proceeding. As he had already pointed out, there had been a great deal of additional work cast upon the Department on account of the relief works. Many applications came there, and a large correspondence had to be conducted in addition to the ordinary work, which caused a great deal of extra labour to be cast upon all persons connected with the Office. With regard to the suspension of works in the spring, he believed in one or two cases it might be well to continue them; but, generally speaking, when these works would interfere with other employment, he thought it wise that they should be postponed.

Mr. PARNELL said, the question of the administration of the Relief of Distress Act of last Session was very important; but it would, in his opinion, be much better discussed upon the next Vote. Could not the right hon. Gentleman say whether he would postpone the next Vote upon which this question might be raised, and thus avoid discussion on the present Vote? He suggested that Votes 24, 26, and 35, including the Constabulary Vote, should also be postponed. The right hon. Gentleman had not replied fully to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan).

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the Constabulary Vote was still a long way off. With regard to the next Vote, he did not see why the Committee should not proceed to discuss it. Returning to the Reports of the Engineer officers, the impression left by them upon his mind was that generally speaking, the loans had not been used in a way to give advantage to creditors.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should consider the advisability of postponing the eight Irish Votes. There would then remain 47 English Votes which could be proceeded with. He thought Thursday would meet the convenience of Irish Members.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER thought it better to wait until the Votes were reached. He did not think the next Vote should be postponed.

Major O'BEIRNE could not find any account of the manner in which the Inspectors were employed, and therefore asked for information upon that point?

Mr. PARNELL thought the right hon. Gentleman should meet Irish Members in their request for the postponement of the Votes, seeing that an Irish Member had withdrawn his Motion on the Paper in order to allow the Government to go into Committee of Supply. If that Motion had been discussed, it would probably have lasted all the evening. The right hon. Gentleman had been reminded more than once that the Estimates had come on unexpectedly, and it had been pointed out that questions were involved in them of considerable importance which ought not to be passed over without inquiry and discussion. The right hon. Gentleman said the Constabulary Vote was a long way off. If the Votes were not postponed, Irish Members would be kept while the Committee were wading through a number of English Votes in which they did not take much interest, when after all, perhaps, they might not be reached.

Mr. RYLANDS said, it was hardly reasonable to expect the Government to postpone Votes indefinitely which were so urgent. He differed from the hon. Member for the City of Cork when he said that the Irish Members did not take much interest in, or were not familiar with, the English Votes. On the contrary, the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had shown considerable interest and knowledge with regard to them. It was only right that Irish Members should take an interest in the English Votes.

Mr. LEAMY thought it unreasonable that, as the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Rylands) wished, the Irish Members should discuss the English Votes, while the Supplementary Irish Estimates were, it would seem, to be taken without any discussion at all. He trusted the Chief Secretary would accede to the request made for the postponement of the Irish Votes, the Irish Members having shown their disposition to assist the Government in passing their Business through the House.

Mr. MACDONALD thought that, looking at the whole matter, the Government should allow the Votes to stand over for a short time. He protested against these attempts to press forward Irish Business without giving a fair opportunity for discussion and criticism on the part of Irish Members. Was it to be coercion and rushing in the Votes as well as in everything? For one, he thought the Members for Ireland were showing a very commendable spirit. As to what had been said by the hon. Member for Burnley on the subject, he would tell that hon. Gentleman that the Government could attend to their own business nicely without his pleading or defence for their actions. He did not think the remarks of the hon. Member would do them any good. These Votes were not to be the happy hunting ground of the hon. Member for Burnley and a few others.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, it certainly appeared to him worthy the consideration of the Government whether they would not postpone the Irish Votes and pass the remaining English Votes. Time would then be afforded to Irish Members for looking through the Estimates, and a greater number of English Votes would be got through. Irish Members had certainly shown no desire to delay the passing of the Estimates. He earnestly pressed the Government in their own interest to adopt this course.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he did not see the necessity of postponing the Votes.

Sir ANDREW LUSK said, it was unkind on the part of Irish Members to say they took no interest in the English Estimates. The Government were acting very fairly in going through the Estimates in order; and he appealed to hon. Members opposite not to be so selfish as to require the English Estimates to be hastily passed for their convenience.

The CHAIRMAN: I point out to the Committee that there is a particular Vote before them, and that it cannot be postponed. It may be withdrawn by the Mover. Any question with regard to the other Votes must come when the present Vote has been disposed of.

Mr. FINIGAN said, he had no particular objection to urge against the Vote. Nevertheless, if the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) were not agreed to, he should be placed under the painful necessity of moving that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £250, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."—(*Mr. Finigan.*)

MAJOR NOLAN said, he could not vote for any such reduction. He did not think the hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) could justly accuse the Irish Members of selfishness. He thought the suggestion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) for the postponement of the Irish Votes perfectly reasonable, and that it should be accepted. As there remained very little need for further discussion upon the present Vote, for his own part he should be willing to allow it to pass if the right hon. Gentleman would postpone the remaining Irish Supplementary Estimates.

MR. BYRNE joined the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Major Nolan) in asking the Government to agree to the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He would remind the Government that confidence begot confidence, courtesy begot courtesy, and resistance begot resistance. If the proposal of the Irish Members were accepted, they would assist the Government as much as they could to facilitate the progress of Business; but, if not, very little in the way of assistance could be expected of them. He should like to see the Chief Secretary for Ireland acceding to the proposal in the spirit in which it was made.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, that surely one of the Irish Officers of the Crown would get up and say "Yes" or "No" to the appeal. He strongly urged that the Government might be allowed to have the Votes they were now discussing; but any information they wanted as to subsequent Votes should be now given, otherwise, when another Vote came on, Ministers would be able to say, as an excuse for not yielding to the proposal—"Oh, but the Vote has been moved, and it must be proceeded with." It would be, practically, too late to ask for information after the present Vote had been disposed of, and it would be too late to ask for the delay of the Vote after it had come on, as it was too late to ask for the withdrawal or postponement of the item before the Committee now that it had been proposed. In the best possible spirit he would say that there was no need at all for any mystery in this matter. The Irish Members could not shut their eyes and go on with the Votes, and if they were told that the Government intended to force on all these serious Irish Votes to-night, the Irish Members would make the best preparation they could. The Committee knew very well that it could not get through all the Votes to-night. Some of them must be postponed, and he would be bound to say that if the Committee were polled at this moment the majority would be of opinion that the best way to facilitate the progress of Public Business would be to postpone the three Irish Votes. For himself and his Friends round about him, he could say that they had no desire except to facilitate the rapid despatch of that Business. They only asked that they might be treated with fairness and courtesy, and only wished to point out that if an intimation were not given to them now, it would be too late when the next Votes were reached. He would strongly appeal to the Members of the Treasury Bench to give some reply; if they remained silent, the Irish Members would be obliged to construe that silence into a declaration of war.

MR. HOPWOOD would like to add a word in support of what had been said by hon. Members opposite. The Chief Secretary might fairly yield to the appeal made to him, because, really, the Irish Votes to follow were of a serious character from the point of view of the Irish Members.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, hon. Members placed him in a difficult position when they appealed to him, because the matter of taking the best means to get through the Business of Supply was not one which merely concerned the Chief Secretary. Other Ministers—especially the Prime Minister—were concerned as well as he himself, and he did not know, therefore, that he was in a position to describe what the progress of Business should be. It seemed quite clear that the Irish Members wished to have a discussion on one or two questions to be raised in the course of the Estimates. He had hoped that that discussion could be taken on the present or the next Vote—he had thought that hon. Members could have raised the points they wished to raise when they came to the items for Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions and for Constabulary. He might be going beyond his province in making the suggestion; but he would ask them whether it would suit their views to dispose of the present Vote and the next, which was not a matter likely to lead to much debate, on the understanding that the other two Irish Votes should follow the remainder of the Supplementary Estimates?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that if the Irish Votes were postponed, he saw no reason why all the other Votes should not pass that evening; but if the Irish Votes were not postponed, there was no chance whatever of the English Votes passing through. The right hon. Gentleman could hardly expect Irish Members to sit there whilst English Votes were under discussion and to remain altogether idle. He, for one, should decline to vote public money without knowing why and wherefore he was voting it. On almost every English Vote he might have something to say—he should feel disposed to raise questions on every single English Vote; but if the Treasury Bench would consent to what the Irish Members asked—namely, that one or two days should be given them to enable them to thoroughly appreciate the value of the figures presented to them in the Irish Votes, he should consider that he discharged his duty in giving consideration to those Votes and allowing the English Votes to pass. Other Irish Members, he thought, would be actuated by the same feelings, and this alone ought to show the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury that it would conduce to the economy of public time if he consented to the arrangement they proposed—namely, that the present Vote might be put from the Chair and disposed of, and the rest of the Votes postponed. They did not want to impede the progress of Business, but to elicit, whilst there was time, a clear declaration from the Treasury Bench as to whether the Government would consent to the postponement of the other Irish Votes. As to the next Vote, which was in respect of the Local Government Board, he would put it to the right hon. Gentleman that the subject was one of considerable interest in Ireland. Almost every one of the Irish Members had had correspondence with the people of Ireland on the subject-matter of the Vote, and the right hon. Gentleman was labouring under a considerable misapprehension if he thought it would be possible for them to discuss it now in a few minutes. If, however, they were able to devote a day or two to the consideration of these matters, they might find that this question did not need discussion at all.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he had been looking at the way in which they could get through most work in the rather awkward circumstances in which they found themselves this week. The hon. Member who had last spoken must not suppose that he (Mr. Forster) admitted his argument, which was that as this and some of the following were Irish Votes he took great interest in English Votes, and could not think of public money being voted for English purposes unless he approved of those purposes; but that if the Irish Votes were put off, his interest in the English Votes and his desire to form an opinion with regard to them would altogether disappear. The hon. Member had hardly advanced the argument seriously. Still, the Committee must look the thing in the face and see how they could best make progress with Business; and he should be prepared, although he was, perhaps, going beyond his powers in doing so, to say that the best practical mode of dealing with the matter would be to take the Votes he had mentioned at once, and postpone the remaining Irish items until the English and Scotch had been got rid of. There was one slight exception which he would ask the Committee to make in favour of a Vote which came in the middle of the ordinary Votes—namely, £41 for Endowed Schools Commissioners; and it was only a technical matter to which, he did not suppose, any hon. Member would object.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the right hon. Gentleman raised a doubt in the minds of hon. Members as to whether or not the Irish Votes would be taken to-night. The right hon. Gentleman had proposed that the Irish Votes should be postponed until the other Votes had been disposed of; but that would leave it open as to whether the Irish Votes were to come on to-night or on some future day. The hon. Member for Wexford County had said that confidence begot confidence; but, for his own part, he had not the confidence of his hon. Friend in the Chief Secretary—as a matter of fact, he had not any confidence at all in him. Let the right hon. Gentleman state whether or not he intended to move any further Irish Votes that night.

Mr. FINIGAN said, that on the understanding just arrived at, that the Irish Votes would not be taken until some other day, he would ask leave to withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(16.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £30,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, and of the Department of the Queen's Proctor for Divorce Interventions; the costs of Prosecutions, including those relating to the Coin, and to Bankruptcy, and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by those Departments; and various other Legal Expenses, including Statute Law Revision, and Parliamentary Agency."

Captain AYLMER complained that the details of this sum of £30,100 were very imperfectly shown in the Estimates. It was set forth that the deficiency under the sub-head of "Legal Proceedings" was occasioned by the heavy costs of the proceedings in the Lords of the Admiralty *v.* Union Steamship Company, the Lords of the Admiralty *v.* Dunn, and in some recent Ecclesiastical cases. The costs of the prosecution of the West of England Bank Directors and the Directors of the Northern Counties Assurance Association were mentioned; and he thought that some explanation ought to be given of these items, to show whether the cases were such as ought to have been taken up by the Treasury. There was one other point to which he wished to refer. It was stated in the printed Votes that the recent depression in trade, no doubt, accounted for the increase in the number of cases in which the Judge had directed the Solicitor to the Treasury to prosecute fraudulent bankrupts, and £6,500 was put down under the subhead "Bankruptcy." This was a very large sum over and above the original Estimate, and some explanation of it ought to be given.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN wished to know whether the cost of the prosecution of the chemist and druggist, Titley, was included in the Vote asked for? In this case the police had laid a trap for the man, and were, in his (Mr. A. M. Sullivan's) opinion, equally guilty with the prisoner, as though they had been convicted of a crime. He wished to know whether any money was included in the charge for that prosecution, because he considered the prosecution was one that ought to be fully discussed in the House by English Members, and those who took an interest in the administration of English justice, and desired to see that administration fair and above suspicion? There was an item in the charge—a delicate one for him to allude to, but he did not think he would be doing his duty if he did not refer to it—to which he wished to call the attention of the Committee—namely, £4,200 for a religious prosecution, "Regina *v.* Lord Penzance, re Pelham Dale, re Enraght, re De la Bere." He thought the ratepayers of the country ought not to be asked to vote this £4,200 for an Ecclesiastical dispute, and he strongly protested against the charge. It was a disagreeable thing and, in a certain sense, an invidious thing for him to do, because the parties interested in the prosecution belonged to a religious communion which was not his (Mr. Sullivan's); but he was not speaking from that point of view. He emphatically protested, and he was sure the people of England would as strongly protest, against payments of any kind being saddled on the country in regard to the discipline or internal domestic affairs of any religious communion. For his own part, on two occasions before this he had raised his voice in the hope and the desire that the Episcopalean Protestant Church of this country might have restored to it its ancient powers of Convocation, so that it might enjoy Home Rule in its domestic affairs, and no longer have its business brought into an Assembly such as this to be in any manner determinable by gentlemen like himself. It was humiliating to any religious communion that they should have to come to this Assembly, where gentlemen like himself, who belonged to another faith, had a voice in the settlement of their affairs. Every religious communion in the country should administer its own affairs, and none of them should be allowed to come to the taxpayers for money to enable them to enforce their discipline.

Mr. WEBSTER was glad the hon. and learned Member (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) had spoken his mind on this question, and he (Mr. Webster), on his part, was likewise bound to express the pain and vexation which the passing of this Vote would give himself and Nonconformists generally. The Estimates did not show how much of this £4,200 applied to ecclesiastical cases, and how much to the actions brought by the Lords of the Admiralty; but, whatever the amount, he stood here to complain of the country being compelled to pay for that which in no way concerned the nation at large, but which had reference only to an agitation within the intestines of the Church. It was very hard, and against the conscientious conviction of many hon. Members, that the national funds should be saddled with such expenses, and he would now give Notice that on Report, in the event of any support being given him, he should move to reduce the Vote by such a sum as would correspond with the charge for sectarian as against national purposes.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, that, before the discussion proceeded any further, he should like to be allowed to say a few words as the variety of topics alluded to was likely to create some confusion. First, in regard to the prosecution of the West of England Bank Directors and of the Directors of the Northern Counties Assurance Association. These were two most important inquiries instituted last year by the late Government. In the case of the West of England Bank, the prosecution was directed by the Home Secretary, on the advice of the Attorney General, against the Directors, several of whom were convicted. The amount of the failure of the Bank involved a loss of over £1,000,000 sterling. The case lasted 12 days before the magistrates, and six days at the Central Criminal Court. There were 37 witnesses, and naturally the expenses were very heavy. The other prosecution was ordered by the Director of Public Prosecutions. Before the magistrates, charges were preferred against eight Directors and five officials of the Company. The case lasted 15 days before the magistrates, and nine days at the Assizes, and, in the end, four of the directors and two officials were convicted. With respect to the bankruptcy prosecutions, he believed the increased charge was simply due to the bad times and depression through which we were passing, and the consequent increase of bankruptcies. The prosecutions in these cases had been transferred to the Treasury Solicitor, and the cost of each one had largely decreased from that of other years. Formerly, the estimate used to be £13,000, and the cost of each case about £260; but now the total charge was reduced to £8,000, and the cost of each case only a little more than half—namely, £135. Thus, these matters were being economically dealt with. But to come to what was the most important of all the questions—namely, the ecclesiastical trials, he wished to point out that there was a considerable mistake prevalent in respect to this matter. People thought that the prosecutions of these clergymen had been undertaken by the Government, and that the taxpayers were charged with the cost. This was not the case. An action was brought against Lord Penzance, and the question considered—first of all by the late Government—was whether or not his Lordship, who had tried the original cases, should be defended in this action, which was in respect of a judgment he had given in his judicial capacity. It was decided that he should be so defended; and the course then taken was only in accordance with the general practice, which was, when a servant of the Crown, in his public capacity, was tried for an action which he had committed in that capacity, to defend him at the public expense. There had been various similar cases, though he could only refer to one—namely, the prosecution of Mr. Edmonds. In this case the Lord Chancellor, Cabinet Ministers, and various other Crown Officials had been proceeded against for action they had taken in their public capacity. There had also been an action against Mr. Justice Field and Mr. Justice Mellor, and they had been defended at the public expense. He could assure the Committee that there was nothing really ecclesiastical in the matter. An action had been brought against a Judge for a judgment he had given, the contention of the plaintiff being that the Judge had exceeded his powers in having made that judgment, and the State had defended him.

MR. MACDONALD thought the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) had not given the Committee a very clear explanation on this matter. There were a number of hon. Members below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House who cordially sympathized with the views of the hon. and learned Member for Meath on this question, and who did not wish to have the religious differences in the Church brought before them at all. Why should hon. Members be asked to vote money for that in which they did not take the slightest interest? It was true that the charge was in respect of actions which had been brought against a Judge; but they could not help recognizing the fact that those actions were the result of differences as to the discipline of the Church. Therefore, as he considered, that House should have nothing to do with the actions. He felt so strongly on this matter as almost to be inclined to move the reduction of the £4,200. He would, however, in deference to the desire of some other Members, allow it to go on this occasion; but, assuredly, if he were in the House next Session, and a similar Vote came up, he should divide the Committee on it. It was a most unseemly state of things that they should have brought before them the quarrels of the Church that they had no interest in.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked for information as to expenses incurred under this head for a Provisional Order, amounting to £200, when it was obtained from the Board of Trade for the bankrupt harbour of Anstruther, practically the property of the State?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, certain expenses had been incurred; but he would make further inquiries into the matter.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN: The noble Lord has not answered me as to the case of Titley.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: I do not believe any charge was included for the prosecution the hon. Member has referred to; but I will ascertain.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, the statement of the noble Lord had, to some extent, removed the objection to the charge; still, the actions against the Judge had arisen out of Ecclesiastical prosecutions. If it had not been for these prosecutions the State would have been relieved of these expenses, directly or indirectly. It was very painful for persons who belonged to other communions to be called upon to vote money in this way for actions arising out of internal quarrels in the Established Church. It was especially disagreeable to hon. Gentlemen who came from parts of the Kingdom where there was no Established Church at all to be asked to vote this money. He was therefore disposed, in order to test the feeling of the Committee, to move the reduction of the Vote. Though by so doing he might delay the proceedings of the Committee, he thought it his duty, in the interests of civil and religious liberty, to move the reduction of the Vote by £2,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £28,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, and of the Department of the Queen's Proctor for Divorce Interventions; the costs of Prosecutions, including those relating to the Coin, and to Bankruptcy, and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by those Departments; and various other Legal Expenses, including Statute Law Revision, and Parliamentary Agency."—(*Mr. Dick-Peddie.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) thought the objection made by the hon. Member to the expenses incurred through appearances having had to be made on behalf of the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court was well founded from the hon. Member's point of view; but he (the Attorney General) could explain that the view presented to the Committee by the hon.

Member had proceeded entirely from a misapprehension. The rule which prevailed in regard to these matters was a fair one. When a Judge was sued for acts done in his official capacity, it was the practice for the Crown to represent and defend him if it were necessary for him to appear. It was always desirable that no Judge should unnecessarily take part in litigation, and in many cases when questions of this kind were raised the Judge put them aside and took no notice of them But if a Judge was compelled to appear as, for instance, to defend the jurisdiction of the Court, it was impossible to cast on him the expense of defending his action in such capacity, for if such expense were cast upon him very often he would be ruined. Actions might be brought against him on the weakest grounds, and very often without even a show of foundation. The Judge, if the burden of these expenses were allowed to fall on him, would say—"What am I to do? I cannot bear the cost of this litigation—I cannot take any part in it." And if he did not take part in it, the Public Service might suffer. Under the circumstances, it had been the rule for the Government to interfere to protect the judicial office. Magistrates had often claimed this protection, and had received it; Judges also had asked for it, and it had never been refused them. The same rule applied to the protection of officers in the Army and Navy in respect of acts done by them in the course of service. This was a question which might arise in connection with any suit, however temporal in its character. Lord Penzance exercised temporal jurisdiction by virtue of a statute which, no doubt, affected ecclesiastical subjects; still he was a temporal Judge. These proceedings were taken against him; he was charged with having acted without any jurisdiction at all. Proceedings were taken against him which rendered it necessary for him to appear in order to protect the jurisdiction of the Court. How could it be expected that as an individual he should pay the cost of defending it? He hoped the Committee would understand that there had been no exception in this case, and that the Government had only followed the general rule.

Mr. RYLANDS said, it was quite impossible for him to support the Motion for a reduction of the Vote. Supposing the question had been whether these matters should be dealt with in an Act of Parliament and the existing arrangements should be interfered with, probably he would have found it necessary to vote with the hon. Member. He should have been quite ready to support a Bill levelled against the Act which had caused these ecclesiastical proceedings to be taken; but when the question was one of the jurisdiction of a Court, they were bound to support that Court in upholding its jurisdiction without any reference to the particular subject which had brought about the proceedings. It was impossible for him to support the proposal.

Sir ANDREW LUSK said, the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) had said that depression in trade was the cause of all these prosecutions for fraudulent bankruptcy. He ventured to differ from the noble Lord, and would tell him and the Committee that the cause was the present bad Bankruptcy Law. It would be better for both the Committee and the Government—and it would have been better for the past Government if they had done so—to turn their attention a little to England and the wants of the country; for instance, to the Bankruptcy Law——

The CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the hon. Baronet to the fact that he is travelling beyond the Motion before the House.

Sir ANDREW LUSK said, it was not depression of trade which would account for the great expense to which the Treasury had been put in the prosecution of fraudulent bankrupts. He was sorry to hear the observations which had fallen from some hon. Members. They did not appear to be educated up to the mark, for they seemed to forget that so long as we had an Established Church we must maintain that Church. It was for the Legislature that made it to keep it in order. He was astonished to hear hon. Members speak on this subject in the manner they did. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] When hon. Members wished to discuss anything with regard to England, some hon. Gentlemen would not listen to them; but if the subject had reference to Ireland—if anything was wanted in Ireland—there was no difficulty for anyone to obtain a hearing.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he had only to state that his object was served in having brought on the discussion. He would withdraw the Motion.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN wished to point out that no one had objected to the principle of defending the Judges. It was this particular case of paying for a defence in connection with an ecclesiastical quarrel that had been objected to.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(17.) £1,230, Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice (England).

(18.) £26,755, Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

MR. RYLANDS said, he saw under this Vote an item for the trial of Election Petitions. He had understood that the charge was to be borne by the district in which the Petition was tried. He should like to know what distinction was made between the various items, and how it was that these charges were not borne by the boroughs?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, that all the expenses in connection with the Election Petitions were paid by the candidates or persons interested. These allowances were for officers in attendance on the Judges during the trials, for travelling expenses and other statutory expenses.

Vote *agreed to.*

(19.) £650, Wreck Commission.

(20.) £160, Police Courts, London and Sheerness.

(21.) £3,010, Police—Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain).

MR. RYLANDS said, the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was not present, or he should have called his attention to this Supplementary Vote, because of the view he (Mr. Rylands) had expressed over and over again when the proposal for transferring the management of the prisons from the local authorities to the State was before the House——

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Gentleman is speaking to the next Vote.

Vote *agreed to.*

(22.) £14,624, Prisons, England.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had to apologize for having made a mistake in turning over the pages of the Votes. He was not prepared to oppose the Vote; but he thought it desirable that the Committee should keep an eye to the additional expenditure that was going on in this Department. He had reason to believe, from certain sources, that next year the expenditure would be considerably in excess of the Estimate laid on the Table by the late Secretary of State for the Home Department—which Estimate was altogether illusory. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had told them that the adoption of his proposal for taking the prisons from the control of the local authorities and handing them over to the State would conduce to economy. But instead of proving a means of economy, the arrangement had been a means of additional expenditure; and he was very much inclined to think that nothing had been gained by that additional expenditure. All they had done was to strike a great blow upon local management.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was present; at any rate, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) wished to draw the attention of the Government to the item—"Police claim in consequence of the decision in Mullins *v.* The County of Surrey, £2,000." This was an important matter to the ratepayers of the country. It had been decided by a Court of Law that the Government were to pay the cost of the conveyance of prisoners from the place where they were committed to prison to the place where they were to be confined. The decision was given in favour of the county of Surrey, and notice of appeal had been given; and what he wished to know was whether that appeal had yet been settled, and, if it had, whether the Government now undertook to pay the cost of conveying the prisoners? The question was a very serious one, as it affected the interests of the whole country, and it was one to which they had been looking for an answer from the Government for a very long time. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had said that the case was in abeyance; but he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) hoped the Under Secretary of State would be able to give a more definite answer.

Mr. COURTNEY was sorry to say he could not give any definite answer to his hon. and gallant Friend. The question was an important one, and the Home Office was fully alive to the fact; but the matter was still in abeyance.

Mr. PUGH was not inclined to go so far as the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) in regard to this matter; still, he must say, it was a singular thing that the Estimate had been so considerably under the mark. He had had a good deal of experience in the country in matters of this kind, and he could assure the Committee that there was great attention paid to them amongst local authorities. How was it that the original Estimate of £8,000 had been exceeded by so large a sum as £5,500? He was sorry to be obliged to confess that he had no knowledge of the case of Mullins *v.* The County of Surrey.

The CHAIRMAN put the Question.

Mr. PUGH said, certainly he was entitled to an answer. The matter, as he had said, was one which excited a great deal of interest in the country. It might be wrong on his part to take such an interest in it; but other hon. Members besides himself took an interest in the question and desired information with regard to it. The original Estimate for moving prisoners from place to place was £8,000; but there seemed to be an additional sum of £5,500 required, and he respectfully asked for some sort of an explanation which, apparently, neither the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) nor the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department were inclined to give. Unless some explanation were given, he should be obliged to move the reduction of the Vote.

Mr. GORST said, he could give the hon. Member some information on the point. The Supplementary Estimate was in consequence of the decision in the case of Mullins *v.* The County of Surrey. The counties objected to pay the expenses of taking prisoners from the place where they were committed to the prisons where they were to be confined, and the Government thought that under the Prisons Act the counties were liable for the expenditure, and not the central authority. The dispute ended in litigation, which was still going on. The case had passed through the Court of First Instance and the Court of Appeal; but it had not yet reached the House of Lords. So far as it had gone the decision was that the central authority, and not the counties, had to pay. The Government had put down in the Estimate the amount they thought would have to be paid by the country if the final decision went against them.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he thought it had been explained that part of the expense was due to the decision in the case of Mullins *v.* The County of Surrey. There was a great deal of uncertainty in the matter.

Mr. RYLANDS said, no doubt that was the explanation; but he did not wonder at the Members of the present Government repudiating the Estimates at the time the Prisons Act was passed. The officers connected with the prisons themselves and the Prison Commissioners were aware that the Estimates were entirely fallacious. This item for police escort was occasioned by its having been necessary to do a great deal in the way of moving prisoners from one place to another in consequence of the number of prisons having been decreased. They had been informed that the Prisons Act would bring about great economy; but in the presence of right hon. Gentlemen who were Members of the late Government, he had no hesitation in saying that the Estimates of that Government had been decidedly inaccurate and misleading.

Mr. CAINE said, that the Government had not given a sufficient answer to the Question. If the appeal in the case of Mullins *v.* The County of Surrey was in favour of the Government, what would be done with this money the Committee were about to vote?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: If the appeal is in favour of the Government, this account will be adjusted, of course.

Vote *agreed to.*

(23.) £5,500, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(24.) £652, National Gallery.

(25.) £500, Learned Societies and Scientific Investigation.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, this was a grant for the Metereological Society; and he merely rose to express his sincere thanks to the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury for what he had done in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(26.) £256, London University.

(27.) £54, Universities, &c. in Scotland.

(28.) £41, Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, there was an item in this Estimate which appeared to him to be extraordinary—namely, £31 for the "requirements of one of the Commissioners, who lived at a distance from Dublin." It seemed to him an extraordinary thing that the public should be charged this amount, because one of the Commissioners lived a certain distance from Dublin. The official ought to bear the expense himself in the ordinary way.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: The Commissioner lives at Belfast, and he does not receive a salary.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(29.) £21,730, Diplomatic Services.

MR. MONK wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a question as to the Special Embassy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). The expense of his Special Embassy was £6,950, and he (Mr. Monk) wished to know whether this was a sum in excess of the charge made when Mr. Layard was Ambassador at Constantinople? He should be glad if the Government would explain whether a portion of this sum was salary to the right hon. Gentleman, and the rest for his outfit, or for what purpose the sum was asked. He should also like to know what was the meaning of the next item—"Sir Charles Rivers Wilson's expenses on Commission of Liquidation in Egypt £950?" This charge, it appeared to him, ought to be borne by the Egyptian Court. Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was sent out at the request of the Khedive, and surely his expenses ought not to be paid by this country.

MR. NORTHCOTE hoped that some explanation would be given to the Committee of the great discrepancy in the charge in the original Estimate for Special Missions and Services and the actual expenditure. He also concurred with the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) in asking for information in reference to the charge of £950 in connection with the expenses of Sir Charles Rivers Wilson. The items for the International Commission for revising Mixed Tribunals in Egypt, and the charge for the expenses of the British Commissioners in the Mixed Commission for inquiring into and defining the Limits of the North-Western Boundary of the Liberian Republic, also required explanation. He further asked if it was not possible to include the cost of telegrams in such cases as the Special Embassy to Constantinople in the ordinary Vote for the Mission?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he saw no reason why the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Mr. Northcote), in regard to the cost of telegrams, should not be adopted. In reply to the observations of his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), he might say that there had been no salaries paid in connection with Sir Charles Rivers Wilson's Mission to Egypt. The expenses of Mr. Goschen's Mission to Constantinople, which were of a public nature, had been paid, and also the cost of the whole staff employed by the right hon. Gentleman. Included in the Vote were several charges for journeys backwards and forwards between this country and Constantinople, and also for the outfit of one of the Secretaries (Mr. Jervis). He held the details in his hand; but he did not suppose that the Committee would desire that he should enter into minute details. The principal items in connection with the Special Missions were as follows:—1st, the journey of Lieutenant Vincent to Bulgaria. Lieutenant Vincent went out with the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) upon the European Commission. He was afterwards asked by Her Majesty's Government to go up to Bulgaria, and he accordingly went to Bulgaria and Greece. This Mission involved a charge of £200. There was also a charge of £200 for Colonel Wilson, for performing certain duties on the Asiatic side of

Turkey. Colonel Wilson was also sent to Bulgaria. Lieutenant Chernside was the British Turkish Commissioner at Batoum, and there was a charge for his expenses. Generally speaking, these extra sums for Special Missions were caused by the difficulties placed in the way of our Military Consuls in travelling on the Asiatic side of Turkey in consequence of the disturbed state of the country.

Mr. RYLANDS remarked, that his hon. Friend had not explained the item connected with Sir Charles Rivers Wilson. He should like to know how long Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was engaged upon his Mission. He was sent out to assist the Khedive in a somewhat unprecedented manner; but while he was absent from this country, Sir Charles Rivers Wilson actually retained an important office under the Crown as Controller General of the National Debt Office. Although placed officially in connection with the Khedive, he still retained this important office under the Crown, but did not receive the salary of Controller General of the National Debt Office. It was a most singular arrangement altogether, and at the time it was made he (Mr. Rylands) raised a strong objection to it. As soon as Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was able to return to England from the important employment in which he had been engaged, he resumed his office of Controller General of the National Debt Office. He then went out again to Egypt as Commissioner of Liquidation. He (Mr. Rylands) wished to know how long Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was so engaged, and if he received a salary during that time from the National Debt Office; also, generally, what arrangement took place with the Government both with regard to the salary and the expenses incurred by him?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH stated that all the arrangements were made by the late Government, and he was not personally very conversant with them. He believed that Sir Charles Rivers Wilson had rendered important services both to this country and to Egypt.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE was afraid that he could not recollect offhand exactly what the arrangement was; but he believed that the gentleman who filled the second position in the National Debt Office undertook the duties of Sir Charles Rivers Wilson, and that Sir Charles Rivers Wilson gave up, at all events, a portion of his salary to that gentleman. He regretted that he was not aware that the question was likely to be brought forward. If he had been he would have refreshed his memory. No additional expense was thrown upon the public; the duties were discharged by a person who was perfectly competent to undertake them, and they were paid for out of Sir Charles Rivers Wilson's salary.

Mr. RYLANDS said, it was perfectly true that when Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was appointed to assist the Khedive and became a Member of the Egyptian Cabinet, he ceased to receive a salary as Controller of the National Debt Office; but the singular arrangement was that in the absence of Sir Charles Rivers Wilson £500 a-year was paid to the Assistant Controller, so that the Assistant Controller was paid for time which had already been purchased by the State, and was able to do the duties of another person who was receiving a large salary as Administrator in Egypt. What he (Mr. Rylands) wished to ask now was, whether during the time Sir Charles Rivers Wilson was serving upon the Commission of Liquidation he received any salary, or whether the former course was adopted and, while Sir Charles Rivers Wilson received no salary as Controller General of the National Debt Office, the second officer received £500 a-year for doing his duties?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he would make inquiries and give an explanation on the Report.

Vote *agreed to.*

(30.) £4,365, Consular Services.

(31.) £12,188, Colonies, Grants in Aid.

Mr. MONK wished to point out that a large sum amounting to £4,000 was asked for the passages of Governors, in addition to a sum of £6,500 included in the original Estimate, and making £10,500 altogether. He thought the Committee was entitled to have a little more information than was contained in the heading "Passages of Governors, &c." He would, therefore, ask his right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Grant

Duff) to explain what number of Governors there were, or for what purpose this large sum of £4,000 was required?

MR. GORST also wished to put a Question to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies—namely, what the present and future arrangements were respecting the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific? He believed that Sir Arthur Gordon, who had been removed from Fiji to New Zealand, still retained the position of Western Pacific High Commissioner? He wished to know if the office of High Commissioner was to continue to be held by the Governor of New Zealand. It was obvious that this would be a most inconvenient arrangement, seeing that the Governor in New Zealand would be at so great a distance from the seat of his jurisdiction as High Commissioner. He wished to know whether the arrangement by which Sir Arthur Gordon retained both appointments was temporary or permanent?

CAPTAIN O'SHEA asked, what was the meaning of an item of £2,500 for "Half of cost of Conversion, &c.?"

MR. GRANT DUFF said, he would answer in the first instance the Question of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). Nothing could be more reasonable than that Question, for he admitted that it would be most inconvenient to make provision that the Governor of New Zealand should be in perpetuity also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The present arrangement was a purely temporary one. As the hon. and learned Member knew, Sir Arthur Gordon was the First Commissioner of the Western Pacific, and he had shown considerable ability in directing the affairs intrusted to him. With regard to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member for Clare (Captain O'Shea), who inquired what was meant by the item of £2,500 for "Half the cost in 1880-81 of Conversion, &c.," it had, of course, no sort of reference to the conversion of the Natives to Christianity, but referred to the conversion of the ship called the *Cruiser*. He was not at all surprised that his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) should ask for an explanation of the large additional sum included in the Estimate for the passages of Governors. The fact, however, was that during the last few months there had been, from various causes, a very unusual amount of movement among the Colonial Governors. In the first place, Sir George Strahan came home from Barbadoes and then went out in temporary charge of the Cape when Sir Bartle Frere returned. Then Sir Hercules Robinson was brought to England from New Zealand to confer with the Government and was then sent out to South Africa. In the next place, General Lefroy was sent out to Tasmania, Sir George Strahan was brought back from the Cape, and Sir Hercules Robinson was sent to the Cape. There had, consequently, been an exceptional number of passages during the last few months.

Vote *agreed to.*

(32.) £7,800, Tonnage Bounties, &c. and Liberated African Department.

MR. RYLANDS said, he should be very glad if he could induce Her Majesty's Government seriously to consider this Vote, which was, he believed, under an Act of Parliament. The charges under this Vote, which were incurred in the suppression of slavery, were a very serious matter. When a cruiser captured a slave dhow, the value of the prize was determined by the tonnage of the vessel, if she carried no slaves, or by the number of slaves captured. Experience had shown that the adoption of that system had led to a very serious amount of abuse, and many mere smuggling dhows had been captured and treated as slave dhows. The captains engaged in the suppression of the traffic under the existing system were enabled to stretch their power to a most unwarrantable extent. In a particular case mentioned in the Vote, we were called on to pay £10,566, because the captain of one of our cruisers had seized a vessel which was proved afterwards not to be a slave vessel. That was to say, that a captain employed in a certain service, and receiving his ordinary pay, was also allowed to run the chance of augmenting that pay by the receipt of a large bounty, provided that he was able to seize a vessel which he presumed to be a slave vessel. It amounted to this, that a premium was given to the captains of these cruisers, which was sufficient to induce them to run considerable risk in seizing vessels which, after all, might turn out not to have been engaged in the slave trade. He would be glad if the noble Lord the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would tell the Committee the circumstances under which this country was called upon to pay this enormous sum of money, and what arrangement was made with the captain of the cruiser who captured the vessel wrongfully, and for whose mistake we were called on to pay, in regard to his responsibility, or whether there was any arrangement at all by which the action of the captains of cruisers in these seas might be checked. Was it a fact that we offered them a bounty which had the effect of inducing them to stretch their authority in taking possession of vessels that were not actually slave vessels? He entertained grave doubts whether the present system was not open to great abuse, and he hoped the Government would be able to say that something would be done to prevent the possibility in future of such an occurrence as that to which he referred.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the occurrence in question happened several years ago—in 1876, he believed—and the reason why the amount of damages awarded had not been paid, was that there had been an appeal which had only recently been decided. The appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on behalf of the Crown had been dismissed with costs, and, in consequence, the sum of money included in the Estimate became payable.

Vote *agreed to.*

(33.) £6,369, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

Mr. RAMSAY asked for an explanation of the object for which this sum was paid in the shape of the subsidies to the Telegraph Companies? He asked the question, because it happened that the island in which he lived on the West Coast of Scotland had been deprived for something like four months of all means of telegraphic communication, in consequence of some accident which had occurred to the cable. He did not dispute the desirability of extending telegraphic communication to distant parts of the world, but he thought the British Islands had also a claim to consideration; and, so far as he could learn, in the case he had mentioned, there had not even been an attempt to find out what had been the cause of the interruption. He certainly thought that when they were voting money to Telegraph Companies for enabling us to communicate with foreign parts, we were entitled to expect some explanation of the cause why communication was not properly maintained at home. He knew he should be told that the revenue derived from this particular quarter was not such as to warrant a large expenditure of money; but he understood that one of the main grounds upon which Parliament agreed to hand over the telegraphs to the Government was that all parts of the Kingdom should be put into telegraphic communication. On the whole, the revenue derived from the telegraphs was profitable; and an isolated district which was not profitable was not to be wholly ignored on that account. He hoped he might receive an assurance that steps would be taken to put an end to the interruption of which he complained. The telegraphic communication in question had been enjoyed for many years, and he hoped to have some explanation of the reason why it had been restored. He had no wish to object in particular to this Vote; but he would certainly move a reduction of the Vote unless the noble Lord the Financial Secretary was able to give such information as would satisfy the Committee that there had been good grounds for withholding the expenditure necessary to restore the communication.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, that subsidies were paid to the Telegraph Companies for keeping up certain telegraphic communications which it would be inconvenient for the Post Office to maintain. He did not think this was the exact time for discussing the question whether the service abroad was better kept up than at home. All he could say in regard to the interruption of the telegraphic communication referred to by his hon. Friend (Mr. Ramsay) was that it had been occasioned by an accident, and that it had been extremely difficult to get a vessel adapted for this particular service to restore the communication. He hoped, before long, that the communication would be restored.

Vote *agreed to.*

Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services and Retired Allowances, and Gratuities for Charitable and other Purposes.

(34.) £11,000, Superannuations and Retired Allowances.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked for an explanation of an item in this Estimate of £1,900 for "the public offices in Scotland—Universities, &c." He confessed that he should very much like to know what these additional superannuation allowances were for the Scotch Universities?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the allowances were granted to certain Professorships connected with the Scotch Universities which came under the Superannuation Act. The salaries of these gentlemen appeared in the Estimates; but there were certain additional allowances in the shape of fees.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, the Professors had been entitled to superannuation allowances for some years. Had there been any re-arrangement?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the sum asked for—£1,900—was a very large one for a single year. He should really like to know what it was.

MR. LITTON also asked for information in regard to an item of £900 for Public Offices in Ireland in connection with the Queen's Bench Division?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Aylmer) said that the Scotch Professors had been entitled to these allowances for a number of years. It was easy, therefore, to discover what they were really entitled to. He would make an inquiry as to what the exact details were in regard to the University superannuation allowances, as he did not like to speak from memory. In regard to the item for Public Offices in Ireland, he believed that it was connected with the re-organization of the Irish Judicial Establishments last year.

DR. WEBSTER said, the superannuation allowances to the Scotch Professors were granted under the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, which entitled the Professors, after a certain time, to superannuation allowances. They were all granted, after proper investigation, in accordance with the terms of the Act; and all the arrangements were carefully considered on the spot, and approved and provided by the Treasury. No public money could be better applied.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(35.) £2,764, Treasury Chest.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(36.) £1,100, Temporary Commissions.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND noticed, from the details, that there had been heavy expenditure in connection with the Commission relative to the War in South Africa Expenditure. Had the labours of the Commission now terminated?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, both of the officers sent out on that Commission had returned after making inquiries.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked if all the expenses had now closed?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH thought they had.

MR. RYLANDS said, perhaps the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) would tell the Committee whether the Government were taking action upon the Report of the Commission. He understood that a portion of the expenditure of the Transkei War had to be borne by the Cape, and he now desired to know whether the Imperial Government were receiving any considerable amount?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the Commission was sent out, not only to consider the apportionment of the expenditure, but to see there was no unnecessary waste. The Estimates made were most accurate, and the manner in which the work was done reflected credit upon everyone concerned. In reply to the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), he had to say that the expenditure at the Cape during the last few months had been so large that it had not been thought desirable to press for any payment as yet. With respect to Natal, they had every reason to believe that as soon as the Colony raised the loan they now proposed to do, the Imperial Government would receive a considerable sum of money.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he only wished to bear his testimony to the extremely good service that was done by the gentlemen to whom reference had been made. The two War Office gentlemen were men of high position in their own Office, and Mr. Gurdon, who went out from the Treasury, was sure to distinguish himself by his services. The duties which the Commission performed were of a very valuable character. There was no doubt the question might arise as to the claim made on the Colonies; but the Reports of the gentlemen sent out were valuable, because they showed what were the circumstances under which the claim might be made. That, however, was by no means the greatest part of the value of their services. They were able at once to settle the question, the discussion of which by the War Office and the Treasury and different Departments and Members of the Colonial Government would have led to the waste of many months, and possibly years. Mr. Gurdon, so far as the Treasury was concerned, was specially empowered to speak on behalf of the Treasury—to say what they were likely to allow and what they were not likely to allow, to say what charges ought to fall on the Imperial Treasury, and what charges ought to be borne by the Colonial Treasury; and from all he (Sir Stafford Northcote) saw of the work the Commission did, he was persuaded they did it thoroughly well, and that they very well deserved whatever the expenses of the Commission might have been. He hoped, no matter what might be said on the subject, full justice would be done to those gentlemen for work they did in a very difficult and irksome capacity, having everybody against them whenever they were at all economical, and having to go through physical labour, and even physical danger, in the cause of the Service.

Mr. CHILDERS said, of course, it would be remembered the present Government had nothing to do with the appointment of the gentlemen in question. It had, however, fallen to their lot to judge of the result of the Mission; and, speaking for the War Office, he was able to say that upon the Report presented they had been able to base arrangements which would have a highly economical character, and might enable the Department to satisfactorily settle the transactions which had recently occurred in South Africa. They had been able to put South African matters on a footing which would, at any rate, avoid delay and lead to considerable economy.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the total amount required was £1,100, after deductions were made. It would be much more satisfactory to the Committee if the whole expenses of the South African Mission were specified. At present hon. Gentlemen were completely in the dark in this matter.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, they could not refuse the Vote after the very valuable testimony to the services of the Commission. He must, however, express his disappointment with regard to the debt due from the Cape Government. The debt was incurred, not on account of Her Majesty's troops, but on account of the expenses of the Colonial troops engaged in fighting their own battle. Because the Cape Government had, contrary to the wish of the Home Government, and contrary to the dictates of justice, chosen to enter into a fresh war, was no reason why the Cape Government should not be pressed for payment.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he would give the hon. Member (Mr. Dick-Peddie) exact particulars of the South African Commission at a later stage of the Estimates.

Vote *agreed to.*

(37.) £350, Miscellaneous Expenses.

Mr. PUGH said, he must ask for some information in respect to this Vote. The Committee would see there was considerable obscurity, both on the subject-matter and the details. They would see that the original Estimate for "fees on patents of creation" was £500, and that now an additional sum of £350 was required, making, in all, £850. But then, when they got lower down, they found the

> "Excess of Expenditure over Grant for Fees to Heralds and others, in consequence of increased number of Patents of Creation issued from the Crown Office in Chancery"

was £1,305. It appeared from this that £500 was not the original Estimate. There was a considerable disparity in the figures, and he would be glad to know who were created, what they were created, and what was the cost of the respective creations?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, upon all these creations there were certain stamps to be paid for, and certain persons were entitled to a portion of the fees. Last year there were a considerable number of creations by the late

Government, and that might account for the amount of the Vote.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was not satisfied with the explanation of the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish). He desired to know if they were really called upon to pay out of the taxation of the country the expenses connected with the making of Peers?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the stamps were paid into the Exchequer.

Vote *agreed to.*

(38.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £5,585, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances."

Mr. GIBSON said, as a matter of curiosity, he would like to have an explanation of the item of £24 3*s.* for the "Temporary Seal for the Transvaal Government." What was the meaning of the word "temporary?" Were they to infer that there was a permanent Seal as well?

Mr. CAINE asked for some information respecting the item of £572 8*s.* 10*d.* which he saw was put down in the Estimate as the "expenses connected with the conveyance to England of the body of the late Prince Imperial." He would like to know why the country was called upon to pay these expenses?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, in respect to the temporary Seal for the Transvaal Government, he thought he might assume that the Seal was ordered when the Colony was annexed. He imagined the word "temporary" was employed in the hope that the Colony would repay the cost subsequently. With regard to the expenses connected with the conveyance of the Prince Imperial's body to this country, it was thought right to incur these expenses inasmuch as the Prince died in the service of the country.

Mr. GORST wished to ask another question in reference to the Seal for the Transvaal Government. How came an item of the kind in this Estimate at all? It was a very small amount; but, small as it was, ought it not to have appeared in the accounts of the Transvaal Government?

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, at the time the Transvaal Government was appointed, £120,000 was voted by this House for the necessary expenses. It was an extremely prudent thing to provide a a temporary Seal only; but it ought to have been paid for out of the grant made by Parliament.

Mr. BROADHURST said, there was a curious entry under this Vote. It read thus:—

"Representatives of the late J. Gibson, Q.C., as Chairman of Quarter Sessions, County Donegal, in respect of a Pension which would have been granted to that Gentleman, and charged on the Consolidated Fund, had he not died before the necessary formalities were carried out."

And the item was £178 0*s.* 7*d.* He would like to know whether it was the custom to give money to the relatives of those who would have been entitled to pensions had they lived long enough?

Mr. CAINE understood from the reply of the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) that the Prince Imperial was in the service of this country. He was under the impression that the Prince went out as Volunteer.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the Prince Imperial was acting as a Volunteer, but fighting in our service. He was sorry he could not give the circumstances connected with the grant to the representatives of the late Mr. Gibson. He believed that gentleman died whilst the formalities were being determined; and, therefore, this item could not be charged against the Superannuation Vote.

Mr. LITTON did not think any hon. Member of the House would object to the sum charged for the conveyance of the Prince Imperial's body to this country. That illustrious young gentleman occupied a very noble position, and he met an unfortunate death while engaged as a Volunteer in the late Zulu War. It would, indeed, be very ungracious to challenge the item. There was, however, a matter upon which he would like some explanation; it was with respect to the payment of two Treasury Chest Bills which had been cancelled, and the amount—£200—paid to the Exchequer. As to the grant to the representatives of the late Mr. Gibson, the only question he would raise was as to whether Mr. Gibson had not, prior to his death, tendered his resignation, because he (Mr. Litton) could well understand that the representatives would be fairly entitled to the grant if that were so. On the other hand, if Mr. Gibson had not resigned, it would seem unreasonable to make the grant.

Mr. GIBSON said, that, although the Mr. Gibson in question was no relative of his, he knew the facts very well. The late Government were in power, and Mr. Gibson died a short time after he sent in his resignation, and, he assumed, before the formalities connected with the carrying out of the pension were completed. The personal representatives were, of course, entitled to be paid the sum as if the necessary formalities had been completed.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR expressed a desire to ask the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury two or three questions, because he always felt very suspicious when a Vote for contingencies was asked for. In the first place, he wanted to know whose distinguished conveyance had cost £1,312? He desired information, too, as to the meaning of the sum of £2,769 as Equipage Money on the appointment of Earl Cowper as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. With regard to the conveyance of the body of the late Prince Imperial to this country he was not prepared to make any Motion; but if some hon. Gentleman opposite would put the item to the test of a division he would certainly follow him into the Lobby. He was afraid, however, he would have to divide the Committee upon the points he had raised, if the explanations were not satisfactory.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he had to inform the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Litton) that the two Treasury Chest Bills he had mentioned were two bills drawn by the Treasury Chest in 1873, but which were not presented for payment until 1880. Owing to the lapse of six years, it was expected the bills would never become due. The special packets for conveyance of distinguished persons were packets provided for Members of the Royal Family. As to the Lord Lieutenant's Equipage Money, he had to state that the matter was inquired into by a Select Committee in 1831. That Committee reported that they were unable to recommend any reduction in the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, and also that equipage money should be allowed. It was quite evident anyone occupying such a position as Earl Cowper must be put to a very large expense.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR would like to be informed who were the Royal and distinguished persons for whose conveyance special packets were employed; what were the occasions on which the packets were employed; and whether the distinguished persons were being conveyed on their own personal pleasure, or in the public service?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH replied that it had always been the custom, when any of the Royal Family went to the Continent, to provide special packets for them.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would move the omission of the item of £1,312 for special packets.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £4,273, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund of certain Miscellaneous Advances."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(39.) £12,000, Customs.

(40.) £18,200, Post Office.

Mr. J. COWEN said, there was only one point to which, at this stage of the Estimates, he wished to call attention. Since the present Government had been in Office he had been favoured, as he presumed other hon. Members had been favoured, with a request to nominate someone to act as messengers in the Post Office. It was a very paltry piece of patronage, involving a salary to the person appointed of 18*s.* or 20*s.* a-week. They had done away with a large amount of patronage, and it would be an extremely desirable thing if this remnant of a bad system were also abolished. It would be better to intrust the appointment of these small officers to the postmaster in the district. He mentioned the matter because he was sure it only entailed upon an hon. Member a larger amount of trouble than was necessary, and often it provoked ill feeling amongst his constituents. On a recent occasion, in the county of Northumberland, where it so happened that neither of the hon. Members were supporters of the Liberal Ministry, this small piece of patronage was not exercised, but a gentleman who lived entirely out of the district was asked to make the appointment. It would be well for the Post Office and for all parties if the practice of asking Members of Parliament to nominate persons for these small offices were discontinued altogether.

EARL PERCY said, it was perfectly true that since the present Government came into power the appointments to these small offices had been placed in the hands of gentlemen who had not lived in the county, and whose sole claim to the patronage was that they were defeated candidates. Although it was not for him to criticize the motives which induced Her Majesty's Government to distribute their patronage in this manner, and although he had nothing to urge personally against the gentlemen whom they had appointed, yet, at the same time, he would point out to the Committee that whether or not it was desirable, for purely political purposes, to intrust to unsuccessful candidates all these appointments, it was extremely undesirable that they should be in the hands of persons entirely unacquainted with the requirements of the districts in which their patronage was exercised. A good deal of interest was excited with regard to these appointments in the various districts, and much competition arose with reference to them; and for that reason the matter ought to rest, at any rate, in the hands of persons well acquainted with the needs of the localities. He rather inclined to the opinion of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, that it was better to take the appointments out of private hands altogether.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he never knew when he could recommend for patronage, and he wished his constituents, at any rate, knew when he could not do so. There was great uncertainty with regard to these Post Office appointments at the present time, and he should be very glad if the Government would put a Return on the Table of the House showing the names of persons who recommended in each constituency. The Report would be received with much interest both in Ireland and by Irish Members in this country.

MR. J. W. PEASE fully agreed with the remarks of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) that the patronage conferred on Members of Parliament, especially upon county Members, involved them in a great deal of trouble; for it was generally found that when one person was pleased by an appointment a great many more were disposed to quarrel with the appointment made. The change suggested would, no doubt, be of advantage to Members of Parliament; but he was not sure it would equally benefit the country. It had always been the practice to confer this patronage on defeated candidates. In his own county it had been exercised during the last Administration by the defeated candidate, the noble Lord the Member for the County of Down; and he was glad to say that he believed that whatever Party had been in power it had been exercised with great advantage to the public, and as he believed was always the case, with fairness.

EARL PERCY explained that he had no objection to political patronage being placed in the hands of anyone who agreed with the political opinions of the Government in power, and who was resident in the county and understood its requirements. He said it was more important that the service of the Post Office should be performed in an adequate manner by those who knew the country than to allow the appointments to be in the hands of defeated candidates.

MR. BEAUMONT said, he had some acquaintance with Mr. Clay, to whom allusion had been made, and he was able to say that gentleman had a perfect knowledge of local requirements.

MAJOR NOLAN thought the Postmaster General would see there was good reason for the proposal that a Return of the persons who exercised patronage in the matter before the Committee should be included in a Return and laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. FAWCETT said, the question raised rather concerned the Secretary to the Treasury than the Postmaster General. The appointments made were purely Departmental so far as the Office over which he presided was concerned. If his hon. and gallant Friend desired to move further in this matter he suggested that a Question should be asked on Notice.

MR. LITTON said, if he thought any good would result he would be glad that the Return asked for by the hon. and gallant Member (Major Nolan) should be given. There was, however, a great distinction between an officer appointed in the country districts, and one in the Office of the Postmaster General.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Member (Mr. Litton) that the Question before the Committee is a Supplementary Vote of £18,200 for the Post Office, and that the present discussion would more correctly arise upon the general Estimates.

MAJOR NOLAN said, in deciding not to press his question, he did so entirely because the subject had been ruled out of Order.

Vote *agreed to.*

(41.) £9,000, Post Office Packet Service.

(42.) £34,390, Post Office Telegraphs.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT remarked that the excess of £16,500 under this head was very large, and thought some explanation ought to be given to the Committee as to how it had been occasioned.

MR. FAWCETT said, the revenue under this head had increased beyond the sum estimated to the extent of £100,000. The hon. and gallant Baronet would see that it was quite impossible that so large an additional revenue could be received without some increase of expenditure. The whole of the Supplementary Post Office Estimate was due to the fact that the entire postal revenue had increased by upwards of £400,000 beyond the Estimate.

DR. CAMERON observed, that a portion of the Vote was due to the litigation in connection with the Telephone Company, the result of which had been to place a monopoly entirely in the hands of the Post Office authorities. It appeared to him that under the spirit of the Post Office Telegraph Act, on given conditions, any member of the public was entitled to demand any service or licence that might be performed or granted by the Post Office. Now, the Post Office had granted licences to certain individuals, enabling them to start telephonic exchanges; but it refused to grant licences to others under precisely similar conditions. That, he thought, was rather an infringement of the spirit of the Telegraph Act, and would therefore be glad of some information upon the point. He understood that one reason alleged for refusing the licences in question was that so many wires would interfere with the safety of the public. The safety of the public, however, was a subject for the consideration of the various local authorities, and had nothing whatever to do with the Post Office authorities, who, so far as this matter was concerned, had only to deal with the licences in accordance with the spirit of the Act. The more the competition created by these means the better, in his opinion, for the public good.

MR. FAWCETT said, at that moment it would be almost impossible to give any decision upon so complicated a question. The Government had allowed existing Telephone Companies to continue their business under certain conditions; but numerous complaints had been made by the local authorities of the increase of wires, and the Post Office had concluded that it would generally be better to carry on the business themselves rather than to licence new Companies. As far as he was concerned, he would do everything in his power to supply the public with telephonic communication at the lowest rate, and with the least possible inconvenience.

DR. CAMERON said, he should call attention to the subject on a future occasion.

Vote *agreed to.*

CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES).

(43.) That a sum, not exceeding £12,109 4*s.* 2*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1880, viz.:—

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Mint, including Coinage ..	64	2	2
Lunacy Commission, Scotland ..	44	10	7

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

County Courts	2,124	17	11
Land Registry	12	19	7
Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies ..	2,205	8	6

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Endowed Schools Commissioners, Ireland	167	12	6
Queen's Colleges, Ireland ..	517	0	10

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

Consular Services	5,421	12	6
Suppression of the Slave Trade ..	1,550	19	7
Total Amount to be voted for Civil Services	£12,109	4	2

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the principle involved in this Vote was most important. The Committee were now asked to vote a series of excesses on Votes which already, in many cases, had been increased by Supplementary Estimates. This Vote, therefore, showed the importance of that scrutiny without which it was impossible for the House to check the expenditure of the Government. As far back as 1870 the Public Accounts Committee recorded their opinion that it would be of much value to the House if the examination of the Appropriation Accounts could be completed before the time arrived when Parliament was asked to grant the difficiencies found to have arisen in the grants of the previous year. The same Committee, in 1877, stated that it was of great importance that the attention of Parliament should be especially directed to all cases in which excess of expenditure had been incurred beyond that originally sanctioned by Parliament. They also thought it desirable that the excesses should be reported upon by the Committee of Public Accounts before it was voted in Committee of Supply, in order that attention might be called to any cases involving questions of principle. The Treasury in their Minute agreed with that view. Again, the present Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in 1877, as Chairman of the Committee of Public Accounts, recorded his opinion that none of the Votes of the kind now asked for should be taken in Committee of Supply until the Public Accounts Committee had had an opportunity of investigating every one of them and reporting upon them to the House of Commons. What steps, then, had the noble Lord taken to carry out that recommendation? He complained, in 1877, that the Appropriation Accounts of the Civil Service and Revenue Departments were not delivered until the 22nd February, and that the Public Accounts Committee had not, in consequence, had the opportunity of reviewing them. Again, the noble Lord had since been charged with the duty of nominating the Public Accounts Committee; yet, knowing that there were Supplementary Estimates and excesses, he had delayed for six weeks after the meeting of Parliament the nomination of the Committee; and the Appropriation Accounts for the present year had not been presented until two days later than they were in the year when the noble Lord recorded his objection to the system. The Committee, therefore, had no materials upon which to found a judgment on the Vote; and he thought hon. Members had a right to complain of the action of the Government, who, having proposed urgency for these Estimates, had not furnished the House with the Appropriation Accounts.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND, as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, was glad to inform the hon. Member for Queen's County that the Committee had already had the Excess Estimates before them, and had reported thereon.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: But the Accounts are not complete.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Yes they are.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Lord Frederick Cavendish,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

INDIA OFFICE (SALE OF SUPERFLUOUS LAND) BILL.—[BILL 91.]

(*Lord Frederick Cavendish, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR wished to know whether the India Office would gain or lose by the sale of this superfluous land?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: I am happy to be able to inform the hon. and gallant Member that the India Office will gain by the transaction.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

SEA FISHERIES (CLAM AND BAIT BEDS) BILL.—[BILL 83.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ashley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause **1** (Short title).

DR. WEBSTER did not know whether the Amendment he had given Notice of could properly be inserted in this part of the Bill; but he had understood from the authorities he consulted that it should be taken before the 1st Clause was passed, otherwise he might be prevented from proposing it in a subsequent part of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 5, after the words "sea fisheries," to insert the words "fishing banks and."—(*Dr. Webster.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think the Amendment of my hon. Friend is one of a series of Amendments which, if carried, would have the effect of very largely extending the scope of the Bill, to which, I am sorry to say, I am entirely unable to agree. Before dealing with the Amendment of my hon. Friend, I must trouble the Committee with one or two general observations. The fact is, this Amendment arises out of a contest between two classes of fisheries—between the hook and line and the drift net fishery, as it is called, on the one hand, and the trawlers on the other. Trawl fishing is the more modern of the two kinds of fishing. I believe that, in some form or other, it has been practised for 80 or 90 years; but it has received considerable development within the last 30 or 40 years. It is by far the most successful method of fishing, and it may be said to be a mechanical method. The largest amount of fish brought into the market, which forms a considerable item of the food of the country, is procured by trawling, and, not unnaturally, the other fishery, finding its business considerably injured by this successful competition, readily believes all the accusations that are brought against it. The general question for the House in reference to this matter would be whether they ought by legislation to protect one class of tradesmen against another, and especially whether they ought to protect the most successful and most scientific class of tradesmen against the less successful and scientific. It is something like calling on the House to interfere by legislation to protect the hand loom weaver against the spinning jenny, or protect the omnibus against the tramcar. The only ground for interference would be, that the trawlers, in the exercise of their trade, either intentionally or unnecessarily damage the business of the hook and line or drift net fishery. As to this matter, there have been several thorough investigations. There was a Commission appointed some time ago, which consisted, I think, of Mr. Maxwell, Professor Huxley, and you, Sir, the present Chairman of Committees (Mr. Lyon Playfair). Later, in 1866, a Royal Commission was appointed, on which the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) and Professor Huxley sat. There was also a Sea Fisheries Commission appointed in 1878, which consisted of Mr. Buckland and Mr. Walpole, to deal with the same subject. I must trouble the Committee with some extracts from the Reports of the Commissioners. I find that, in the Report of the Commission of 1866, which was signed by Professor Huxley and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, these Gentlemen said—

> "1. That fishing by the use of the beam-trawl is the source of by far the greatest and most progressive supply of fish, other than herring, to the principal markets of this country; that certain descriptions of fish, such as soles and plaice, could not be largely supplied by any other mode of fishing; that it engages the largest capital, employs the most numerous body of hardy fishermen, is the least under the control of the weather, and obtains the greatest returns of fish for the labour and capital employed."

Now, it seems to me that clearly it would not be right for Parliament to interfere to put down one form of enterprize because it interferes with another and less important form of trade. I am informed by Professor Huxley and others who have given great attention to the subject that if anything were done to interfere with the trawling enterprize the effect on the great markets would be something extraordinary. The supply of flat fish, soles and plaice, now so largely consumed by the working classes, would be at once enormously reduced. On the same subject, the Commission I have already quoted has said—

> "The prohibition of one method of fishing on account of its interference with another could only be justified on the ground that the latter method yielded a far more valuable supply of fish to the community than the former, which is not shown to be the case in any of the complaints which have come before us."

And then, in regard to the various allegations made as to the damage done by trawlers to other fishing, the Report goes on to say—

> "It has not been proved to our satisfaction that to prohibit, even partially, any of the modes of fishing complained of would result in a greater take of fish of all sorts in other ways. We are, therefore, of opinion that even granting a certain loss to drift, line, trammel, and other fishermen, it would not be advisable to make such prohibitions, even for certain times or in certain limited places."

Well, in the same Report there are, further, very strong conclusions with regard to the evidence—the want of conclusive evidence of any damage really done by the trawlers to the other kinds of fishing. I should say, however, that the complaints of the other fishermen are of three or four kinds. They complain, in the first place, that the trawlers injure their nets and gear—that they cut and damage them deliberately whilst pursuing their own employment. That is a complaint made with equal force by the trawlers against their competitors, and it is really a matter of police, having been dealt with by the Sea Fisheries Act 1878, which imposes a heavy penalty and declares that no trawlers are entitled to come within three miles of drift-net fishermen when at work; and the trawlers complain, and, I believe, with great reason—and we are taking steps to put an end to the ground for the complaint—that the drift-net fishermen, when working, do not use proper lights, and the trawlers really do not know where they are. The second complaint is that these trawls injure the spawn of fish. It is alleged that the trawl—which, I should explain to the Committee, most of whom are probably not acquainted with them, is a net attached to a beam and dragged along the bottom of the sea—is carried over beds where there is herring spawn, that it takes up the spawn and destroys it, preventing it from being subsequently vivified. The evidence as to that is of the most complete character. In the first place, experiments have been made which conclusively prove that the spawn, after having been removed in this way—after having been taken away—if returned to the water is not injured, but is still capable of being vivified. It is clear that the trawlers, when they accidentally take up spawn in their nets, make a practice of returning it again to the sea. In the second place, it is proved that in the places in which the trawlers work, and are alleged to destroy the spawn, the drift-net fishermen also work and take the herrings whilst they are spawning; so that, in fact, these persons actually desire legislation to protect the spawn, whilst they themselves are engaged in destroying the spawning fish. But there is a still more conclusive argument than either of those I have used, and it is rather an interesting illustration of the danger of unnecessary legislation on these subjects. The great case which is made out for interference is in connection with the Pittenweem beds, off the coast of Scotland. In this place, which is three or four miles in extent, the herrings have been accustomed to spawn, and it is proved that at the spawning time there is an enormous accumulation there of white fish of all kinds. These white fish come and eat the spawn, and before the Commission, upon which Professor Huxley sat, the fishermen gave evidence that they had removed as much as two or three handfulls of spawn from the stomach of a single turbot. The fishermen, therefore, who go to these beds to catch the turbot are really catching the animals which interfere a great deal more with the spawn than any human being possibly can do. Proof was given that one cod fish would consume in the course of a single year 420 herrings, and that the total catch of cod fish off the coast of Scotland prevented the destruction of a number of herrings equal to the total catch of herrings caught by the whole of the fishermen in Scotland, and 6,000 to boot. The effect of our interfering with the trawlers would be to give full play to the flat fish, the cod fish, and ling, which are more destructive to the spawn of herrings than any trawl can be. Another contention has been that the trawls can injure the white fish, and caught immature fish. This question, however, is simply one as to the size of the mesh, and legislation has been put into force that has prevented any but large fish being caught. It is contended by the drift-net fishermen that the spawn of white fish has been destroyed by the trawl; but it has been recently proved that the spawn of the white fish does not, as the fishermen suppose, go to the bottom of the sea, but floats on the surface, consequently the operations of the trawl are innocuous as to the spawn of the white fish. Lastly, it was contended by these same men that in certain cases the trawl injured the clam beds, the clams being a description of bait they use together with cockles, mussels, and some other bivalves. Evidence was given before Mr. Buckland and Mr. Walpole that, in some cases, this damage was wilfully done; and it seemed to the Government that this was a case in which the interference of the Legislature was necessary—that though we should not do anything to prevent legitimate enterprize, we should take the necessary steps to prevent anything like unnecessary damage. The Bill is directed to that one point alone, and I cannot say I see that any case has been made out for any extended interference. The only ground at all I can find for such a thing is in the recent Report of Mr. Buckland and Mr. Walpole, and in that the recommendation appears to be inconclusive. They say, on the one hand, that they have not been able to discover that anything which has yet been done by man has in any way interfered with the supply of herrings in the sea; they say that legislation hitherto has not had the slightest effect in increasing the supply of herrings; they say that it is not proved to their satisfaction that trawling has interfered with the supply of herrings or damaged the spawn; and then they go on to say that notwithstanding all that, inasmuch as it may be possible that some cases may arise, they think it desirable that the Government should take power to prohibit them. For my part, I think it would be much better for the Department to wait until some case has been made out for their interference before they meddle in the matter. Applications would come from all parts of the Kingdom from hook and line, or drift-net fishermen, for protection against the trawlers, which the Department would be placed in the invidious position of having to refuse, and great dissatisfaction would be the result. We have now the Amendment of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) before us; but there are several others, and I must, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, oppose them.

Dr. WEBSTER thought if his right hon. Friend had been good enough to wait until he saw what the case for the Amendment was, he would have been spared a considerable part of his argument. He (Dr. Webster) was going to touch upon hardly any of those questions which the right hon. Gentleman supposed he was going to bring before the Committee. He wished it distinctly to be understood that he did not come there as an advocate of one class of fishermen more than another, and he did not wish to say or advocate anything with regard to spawn. He did not pretend in the least to come forward to contest any question on behalf of the hook and line fishers, commonly called "white fishers," as against the trawlers. He came here acknowledging the principle of the Bill to be a right one; and, having full confidence in the Board of Trade, he wished to extend the advantages of the Bill by giving the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) power in a wider direction than he himself claimed. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in one thing, and that was, that the great authority on this subject was to be found in the three Royal Commissions which had reported as to the effect of trawling in the seas surrounding our shores. He wished to say—and he should be as brief as possible—that of the three Commissions, the first into which it was desirable to enter, was the one composed of Professor Huxley, Mr. Caird, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. That Commission reported in 1866. Its province extended not merely to in-shore fishing, to which the Bill applied—to fishing within our own territorial waters—but it extended to deep-sea fishing. The scope of the Inquiry was to consider the effect then, and in the future, of trawl-fishing on the supply of fish, and its effect upon other kinds of fishing. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had not pointed this out—that there was a great and deep distinction drawn in Professor Huxley's Report between deep-sea fishing and in-shore fishing. With regard to deep-sea fishing, it was quite true that the Commission reported that, in their opinion, no substantial case of injury to fishing existed from the operation of trawling; but as to in-shore fishing the case was different. The Commission of 1866 reported that, with regard to the trawl fishing in territorial waters, great complaints had been made of the injury caused to these fishings by trawlers. As to the whole question of the destruction of fish, he would wish the Committee to observe what that Commission—the most important and influential that had ever sat—said on the subject. They reported that the evidence satisfied them that great injury and great destruction had been caused to fishing by the operation of trawling. They granted that injury was done to immature and young fish, but did not consider that the destruction which was occasioned was a "wasteful" one, because the loss occasioned by trawling bore no proportion to the loss through natural causes. The Commission reported, not that destruction had not been done to immature fish, even in deep waters, but that the destruction was not a wasteful one. Why was it not a wasteful destruction? Because, in their opinion, the ratio of injury done to immature fish by trawling bore no proportion to the loss and injury to immature fish by natural enemies. He wished to put this fairly, and would therefore repeat the view of the Commission in their very words. They said—

> "We think that there is no evidence that the use of the trawl net or beam trawl, or any other mode of fishing, involves the wasteful destruction of fish or spawn."

He would ask the Committee to observe, in the whole of the Reports of these Commissions, this word "wasteful;" and they would, he thought, come to the conclusion that the whole thing was a mere dispute about words. The "destruction" was admitted; but the "wastefulness" was not admitted. The right hon. Gentleman had said that Professor Huxley's Report negatived the idea of there being any injury to in-shore fishing by the use of trawls; but, with all submission, that was not so. Professor Huxley, in that sense, spoke only of deep sea fishing, with which he (Mr. Webster) had nothing at all to do, his appeal to Her Majesty's Government and the Committee being confined entirely, as was the present Bill, to in-shore fishing. This was what Professor Huxley said with regard to in-shore fishing—

> "With respect to it, though the evidence, so far as it is conclusive, appears to us to prove that the taking of small and immature fish has not yet produced any injurious effect upon fisheries, it is undoubtedly possible that by the use of improved engines the destruction of fry might reach such a pitch as to bear a large instead of, as at present, an insignificant ratio to the destruction effected by natural enemies of fish and by conditions unfavourable to their existence."

And Professor Huxley's warning had been borne out, because they knew, according to the Report of the Commission of 1879, that within the few months immediately preceding that Report trawling had very considerably extended into territorial waters. The Commission of 1879 did not deny that there had been a destruction of fish, but reported, like their predecessors, that there had not been a wasteful destruction; yet such was the force of the evidence brought to bear upon them that they reported—

> "That the Secretary of State should have power, after inquiry by some competent person, to issue a Provisional Order prohibiting the use of the trawl net or beam trawl in any of the territorial seas, such Order to come into force only after its approval by Parliament."

It was on such a recommendation as that that the Government were justified in bringing in the present Bill; but he did not know any part of the Report which recommended that such a power by Provisional Order should be confined to clam or bait beds. The Commission distinctly reported that, in their opinion, the Secretary of State should be allowed the power of issuing a Provisional Order, after due inquiry, to prevent the use of the trawl in-shore. The other Commission of 1878, to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred, had reported to the same effect. Speaking with regard to certain cases of injury to line fishing, they had said—

> "We cannot take on ourselves the responsibility of saying that it may not be necessary to interfere with beam trawling in-shore. No such necessity, indeed, has been proved to our satisfaction. But so strong a case *primâ facie* has been made out that the Legislature, we think, should give the Secretary of State power to stop in-shore trawling, if necessary to do so."

The Commission of 1878 said that no such necessity had been proved to their satisfaction; but no such case could have been proved with regard to white-fishing, because that Commission was confined in its scope and powers exclusively to herring-fishing. The abuses which came before that Commission with regard to white-fishing were brought under their notice incidentally, and there was no opportunity for the white-fisherman to give evidence. The Commission, then, of 1879, and also that of 1878, distinctly recommended, not power to forbid clam and bait-fishing by trawlers, but that the Board of Trade should have a power of inquiry, and upon cause shown, and with other safeguards, to issue a Provisional Order for the protection of the fishing by forbidding trawling within a reasonable area, and with certain restrictions as to time. He did not speak as the advocate of protection for any one class of fishing more than another; but there was an undoubted and real risk within the shallow waters in-shore—where the banks were so shallow that they did not exceed 10 fathoms—of such a quantity of immatured fish being brought up by the trawling nets as might destroy the fishing. The proposal would not be at all disagreeable to the trawlers themselves; and the most influential of the Commissions, that of Mr. Huxley, said the trawlers themselves had become sensible and alive to the danger of in-shore trawling, and the destruction of immatured fish. So strong was the impression made upon that Commission that they reported that even many of the trawlers themselves were not indisposed to some restrictions with a view to the advantages which they knew would ensue. They had become satisfied that the banks were being rapidly destroyed, and felt that the fish there should not be trawled for in the summer and spring, the proper time for their protection. He had had many applications made to him, and much information given directly to him; but he would not trouble the Committee with that, because he thought the recommendations of the three Commissions should be sufficient. But he wished to impres upon the Committee the serious risk that would be run of the destruction of immatured fish. He had received a letter from a gentleman who was not engaged in white-fishing, Mr. Adam, of Aberdeen, who was known in connection with salmon-fishing; and that gentleman said he felt bound to add his testimony as to the great destruction of fish. He said that he had seen several hundred weight of immatured fish thrown out from the nets of the trawlers.

MR. BIRKBECK hoped the Committee would not agree to the Amendment. He had trawled a good deal in the North Sea, and he could assure the Committee that if the Amendment was agreed to, the whole trawl-fishing along the coast would be utterly destroyed. The whole question of the close-time would be an International matter, and he was sure it was not desirable to agree to the Amendment, or any of the Amendments proposed. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) upon the very clear way in which he had placed the matter from the Front Bench.

MR. MARJORIBANKS observed that the Amendment under notice was of the same character as all the rest, and one division would settle the whole of them. He must join issue with the right hon. Gentleman when he announced his attitude of utter inflexibility. This was not a question between line and drift-net fishermen on the one hand, and trawlers on the other. A part of all fishery was carried on within the three miles' limit; but the amount of line and drift-net fishing within that limit was very small, as was also the trawling. The Amendment was intended to comprehend the whole of Messrs. Buckland and Walpole's recommendation that the Secretary of State should have power, after inquiry, to issue a Provisional Order prohibiting the use of trawling nets in territorial seas, such Order to come into force only after the approval of Parliament. He did not wish trawling to be prohibited within the territorial seas altogether, but only where it was shown to be doing definite harm to fish or fisheries. Everybody who knew anything about fishing would know that it was in the shallow waters that the fish spawned, and where they first lived; and that consequently it was in the shallow waters that so much harm was done by trawl-fishing. The right hon. Gentleman had described trawl-fishing as fishing with iron hoops trawled along the bottom of the sea.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, it was very difficult to describe a machine of that kind; but what he had said was that it was a net carried on a beam supported on iron hoops and trawled along the bottom of the sea.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, a trawl net was a long, purse-shaped net attached to a heavy wooden beam, varying in length from 20 to 60 feet. That beam was kept away from the bottom of the sea by the trawl heads, and the net was dropped down and dragged along by the trawler, the ground rope in front of it stirring up the fish, which rose up and fell into the long net. That machine being dragged along the bottom of the sea, by the admission of the Bill which the Government had introduced, crushed the shells of, and brought up the shell-fish. It also brought up and killed in these shallow waters a vast qnantity of small, immature fish and fry. The Bill did not even include oysters, though he thought it might have included them, as well as bait and clams. Then, another reason why he thought some restriction might be put on trawlers was that trawlers had the power of lifting up their nets at any moment they chose. If they were steam trawlers, they were, besides, so far independent of wind and tide that they could go where they liked, and raise their nets when and where they chose. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give way a little in the direction asked, and not be afraid of a little more trouble being thrown on his Department.

MR. R. W. DUFF had no objection to include fishing banks, if he understood what fishing banks meant; but he thought that in the Interpretation Clause there ought to be something showing what was meant by fishing banks, because we had no jurisdiction over foreign countries beyond three miles from the shore, and consequently foreign boats could fish in these banks within three miles, while our fishermen could not. If the fishing banks were to be defined as meaning three miles from the shore he would support the Amendment; but if the limit was to be general, that, he thought, would defeat the object in view. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had said that trawl fishing was by far the most important of the English fishing. He (Mr. R. W. Duff) had no doubt it was, with regard to English coast fishing; but it was not true with regard to Scotch coast fishing. The most valuable fishing they had in Scotland was herring fishing by drift-nets. He had no objection to trawl fishing; but he believed that within three miles of the shore it often did a good deal of harm. Something ought to be put into the Interpretation Clause to say what fishing banks meant; and the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) should supply the words. If the words had any meaning at all, they must mean fishing banks within three miles of the shore; but if they extended to the whole of the ocean they could have no meaning whatever.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME said, it appeared to him that to leave fishing banks unrestricted was going too far. Those who had read the evidence before the Commissioners knew that it went only to the length of three miles, or five miles at the outside. He wished to draw attention to the wanton damages which the Commission was informed had been done on the East Coast of Northumberland by the numerous steam trawlers from Shields and Tynemouth. Owing to the slackness of trade, those steamers had nothing to do, and so they went out to the fishing ground and spoilt the fishermen's trade. He was bound to say, however, that the fishermen who gave that evidence stated that when they got to Yarmouth they had nothing to complain of, for the steam trawlers kept off, and did not interfere with them; whereas off the Northumberland coast they ran into the vessels and destroyed the nets. If the hon. Gentleman (Dr. Webster) went to a division he should support him, on the understanding that fishing banks only extended to three miles from the shore.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) was well acquainted with the views of the industrious fishermen on the Scotch North-East Coast; and he (Sir George Balfour) himself had received several representations with regard to the injury done to these fisheries by the trawlers. He must complain of the way in which the hon. Member for Aberdeen was met by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, when he asked for that protection of the business of innocent men engaged in the line fishings. He was certain that if the hon. Member for Aberdeen appealed to the vote of the Committee he would get better treatment than from the President of the Board of Trade. It was useless appealing to the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. WILLIAMSON pointed out that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) and his own Amendment followed the words "within territorial waters," and, therefore, did not touch deep sea trawling.

Lord HENRY SCOTT thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman went so far as he could be expected to go. The object of the Bill was to protect clams and bait beds from injury; and the object of the right hon. Gentleman, as he understood it, was not to set up one class of fisheries against another. It would be an unfortunate thing if they were to contest a matter of this kind, and set up one class of fishing against another; but he was sure that if the Amendment of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) were to be carried, and the subsequent Amendment following upon it was carried, that would be fatal to the trawl fishing in this country, especially in shallow waters, and to a very profitable industry which did no harm itself to other fishing. As he understood it, the Board of Trade took power to protect clams and bait beds when they thought it necessary, and the Bill, in his opinion, went far enough in that respect; and he hoped the Government would resist the proposal to extend the Bill in directions which would be fatal by setting up one class of fishery against another.

Earl PERCY said, the hon. and gallant Member for Berwick (Captain Milne Home) had forestalled him with respect to the harm done by trawl fishing on the North-East Coast. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had stated that the trawlers did very little harm to the spawn of herrings, because when the spawn was returned to the water it was always capable of being developed. He (Earl Percy) did not doubt that in some instances that might be the case; but anyone who knew anything about fishing knew that a great deal of the spawn was spoilt by the machinery used in trawling.

Dr. WEBSTER wished it to be understood that the object of his Amendment was merely to extend the scope of the Bill, and the powers of the Board of Trade within territorial waters. With that exception, every provision of the Bill would remain as it was.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, as he understood, the hon. Member (Dr. Webster) based his contention almost entirely on what he considered the recommendations of the various Commissions. He (Mr. Chamberlain) did not know whether the hon. Member was aware of a Report which formed the basis of the knowledge of the Government with regard to Scotch fisheries, prepared by Professor Huxley in 1863. On page 31 of that Report the Commissioners said they were bound to state that the repressive Acts of 1860 and 1861 restricting trawling were altogether unnecessary, being especially for the protection of class interests, and interfering with a new and more productive mode of industry. They also said that that demand for restrictive legislation was only another instance of what happened always when a new industry arose and interfered with an old one. He did not think it was possible to state the case more clearly than Professor Huxley had, and that if his hon. Friend relied upon Professor Huxley, he would find the evidence of that gentleman directly in opposition to his conclusions. Referring to the Report of Messrs. Buckland and Walpole, the hon. Member had laid stress on their statement as to the destruction of fish; but what those Gentlemen meant was that it was impossible to carry on that fishery without interfering with other fisheries. It was absolutely impossible to prosecute one of these methods of fishing without some slight interference with the other; but all the allegations of the wonderful injury done by trawling were without foundation. He (Mr. Chamberlain) had recently consulted Professor Huxley, in order to ascertain if he had received any recent information which induced him, in the slightest degree, to alter his opinions; and he had received a letter from him, the most important paragraph of which was to the following effect Professor Huxley wrote—

> "Under the circumstances I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that all legislation tending to restrict the operation of the trawlers on this ground is an interference with the freedom of trade."

Professor Huxley went on to say that he did not see any contradiction between the conclusion thus arrived at and the conclusion expressed by Mr. Buckland and Mr. Walpole. Wherever it could be shown that the trawlers did wanton damage there should be power to restrain them. Professor Huxley further said that he had submitted his observations to Mr. Walpole, the sole surviving Commissioner of the two who had given in these Reports, and Mr. Walpole authorized him to say that he agreed with the opinion expressed in them. If, therefore, his hon. Friend the Member for Aberbeen (Dr. Webster) was content to be bound by the opinions of the Commissioners, he would see that there was not the slightest ground for the Amendment. There was a further proposition to restrain the use of the trawl in territorial waters. If they did that, he was afraid they would materially interfere with the business of the trawlers, as they were compelled to work in-shore in rough weather, and would have to be laid up unless they were so allowed to work. He did not think that it was expedient to hamper or trammel them by any such restriction. Before they attempted to impose serious restrictions upon one of the most important industries of the country, there ought to be some clear evidence to show that the take of fish had been injured by the practices complained of. At present, as far as he was able to see, there was no evidence that the take of fish had been in the slightest degree injured.

DR. WEBSTER remarked, that new evidence from his distinguished friend, Professor Huxley, had been brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman. He (Dr. Webster) had already quoted the statements of Professor Huxley in 1866. At page 26 of the Report of the Sea Fisheries Commission, presented in 1866, there was this passage, which he (Dr. Webster) thought was conclusive testimony in his favour. Professor Huxley said—

> "We do not know enough of the number, or the mode of multiplication, or of the condition of existence in any locality, of any given kind of fish, to be able to form the slightest estimate as to the effect which will be produced upon the number of that fish by a given amount of destruction of its young."

He (Dr. Webster) asked for no restriction, but only that the Board of Trade should make an examination into the matter.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 41; Noes 83: Majority 42.—(Div. List, No. 157.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

MAJOR NOLAN asked the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade why the provisions of the Bill had not been extended to Ireland?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had applied from the Board of Trade to the Irish Office, to know if he should make the provisions of the Act extend to Ireland; but he was told not, because they had already, under the Irish Act, even greater powers than this Bill gave.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Power of Board of Trade by Provisional Order to protect bait beds from injury by beam trawls).

MR. WILLIAMSON moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 3, after the word "bed," to insert the words "or bed where herrings are known to spawn." He had been afraid that the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) would meet the fate it had received; and therefore he had drafted his Amendment more in harmony with the spirit of the Bill itself. The object of the Bill was to prevent specific injury to shell-fish and to increase the supply of food. He had kept that idea strictly in view in drafting the Amendment; and the object of the Amendment and that of the Bill were, he believed, identical. He did not intend to enter into the wide question of trawling *versus* net fishing; but he believed that specific injuries were inflicted on certain grounds on the East Coast of Scotland on which herrings were known to spawn by the operations of the trawlers. He had presented various Petitions in favour of the Amendment from various parts of Scotland, and one from the Convention of Royal Burghs. It was alleged, and the fishermen all bore corroborative testimony, that at Pittenween a valuable fishery had been destroyed by trawling within territorial waters. There were 700 fishing boats belonging to the district he represented, more than 500 of which were of the first class, and the fishermen had been compelled to go to distant fishing grounds away in the North of Scotland and the Hebrides; whereas, if this injury had not been inflicted by trawling, they would have been able to pursue their ordinary avocation at their own doors. In this case he complained of a specific injury, and on that ground he appealed to his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade to accept the Amendment. He thought that the complaints of the fishermen ought to be listened to without regard to the merits of the question of trawling *versus* line or net fishing, especially as the Bill itself contained a clause providing that nothing should be done until there had been a legal inquiry by the Board of Trade and a recommendation made. He could not understand why the Board of Trade should object to so reasonable an Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 13, after the word "bed," to insert the words "or bed where herrings are known to spawn."—(*Mr. Williamson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had already dealt with this question, to some extent, in speaking upon the previous Amendment. His hon. Friend proposed that they should take power to protect the beds where herrings were supposed to spawn. Now, these were precisely the places where other fish, attracted by the spawn of the herrings, were to be found, and in killing these fish the trawlers were really killing the greatest enemies of the herring; and he therefore doubted whether they would not be doing more harm than good if, under such circumstances, they were to interfere with the trawling. It was alleged that the herrings had disappeared in consequence of trawling. He could only add to what he had already said that the facts were these. Trawling was first practised at Pittenween about 25 or 30 years ago, and for some time the take of herrings constantly increased; but after some years of great prosperity it was true that the herrings seemed to have deserted the beds. But on inquiry he found that the history of the place showed that exactly the same occurrence took place 60 years ago, before the trawlers had visited the place; and if they fully investigated the subject they would find that the herring was the most capricious of fish. Under these circumstances, he very much regretted that, after having given to the matter the most careful consideration, the question having been for a considerable time before his Advisers, he was obliged to come to the conclusion that it was impossible to accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend.

Mr. R. P. BRUCE remarked, that the herring generally spawned in rough places where it was impossible to work a trawl; but it so happened that there were on the East Coast of Scotland a certain number of level places where the herrings did spawn and where trawling was practised. It was with a view to protect these few well-known spots that this Amendment had been proposed. There was one other remark that he should like to make in reference to the matter. At the time when Professor Huxley made the Inquiry which had been alluded to, in 1863, the fishermen of the locality were divided upon the question of trawling. While the fishermen of the other villages in the neighbourhood were opposed to trawling, those belonging to the village of St. Monance were then supporters of the system of trawling, on the ground that its interference with the herring fishery was hardly worthy of notice. But since that time the opinion of the fishermen in that village had entirely altered; and a Petition had been sent up to him by the fishermen of St. Monance strongly in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for St. Andrew's (Mr. Williamson).

Mr. A. GRANT thought that the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Williamson) was a most reasonable one. It was a smaller, and perhaps, on that account, a more manageable proposal than that of his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster). It proposed that a limited number of places—there were probably not more than three or four of them around the coasts of these Islands—to which the herrings were known to resort for the purpose of spawning, should be included in the action of the Bill. Although the right hon. Gentleman appeared to flout the idea that the Bill was intended to protect the hook-and-line fishermen, it was evident that the measure would give protection from a portion, at least, of the damage done to the hook-and-line fishermen by the operations of the trawlers. The Bill admitted, and the right hon. Gentleman also admitted, that actual damage was done by trawling in the case of the bait beds; and he (Mr. Grant) could not see that there was any valid reason for not extending the restraining powers proposed by the Bill to be imposed on fishing in respect to the bait beds, to those other places mentioned by his hon. Friend, if it could be conclusively proved that those other places were damaged also. The fishermen in the neighbourhood said that it was so—that the places which the herrings were known to frequent for the purpose of spawning were really damaged; and they spoke with the light of practical experience. Their contention was that the dragging of a heavy beam along the bottom disturbed and harrowed up the herring spawn; and in saying so they confirmed the evidence given on more than one occasion before the Commission appointed to inquire into the matter. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that the stirring up of this spawn, and its constant churning up and down, had rather a tendency to improve the chances of its vitality; but that was contrary to the generally received idea that fish spawn required rest for the development of the hatching process. If that were so, it seemed to follow that the disturbance of the spawn must tend to a diminution of the number of fish that were produced. But that was not all, as they had heard in the discussion that night. It was well known that the places where the herring spawned were visited by a large number of other fish; but if the supply of food was interfered with, the natural consequence would be that they would be driven away. Thus a double injury was produced by trawling; and there was no corresponding advantage either to the trawlers themselves, or to the public, in an increased supply of fish. He might say this—that the local fishermen, in making this moderate demand, did not ask that the general system of trawling should be interfered with in any way. They did not ask that trawling should be prohibited in narrow seas like the Firth of Forth, though he must say that a good deal might be said in favour of such a demand. All they asked was that protection should be given to places like that under discussion from operations which were found to be most injurious to them in the pursuit of their legitimate calling. They did not ask that trawling should be peremptorily forbidden even in these places, but that if, after a careful and thorough inquiry by competent persons, it should appear to the Board of Trade that their complaints were well-founded, trawling should then be prohibited, but only then. He might notice a circumstance which had already been stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Fifeshire (Mr. R. P. Bruce) as a striking proof of the *bonâ fide* character of the complaints of the fishermen, and it was this—that whereas they had formerly been accustomed to trawl over these very beds, their experience satisfied them that trawling was injurious to the general fishing, and therefore they gave it up. It was certainly somewhat hard, under these circumstances, that they should have to stand by and see strangers coming in with machinery much heavier and more destructive than had ever been used by themselves—the heavy beam trawls with which the steam trawlers work, and wantonly destroying their means of livelihood.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 45; Noes 65: Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 158.)

MR. WARTON begged, with the permission of the Committee, to move the Amendment which stood in his name. It was to insert in page 1, line 13, after "area" the words—

> "Or causes the destruction of any marine animal, or of any sea fish, or of the spawn of sea fish, or of the fry of sea fish."

[*Laughter.*] He was encouraged to move the Amendment because the divisions were getting rather more against the Government than at the outset. He would very much prefer the Committee to be discussing, instead of this Bill, some of the Votes in Supply, which were considered so urgent, and which might have been taken had the Government only put them down. He was rather surprised at the merriment of some hon. Gentlemen at the expression "marine animal." He would hardly have thought it necessary to inform the Committee that there were inhabitants of the sea that were not fishes—["Mermaids!"]—and these inhabitants of the sea ought to be included in the Bill. As far as he could understand the matter, these trawl nets were destructive of many fish; and it was in the interest of that part of the public who fed on fish, and in the interest of the much larger part of the population who did not, but who ought to eat fish, that he introduced the present Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 13, after the word "area," to insert the words "or causes the destruction of any marine animal, or of any sea fish, or of the spawn of sea fish, or of the fry of sea fish."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, if he did not know that the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was always serious, he would have thought he had put his Amendments down as a joke, because he (Mr. Chamberlain) found that by one of them he proposed to make it unlawful to fish with a beam trawl, if it caused the destruction of any sea fish. The sole object of beam trawling was to destroy the fish, and the Amendment would be fatal to trawling altogether. In the second place, the hon. and learned Member proposed that the prohibition should take place wherever there was any destruction of any marine animal or of any sea fish. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman consider that a fish was not a marine animal? The hon. and learned Gentleman evidently desired to protect marine animals which were not fish, such as jelly fish, squid, and similar creatures. He could not conceive what good purpose would be served if a division were taken upon this Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN asked for information as to the extent of the Bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN was sorry he could not give a precise answer. Territorial waters certainly included all within three miles of the shore, and it also included a greater extent in estuaries.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 3 to 6, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Extent of Act).

Mr. WARTON said, after the explanation given by the right hon. Gentleman, he would not move the Amendments upon this clause which stood in his name.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Recovery of Fines).

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN wished to insert an Amendment which had been suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), and which would be a great improvement. He proposed in page 3, line 11, to leave out the word "summarily" and insert other words, so as to bring the Bill in accord with preceding Acts.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 9 (Interpretation).

Mr. R. W. DUFF trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be willing to add a clause which would strictly define what territorial waters were.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN observed, that territorial waters under this Bill would be the same as those contemplated by the Territorial Waters Jurisdiction Act of 1878. He had not that Act with him; but he would bring one upon the next stage of the Bill.

Mr. MARJORIBANKS asked if other trawls were included in the Bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN replied, that trawls were defined in the Bill as—

"A net commonly known as a beam trawl net, and any other engine or instrument (not being a dredge for oysters) which is used or capable of being used for dragging along the bottom of the sea for the purpose of taking fish."

Clause *agreed to.*

Mr. WARTON moved the insertion of the following new Clause:—

"It shall not be lawful at any time to fish with a beam trawl in any estuary, tidal river, tidal bay, or Scotch or Irish tidal loch or lake, and any person so fishing shall be liable to the penalties and punishments provided by section two of this Act."

The question had been put to him by the right hon. Gentleman whether he objected to trawling altogether. He did object to it; but he would now leave the Amendment to stand on its merits.

Amendment proposed, after Clause 2, insert the following Clause :—

"It shall not be lawful at any time to fish with a beam trawl in any estuary, tidal river, tidal bay, or Scotch or Irish tidal loch or lake, and any person so fishing shall be liable to the penalties and punishments provided by section two of this Act."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the said Clause be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. and learned Member had very frankly admitted that his object in proposing this clause was to destroy trawling altogether. The Committee had already affirmed the impropriety of any such interference with a very important enterprize; and, under those circumstances, he (Mr. Chamberlain) hoped they would not accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME did not object to all trawling, but to trawling in inshore waters. In July, 1879, he put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman who was then Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross) on behalf of the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho). The Question was—

"Whether, having regard to the losses the fishermen in the Firth of Forth are suffering through injury to their lines and the destruction of the clam and mussel beds by the action of steam trawling vessels, he would take steps for their protection?"

The right hon. Gentleman replied that—

"Great injury has certainly been done in the way pointed out in the Question, and he would see that whatever was possible would be done to prevent anything of the kind in future."

The right hon. Gentleman also said that—

"The Fishery Commission had agreed to make certain recommendations."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlviii. 965.]

He (Captain Milne-Home) would now be glad to hear from the present President of the Board of Trade what recommendations the Commissioners made with reference to the injury done in the Firth of Forth. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was prepared to come to Parliament for powers to take the necessary steps; and this he said he would do at the earliest possible moment. They all knew what occurred in 1880. The right hon. Gentleman had no power to do anything; and it now only remained with the Home Office or the Board of Trade to carry out the promise the Home Secretary of that day made in respect to this matter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the point raised by the hon. and gallant Member (Captain Milne-Home) was no bogus one. It was entertained by the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, who had promised the House that if he obtained the power he would remedy the evil complained of. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) would, at a later stage of the Bill, take up that and other similar matters.

MR. LODER pointed out that, under the new clause proposed, trawling could not be carried on at all.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, it was suggested that the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, unfortunately, was not now in his place, promised to adopt something like the clause now before the Committee. He (Mr. Chamberlain) was certainly under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) never intended to do that; and he could not give any assurance that in that Bill he would introduce a clause similar to that of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). No trawler was permitted within three miles of the drift nets, and, therefore, no wanton mischief was possible.

Question put, and *negatived.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[*Lords.*]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

[BILL 107.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, Returns similar to what were proposed by the Bill had been given for a series of years in England and Ireland, and it was desirable to extend the same to Scotland. The authority of Parliament, however, was necessary, in order to compel the local bodies to give the information. He would move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE did not object to the second reading; but the Bill ought certainly to be in the hands of hon. Members.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, that, though the Bill was prepared by the Lord Advocate at his request, and for which he was very grateful, yet they ought to object to the second reading of the Bill until it was in the hands of hon. Members. An extremely bad precedent would be set up by so doing, for he supposed there was absolute ignorance in every part of the House as to what was intended by the measure, except on the part of the Lord Advocate and himself.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren) said, the Bill had come down from the Lords; but he would consent to an adjournment until Friday, so that it might be printed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Friday.*

EXEMPTION FROM DISTRESS BILL.

(*Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Joseph Pease, Mr. Cropper.*)

[BILL 92.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Mr. PELL said, the subject was most intricate, and required very careful consideration. With regard to that portion of the Bill which dealt with agricultural machinery taken on hire and use for farming there could be no possible objection. There was no difficulty whatever in knowing to whom agricultural machinery, such as steam ploughs, thrashing machines, and so forth belonged; but when they came to the second part—namely, that which dealt with cattle, he was bound to say they were confronted by a question full of difficulties, difficulties which the draftsman, if he had comprehended, had certainly not met. The Bill enabled a tenant to have on his land whatever stock he chose, to consume the produce of the land, and left the landlord with no remedy for the recovery of his rent. It was, no doubt, considered questionable whether or not it was desirable to continue the system of distress for rent, and he (Mr. Pell) had his own views upon the subject; but it was perfectly clear that a Bill was defective which allowed a tenant the right to do just as he pleased with the land, and yet allowed the landlord no power to obtain his rent. The Bill was a direct encouragement to fraud. The 3rd clause provided for the owner of the cattle giving notice of his agreement to graze the land; but there was nothing in the clause to enable the landlord to know what cattle were put upon the land, or how to distinguish the cattle of the dealer or of the person grazing the land from the live stock of the tenant himself. There would be a jumble, and possibly a law suit between the landlord and tenant, or between the landlord and dealer or banker or person who had found the stock, or who had advanced the money. That was the first objection he had to the Bill. But the serious defect of the Bill lay in the 4th clause, where the framers of the measure desired to do justice to the landlord. They proposed to enact that the landlord might require the owner of the cattle, in the case of a tenant owing rent and holding the farm, to pay any sum or sums of money which might then be due, or from time to time be due, in respect of agisted cattle, to him, the landlord, in discharge of rent. But it was obvious that the tenant would avail himself of this Act, and would say to the agister of the cattle—"Here I am in difficulty. I have 200 acres of land; I pay £2 an acre to my landlord, and rates and taxes. I do not think I can give you all the grass keeping; but you may have it from the 1st of March to the 1st of September for £400." The dealer would say—"I think that a fair bargain;" whereupon the tenant would say—"I am short of money; if you pay me £350 down on the nail you may have the grass keeping." The dealer would be likely to close with such an arrangement; and where was the landlord to look for his arrears of rent out of money due for agistment when it had been discounted and prepaid? The clause really suggested to people the means of doing that which was hardly fair to the landlord. He ought to apologize for detaining the House at that hour; but the subject was one of great importance, and one with which he was thoroughly conversant. He had agisted cattle; he had taken in cattle himself; and he considered the Bill had not been framed with sufficient care. He would suggest, therefore, that the hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill should not proceed with it at that hour, or, what would be better still, that he should agree to refer it to a Select Committee.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, after listening to the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) he found there was only one point on which it was desirable that some words should be introduced—that was, to meet the case of the tenant receiving money in advance. In all other respects the Bill amply guarded the landlord, because notice was to be given by the owner of live stock to the landlord. If the owner did not give notice his cattle remained distrainable. He trusted the House would allow the Bill to pass through Committee, when he would accept the Amendments on the Paper, which were nothing more than verbal; and on Report he would consider what words should be introduced to meet the special point of detail to which he had referred.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, he had been asked by many of his Colleagues to say one word in favour of the Bill. They desired it to be extended to Ireland, where nearly every day cases occurred which illustrated the questions dealt with by it, and they had remained in the House for the purpose of aiding the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) in advancing the measure.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title), and Clause 2 (Interpretation of terms), *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Live Stock and agricultural and other machinery exempted from distress).

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 20, to leave out the word "an," and insert the words "a bonâ fide." — (*Sir Henry Holland.*)

MR. PELL drew attention to the case of live stock getting upon land, and wished to know how they would be affected by the Bill? Further, a team of horses might be sent upon land for the purpose of removing timber. He thought that in such cases great injustice might sometimes be done under the Bill, which, he thought, hardly went far enough.

MR. BIDDELL said, there were many farms in Suffolk, the owners of which were unknown to anyone but the tenants, who generally would not allow the landlord's name and address to be known, particularly if they held their farms at a low rent. Very often, also, no regular agent was employed, the rent being paid into a bank. Therefore, he thought it would, in many cases, be impracticable to give notice to the landlord. He thought the assumption ought to be that the cattle belonged to the tenant, and suggested that if distress was put in the owner of the stock should give notice to the sheriff, who should hold the money until the question was decided. The question of ownership of cattle, even when all the facts of the case were known, was a very difficult one. There ought to be some power to decide to whom the stock actually belonged; but as to giving notice to the landlord, he was quite sure that in his part of the country, at any rate, it would be quite impracticable. He had no desire to delay the Bill, which had, however, come forward rather suddenly. Still, he thought if time were given the clauses might be made more simple and more effectual.

Amendment *agreed to.*

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to make it absolutely certain that the live stock which might be put out for agistment did not belong to the tenant farmer; and, therefore, proposed to add words for that purpose.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 23, after the word "stock," to insert the words, "together with a statement of the number of each kind of such stock with the owner's marks thereon."—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

Amendment *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Payment by owner of live stock to landlord of sums due for agistment or feeding).

MR. WHITLEY said, the clause required consideration on the ground that it only gave power to the landlord to give notice to the owner when there was rent in arrear. He should, therefore, move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND hoped the Motion would not be pressed. The landlord would give notice that when the rent was in arrear the owner of the live stock was to pay any sums due in respect of the agistment to him, and not to the tenant.

MR. WHITLEY said, a landlord might let a farm for a year, no rent being due for half a year. In the meantime the tenant might be receiving rent week by week, and when the landlord came at the end of the term he would get nothing.

MR. J. W. PEASE trusted the Motion to report Progress would not be pressed, inasmuch as the Amendments that might be necessary could be brought up on Report. As it was exceedingly difficult for private Members to go forward with Bills, it was very desirable that they should not be unnecessarily delayed.

MR. PELL said, that the clause before the Committee was so far from providing what was right and just that he thought the Committee should agree to report Progress. The clause, as it stood, was an encouragement to tenants unable to pay their rent to obtain money down from other parties and depart with it, in which case the landlord would have no remedy whatever. This section, in his opinion, required re-consideration.

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE pointed out that the hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill was prepared to meet all objections; and he, therefore, hoped the Motion for reporting Progress would be withdrawn.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause verbally amended, and *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Preamble *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

RAILWAYS—THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MOTION FOR AN INSTRUCTION.

MR. J. W. PEASE said, he was sorry to have to trouble the House at that late hour with any observations; but he wished to move an Instruction to the Select Committee on Railways, to inquire into the regulations of the Board of Trade as to Railways. He was aware that the Committee already had a tremendous amount of work to do, having to examine into the question of rates and fares on railways and the working of the Railway Commission; and he was sorry to be obliged to propose anything that would cast more work upon them; but it would be impossible for them to go satisfactorily into the questions referred to them for consideration if they did not also consider the regulations of the Board of Trade as affecting the making, opening, and working of railways. No accident could take place on a railway without the power and influence of the Board of Trade being brought to bear upon the matter. In many cases the action of the Board of Trade prevented the Railway Companies from granting the facilities they would otherwise grant to the public; and though he knew the Department took every means in their power to insure the safety of passengers, he still felt that the Committee would not be able to discharge the duties it was intended that it should discharge unless the question of the regulations of the Board of Trade came before it. He would conclude by making the Motion of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Railways Committee, that they do inquire into the existing regulations of the Board of Trade as affecting the making, opening, and working of railways, and into the Acts of Parliament which authorise such regulations, and into the manner in which such regulations are carried out and enforced."—(*Mr. J. W. Pease.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN would appeal to his hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Mr. J. W. Pease) not to press the Motion on the House. The hon. Member had truly said that the Committee had already tremendous work to perform, and it would only be by the greatest difficulty that they would be able to conclude their work and report in reasonable time. They had to inquire into the fares and rates of railways, and consider the cases brought before them of special preference given in regard to fares and rates. If they were to open up all the matters the hon. Gentleman suggested, the result would be to choke up the Committee altogether. He really trusted his hon. Friend would rest satisfied with having raised the question, and would not press it to a division.

Mr. MONK: I should like to ask whether, as the Motion is opposed, it is in Order to go on with it to-night?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is now too late to take objection to the Motion being proceeded with.

Mr. MONK: I do not wish to take objection—I merely asked the question.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 9; Noes 26: Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 159.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Select Committee on Railways do consist of Twenty-seven Members:—That Mr. Barnes, Mr. Caine, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, and Mr. Phipps be added to the Select Committee on Railways."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Earl PERCY said, he did not wish to detain the House at that late hour for more than a few minutes; but he could not allow the Motion to pass without protesting against the enormous size of the Committee. The original constitution of the Committee was one to which great exception was taken; first of all, on account of its size—23 Members. It was notorious that the only consequence of making Committees so large was that Members did not attend regularly, and they could not get the same attendance day after day. One hon. Member attended one day and another another day; and the result was that, hearing different evidence, they came to different conclusions. Not only was this excessively confusing, but it led to a good deal of repetition in the examination of witnesses. He had no doubt he would be told that the size of the Committee had been increased to meet the views of those who did not like the original composition of it. He did not wish to throw any obstacle in the way of this arrangement, having pointed out the inconvenience, as a general rule, of making Committees too large. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in giving his own idea of the composition of the Committee, made a most curious statement—namely, that out of 23 he counted 26, because those Gentlemen who represented two interests were counted twice over. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He did not wish the House to divide, because, as he had said, he did not wish to oppose the appointment of the Committee. If the hon. Member opposite wished to divide the House of course he was at liberty to do so. He did not like to see these Committees appointed by the Whips, because the matter was in no way a Party one, and there was no reason why the choice of Members should not be made by the Committee of Selection and the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Railways do consist of Twenty-seven Members.

Ordered, That Mr. Barnes, Mr. Caine, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, and Mr. Phipps be added to the Select Committee on Railways.

POOR LAW OFFICERS (SCOTLAND) SUPERANNUATION BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to enable Parochial Boards in Scotland to grant Superannuation Allowances, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Select Committee on Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill *nominated:*—Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Brooks, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Collins, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Tottenham, Sir Henry Tyler, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, and Major Nolan:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Three to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 15th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Highway Acts, The Lord Hartismere *added.*

Public Bills — *Second Reading* — Peace Preservation (Ireland) (46).

Report—Alkali, &c. Works Regulation (33-49); Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention (44).

LONDONDERRY AND LARNE RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD WAVENEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that he had taken up the measure in consequence of the statement of the Chairman of Committees the other day with reference to the undesirability of sanctioning narrow-gauge railways in Ireland. The present Bill proposed a narrow-gauge line, and their Lordships must remember that the ordinary gauge of Ireland was much wider than the ordinary gauge of England, and there was considerable difficulty in raising funds in Ireland for the prosecution of the broad-gauge lines. About four years ago a narrow-gauge line was introduced in Ireland, and that line had proved a very great success. The consequence had been that the narrow gauge had become more generally adopted throughout Ireland; but there had never been any idea of establishing a competition between the broad and narrow gauges. The present Bill proposed to continue the line sanctioned by Parliament last year, from the River Ban to Londonderry; and as the district through which the proposed railway would run was a very mountainous one, and very difficult of access, he hoped their Lordships would assent to this Bill, as, in all probability, a broad-gauge railway would prove too expensive to be carried out.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Waveney.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he thought it was his duty to call the attention of the House to the object of this Bill, as he felt that he could not take upon himself the responsibility of sanctioning the introduction of two different gauges. He was of opinion that they ought to be extremely careful about allowing the introduction of two different gauges into Ireland. The line was to join one of narrow gauge 10 miles, granted on condition that, if extended, it should be made on the national guage, and the present Bill proposed to continue the narrow gauge for a distance of 48 miles further; and, therefore, if that was done, he considered it would be admitting the principle that narrow-gauge lines might enter into competition with the national gauge of the country. He thought, therefore, that it was his duty to call the attention of the House to the subject, as he certainly would not himself take the responsibility of doing anything which would sanction the introduction of the narrow gauge. He did not think it necessary to say much more; but he might observe that the district through which the line would pass was an uninhabited district, there only being one country village, or small town, on the map; therefore, it was impossible that the new line could have any local traffic to support it, and could only pay by through traffic in competition with the broad gauge on each side. He should not take it upon himself to move the rejection of the Bill, but would leave the matter in the hands of their Lordships.

LORD SUDELEY said, the Board of Trade had, at the request of the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, carefully considered the question, and were of opinion that there was nothing in the Bill which ought to prevent their Lordships giving it a second reading, and sending it to be considered in the usual course by a Select Committee on its merits. The noble Earl objected to the Bill on two main grounds—first, the proposed narrow gauge; second, because it proposed to repeal certain clauses of a former Act. On the first point, which was one of principle, the noble Earl thought that the Bill, if passed, would introduce the narrow-gauge system on to what he regarded as a trunk line, where a break of gauge ought not to be permitted. He contended that the narrow lines which had hitherto been sanctioned and constructed had been only short feeders in mountainous and hilly districts, where broad-gauge lines could not be made; whereas he said that this railway, joining on to the Ballymena, Portglenone, and Larne Railway, was a totally different matter, and would form nothing more nor less than a main artery from Londonderry to Larne, and was a far more considerable advance on the narrow-gauge system than Parliament had hitherto sanctioned. The

Board of Trade, with all respect to the great authority and experience of the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, after going fully into the whole matter, had arrived at an opposite conclusion from that which he entertained. They did not look upon the line as a trunk line, and regarded it merely as an extension of the present system. It was perfectly true that the line of 48½ miles, when joined to the 35 miles already sanctioned, would form a very important railway of 83 miles, and would join Londonderry and Larne; but it was not a trunk line in the true acceptation of the word. There was, at present, the Belfast and Northern Counties broad-gauge railway running round the coast of Londonderry and Antrim, which was the strategic great trunk line on which troops and military stores could always be carried. It was impossible that the proposed railway could enter into serious competition as a main artery, as, owing to its peculiarly slight construction, its steep ascent of 1,400 feet, with its gradient of 1 in 40, and its sharp curves, the speed must be very much restricted. The Board of Trade looked upon the proposed line as one, in all respects, carrying out the principle under which their Lordships' Resolution of 1879 considered it desirable narrow-gauge railways should be permitted. The railway was, in every sense of the word, intended to meet the local requirements of the district, to open up a route of considerable importance hitherto unsupplied with railway communication. It passed over a mountainous range, and it was evident that if it was to be constructed it must be made on the most economical system known, and could not be made on the broad gauge. It was, in fact, not a question in this district of having a narrow *versus* a broad gauge, but of having a railway or doing without one. The second objection raised by the noble Earl, and on which he had laid great stress, was that the Bill proposed to repeal certain clauses of the Ballymena and Portglenone Act of 1879. This was really a question affecting the merits of the Bill, upon which he did not propose to enter. It was full of intricate and contentious matter, which both sides viewed in a different light; it was impossible to fairly discuss it in the House, and it could only be settled by hearing both sides before a Select Committee. The Board of Trade expressed no opinion on the merits of the Bill, or as to how it affected neighbouring railways; but merely expressed their approval of the principle of a narrow-gauge extension. He hoped their Lordships would pass the second reading.

EARL CAIRNS pointed out that, according to the law regulating railroads in Ireland, the standard gauge was 5 feet 3 inches. This rule had only been relaxed in the case of certain short lines calculated to lead to the extension of the mineral resources of the country. There were already two lines between Belfast and Londonderry, and in their case the law requiring a gauge of 5 feet 3 inches had been complied with. If the Bill passed, their Lordships would virtually repeal this general law in the interest of parties who were desirous of competing with lines laid down in accordance with the requirements of the law.

EARL SPENCER was of opinion that it was very desirable in Ireland to encourage a healthy competition with existing lines, and, with that end in view, to allow a narrow gauge in cases where the standard gauge was impossible, in consequence of the great expense which it would involve. In the district to which the Bill referred, a broad gauge of the usual standard could not be made, the character of the country being such that the expense of making a gauge of that kind would be enormous. He trusted their Lordships would agree to allow the Bill to go to a Select Committee.

On question, *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, on Sunday last a report of one of those fearful crimes, crimes which are not only dangerous to society, not only dangerous to the cause of order, but most dangerous to the cause of liberty, reached this country. After many abortive attempts on the life of the Emperor Alexander II., success has at last attended the assassins, chiefly owing, as it seems, to the generous and courageous impulses of the illustrious victim. Alexander II. succeeded to the Throne in 1855, at a moment of such difficulties as shattered the strong physical and mental powers of his Predecessor. He had the moral courage, notwithstanding the pride of a Military Monarchy, to put an end, in the interest of his subjects, to a war which had not been successful. The master of innumerable soldiers, a judicious and a kind-hearted man, those who knew him best are convinced that he remained to the end of his life desirous of peace, although he was sometimes overborne by the public opinion of his people, by the not unnatural ambition of his Army, and by the force of circumstances. My Lords, this is hardly the place or the time to discuss either the success or failure of the internal measures of a foreign Government; but I think that it is impossible not to respect a reign which has extended over more than a quarter of a century, which began with an almost general amnesty, in which during its continuance attempts were made to entirely re-model the civil administration of the country, to purify the Courts of Justice, and to establish and greatly extend the local self-government of the country in substitution for centralization, to entirely reform the Land Laws of an enormous Empire, cover the Empire with a network of railways, to promote education, to secure the freedom of the Press, and, above all, to free 23,000,000 of agrarian slaves and restore to them their full legal rights. It is hard that one who had done so much, and attempted more for the good of his country, should be the victim of an outrage which has filled with indignation all civilized countries. Messages of condolence by Sovereigns, by Governments, by Parliaments of States, both in Europe and beyond the Atlantic, have been sent. There may be in this country a difference of opinion as to the exact political relation that ought to exist between Russia and ourselves; but there is absolutely no difference of opinion as to the indignation and detestation with which the people here view a crime like this, and as to their deep sympathy with the people of Russia, who have in such an untoward manner lost their Sovereign. My Lords, I may mention that Her Majesty has already expressed personally her sentiments of grief and sorrow for what has passed—the untimely death of one with whom she was not only related, but also connected by the marriage of two of her children; and Her Majesty has given the Government orders to convey those sentiments in a still more formal way. I feel perfectly certain that your Lordships are desirous that we should, in the name of England, Scotland, and Ireland, record in the most solemn manner our participation in similar sentiments, and that your desire is that such sentiments should be conveyed to the Emperor and people of Russia.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of this House, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial family of Russia and with the Government and people of that country.—(*The Earl Granville.*)

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, I am sure your Lordships will express with earnestness your respectful sympathy with Her Majesty the Queen in the affliction which has fallen so unexpectedly upon her. The relations between the Queen of this country and the Emperor Alexander II.—the most beneficent Prince that ever filled the Throne of Russia—were of a peculiar nature; they cannot rank among the ordinary ones which exist between Sovereigns. Between Her Majesty and the Emperor there existed ties of intimate and lifelong friendship strengthened by domestic relations of great felicity and satisfaction. This friendship, although it had to endure, by the ordinance of Providence, great trials, was one which, on more than one occasion, was exercised in a beneficial manner by both Sovereigns for the welfare of the two countries. The horrible murder of a Prince and an ally, of a connection so near and dear, must have been the cause of much agitation to Her Majesty. It has disturbed the feelings of all Europe—Europe which, as one nation, is alarmed and indignant. But of all countries of Europe, I know none—not even Russia itself—that can have heard of this catastrophe with greater horror and greater sympathy than our own. The Emperor of Russia had one daughter, to whom he was passionately attached, and who returned to him an adoration quite equal to his own. That daughter is a Princess of England. It was yesterday, in high festivities of Court, we beheld with pride and gratification the brightness of her intelligence, the naturalness of her demeanour. My Lords, her woe must be very great. My Lords, I know all your Lordships will feel that in a case like this consolation is vain. But though solace may be impossible, sympathy will have a voice; and I cannot but believe that when it is now offered to our Sovereign and her suffering child, it will be appreciated, coming, as it does, from this illustrious and ancient House.

On question, *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO H.R.I.H. THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have now the honour to ask your Lordships to agree to a Message of Condolence to Her Imperial and Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, on the great loss she has sustained by the assassination of her father, the Emperor of All the Russias. The noble Earl has just alluded in feeling and touching terms to the festivities which he said appeared to have been almost but yesterday. Yet it was seven years since that marriage took place; and when the Emperor of Russia confided his only daughter to an English Prince, he said—"It is for her happiness; but the brightness of my life is gone." During those seven years political circumstances have sometimes made the position of a Russian Princess in this country one of some delicacy. During that time no act has been done or word spoken by the illustrious lady which could diminish the affection for her of the Queen and the Royal Family, or the respect of the people of her adopted country. The Duke of Edinburgh stated to me last Sunday that on the very morning of that day the Duchess of Edinburgh and her brother congratulated each other on the greater sense of security which reigned in their father's home. In the afternoon of that day the fatal news arrived. I doubt whether this House has ever voted with more sincerity a vote of deep sympathy than they will do that which it is now my duty to propose.

Moved to resolve, That this House do condole with Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia, on the heavy loss which she has sustained in the death, under circumstances of so painful a character, of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias.—(*The Earl Granville.*)

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD seconded the Motion.

On question, *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

Ordered, That a message of condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia; and that the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Bedford do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said message.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 46.)

(*The Lord President.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL SPENCER, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said: My Lords, I must remind your Lordships that it is only a short time ago since I addressed you on another Bill respecting the maintenance of the peace of Ireland. It is therefore not my intention, nor would it be your wish, that I should enter again into the condition of that country. The Bill that I am now asking you to pass is really only a second part of the measure which your Lordships passed nearly a fortnight ago. I then stated the reasons why it was the painful task for the Government to ask you to pass so extreme a measure for Ireland. Those reasons apply to the present Bill, as they applied to the former. I do not wish, for one moment, to convey to you that the present is a Bill of such importance to the restoration of peace in Ireland as the other. There have been occasions when the state of peace in Ireland has been disturbed very nearly as much, if not quite as much, as it has been disturbed during the last few months, when there was a measure in Ireland relating to the carrying of arms; but I may venture to say that there has never been an Act so stringent as the first Act which your Lordships have passed—there has never been an Act of that force in Ireland without peace and order being restored; but there is this difference between the two measures —the measure which you recently passed only operates for a year or a year and a-half; but this measure is to be of a more lasting character, although it is only of a temporary character also; but it continues in force for five years, instead of a year and a-half, and that is a most important difference. I need not refer at length to the outrages that I thought it necessary to bring before you the other night to show the condition of that country. These outrages are of various kinds; but they all show that the people of Ireland, at this moment, in their excitable condition, are not fit to be intrusted with the possession of arms, which they now have. Your Lordships will remember how fearful the use of arms has been. We have not only the use of revolvers, which have been imported so much lately into this country—and I confess I would like to see some Act, not only in Ireland, but in Great Britain, regulating the possession of this most dangerous weapon—but also frequent evidence of the use of firearms by parties of various size which commit outrages and intimidate well-disposed people. Besides the outrages, it is only necessary to refer to some of the speeches that have been made lately, during the last few months, to show what the possession of arms may lead to. There are many speeches which have been delivered referring to 100,000 men with rifles slung on their shoulders in America conspiring with success, and the Irish people are invited to follow their example. There are also speeches in which reference is made to the use of revolvers. "Pills" are recommended to be used, and we all know what they mean; but even stronger indications and more direct incitements to the use of dynamite have been made. I shall not detain your Lordships with any further description of the reason why this Bill is brought before the House. The measure is almost identical with the measure which was in force up to the beginning of last year. There are certain variations in the measure; but the provisions in it are nearly the same as those passed in 1875. The Lord Lieutenant will have power to proclaim certain districts, and upon that proclamation he will be empowered to make certain regulations with regard to the holding and carrying of arms and ammunition. And now, my Lords, the principal differences that have been introduced are —a summary jurisdiction and punishment of three months, instead of a reference to the Quarter Sessions or Judges in Assizes, who formerly might have given a longer sentence. With regard to carrying of arms, there is also a power given to the Lord Lieutenant to prohibit the importation of arms. We thought this was desirable, for in many cases in previous Acts it was found necessary to proclaim a single port or a city. We propose, however, to give the Lord Lieutenant power to regulate the importation of arms without specially proclaiming every port. There is a provision enabling the Lord Lieutenant to give the value of the arms that are sent in. That was introduced in "another place," and it is thought that it is a just thing to do, and also that it will encourage the peaceable delivery of arms throughout Ireland. These are the chief matters which are introduced in this Bill. I was nearly forgetting one most important one, and that is the provision relating to dynamite. I have referred to the incitement made in speeches for the use of this most dangerous explosive; and we thought it was desirable to clear up any ambiguity that might exist as to whether previous Acts really included dynamite. That is made clear in the Act, and I think your Lordships will agree it is a most important matter. I should like to point out to your Lordships a matter which is, I think, encouraging to the application of these Acts in Ireland. It would be premature to say how far these Acts will restore peace and tranquillity in the country; but I think I am entitled to give you some information which shows that though the first Act has only been in force a fortnight, there has been a considerable improvement with regard to the commission of crime in Ireland. So soon as the people of Ireland were aware that the Government were determined, the outrages began to decrease. I have here a Return of the months of December last year, and January and February of this year, which are satisfactory evidence of the decrease already. In December last year the total of agrarian crime was 867; that was made up of 432 threatening letters, and the remainder of other kinds of crime. In January the total was 439, of that number 251 being threatening letters, and 188 other kinds. In February the total diminished to 170, 80 being threatening letters, and 90 other crimes. That is to say, that the crime of an agrarian nature has diminished by one-half in January over December, and again in February over January by another half. That is a very satisfactory matter. I should now like to say one or two words with regard to the lesson which I think the Irish people may learn. Parliament has now been discussing for more than nine weeks those matters connected with the tranquillity of that country; and I think that the Irish people were misled by the speeches made last autumn as to the power of those who led the agitation. Threats were made by the leaders of that party that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would never pass these measures which were necessary for restoring order. I find these were the words of one of their leaders. In October last year I find reported in *The Irish Times* that Mr. Parnell said—

> "They cannot suspend the Habeas Corpus Act without an Act of Parliament, they cannot pass a Coercion Act without an Act of Parliament, and so long as we are able to stand in Parliament I will undertake to say they will pass neither one nor the other."

Well, but both these measures have been passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and yet Mr. Parnell, and those who support him, remain Members of Parliament. I think the Irish people ought to learn that when the Parliament of this country are determined to carry through any measure necessary for the peace and tranquillity of the country, they will do so, and that they are a powerful body, and that those who merely boast of their power in local meetings are weak, and cannot carry through the most simple motion. I shall not detain your Lordships any more. I sincerely trust that this measure will complete the necessary work of restoring peace and tranquillity in Ireland. It will, I believe, coerce only the few, and restore practical liberty to the many. I sincerely trust that the well-disposed people of Ireland, who, I believe, are very much more numerous than people suppose, instead of remaining in fear at home, will now have confidence restored, and that the terror which has reigned during the last few months will be destroyed.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord President.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

ALKALI, &c. WORKS REGULATION BILL.—(Nos. 29, 33.)

(*The Marquess of Huntly.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

VISCOUNT MIDLETON proposed an Amendment in Clause 9, with the view of adding to the Bill a second Schedule, in which should be included various works which the Commission had recommended should be subjected to inspection. His belief was that two or three additional Inspectors would be sufficient to carry out that Schedule throughout the United Kingdom. The expense would be about £2,000 a-year, and the public benefit that would accrue from such a system of inspection would, he was convinced, be more than commensurate with its cost. If, however, the Government still intended to oppose the insertion of the second Schedule, which was really the third part of the Bill of last year, as recommended by the Commissioners, he did not see that he had much chance of inducing them to carry any measure which contained those provisions through the House of Commons.

Amendment *moved,*

In Clause 9, page 4, line 8, after ("carried on") insert ("and in any works mentioned in the second schedule to this Act")

At the end of the Bill insert as a new schedule:—

SCHEDULE II.

"(1.) Salt works, that is to say, works in which the extraction of salt from brine is carried on;

"(2.) Arsenic works, that is to say, any works in which arsenic or any of its oxides or sulphides are prepared;

"(3.) Copper works, that is to say, any work in which ores are treated for the purpose of extracting copper, and which is not subject to the provisions of the Alkali Acts, 1863 and 1874, including any works in which the manufacture of sulphuric acid is carried on in conjunction with copper works;

"(4.) Galvanising works and tin-plate works, that is to say, any works in which iron is treated with acid previous to receiving a coating of tin or zinc;

"(5.) The following description of glass works, that is to say, glass works in which common salt or sulphate of soda is used in the manufacture of glass;

"(6.) Lead works, that is to say, any works in which are contained lead, or any material or product containing lead, is treated for the purpose of the extraction of lead;

"(7.) Nickel works, that is to say, any works in which nickel ore is treated for the purpose of the extraction of nickel;

"(8.) Spelter works, that is to say, any works in which ore is treated for the purpose of the extraction of zinc;

"(9.) Salt glazing potteries, that is to say, any works in which earthenware or pottery is made, and in which the salt glazing process is carried on;

"(10.) Tar dye works, that is to say, any works in which the manufacture of colouring matter from tar or substances derived from tar is carried on;

"(11.) Tar distillery works, that is to say, any works in which tar is distilled or its products treated so as to give off noxious or offensive vapours;

"(12.) Any other works in which are conducted processes giving off acid of sulphur, nitrogen, or chlorine."—(*The Viscount Midleton.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY could not assent to the proposal of the noble Viscount, who, he thought, could hardly be aware of the large number of copper, glass, lead, and other works scattered throughout the country, which he wished to place under inspection. The expense and the labour which that would entail would be great. In the first place, it would require several additional Inspectors, for whose appointment there was no provision in the Bill. The measure went a long way in dealing with a most important subject; but at present there was no machinery to carry out the object of the noble Viscount.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY concurred in the opinion that the proposal of his noble Friend was too large. If it had been reduced within more moderate compass a case might have been made out for extending the provisions of the Bill in some degree. It was easy to pass the Bill through that House; but if they weighted it too heavily, and arrayed against it too large an army of opponents "elsewhere," there was a danger that a Bill which was sadly wanted would not become law. He, therefore, advised his noble Friend to acquiesce in the course suggested by the Government.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON would not press his Amendment to a division; but would throw on the Government the responsibility of passing a most imperfect measure on a matter urgently requiring legislation.

Amendment *negatived.*

Amendments made; and Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next, and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 49.)

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION BILL.—(No. 44.)

(*The Lord President.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

EARL SPENCER moved, in Clause 6, page 3, line 15, after ("rate") insert—

("Also if it appears to be required by the special circumstances of the case for enabling the conservancy board to execute outfall works beyond the limits of their district.")

The noble Earl pointed out that the Amendment might be necessary to enable the Boards to improve outfalls, without which improvement upland works might be useless.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendments made; and Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, to
Thursday next, half past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 15th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Third Report*—Commons (Thurstaston Common) [No. 133].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81, Class II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 37, 38; Class III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 24, 25, 26, 30, 32.

Resolutions [March 14] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Copyright*.

Ordered—First Reading—Inclosure Provisional Order (Wibsey Slack and Low Moor Common) * [114]; Inclosure Provisional Orders (Scotton and Ferry Common) * [115].

Second Reading — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Clonakilty, &c.) * [103].

Select Committee — Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment * [102], Mr. Richardson and Mr. Greer *added.*

Third Reading—India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) * [91], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES—RECIPROCITY DUTIES.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is in possession of any evidence tending to show that the delay as regards Commercial Treaty Negotiations with France is attributable to our continued importation of foreign manufactures free of duty, unaccompanied by stipulations of any kind with reference to reciprocal Free Trade, and to the consequent difficulty, while such a policy lasts, of making it to the interest of France to receive our wares duty free?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; my answer to the hon. Member's Question is in the negative.

MR. MAC IVER said, that in consequence of the hon. Gentleman's reply, he would, on an early day, call attention to the neglect of Commercial Interests by Her Majesty's Government; and would move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, Customs Duties should at once be replaced upon such Foreign importations as come into unfair competition with the industries of Great Britain and Ireland."

PRIVATE BILLS — GAS AND WATER COMPANIES' BILLS—THE COURT OF REFEREES.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Court of Referees refuse local authorities a locus standi in the case of Bills promoted by Gas and Water Companies where such Companies seek only for powers to raise additional capital; and, whether this is in conformity with the practice of the House of Lords and the Board of Trade in similar cases?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that his attention had been called to the fact referred to. He was informed that the practice of the House of Lords in similar cases was at variance with that of the Court of Referees; and certainly the practice of the Board of Trade had been to allow local authorities in all such cases to appear and to be heard. They thought that they, as representatives of the ratepayers, had considerable interest in all such cases, to prevent anything like unnecessary or extravagant increase of capital in the case of Companies having a monopoly in the supply of gas and water; and, above all, to prevent the postponing of the necessity of a general revision of their Parliamentary powers when they had occasion to come before the House.

LAW REFORM—RULES OF PROCEDURE.

MR. GREGORY asked Mr. Attorney General, When a Report may be expected from the Commission appointed for the Improvement of Procedure, and if their suggestions will be laid before Parliament?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that no Commission had been appointed. What had occurred was this. The Lord Chancellor had requested certain persons connected with the Profession to meet for the purpose of giving the Judges their opinion as to the Rules. He would communicate with Lord Coleridge as to laying the suggestions on the Table. As far as he could see, there was no objection to do so.

AFGHANISTAN—RETENTION OF CANDAHAR.

SIR WILLIAM PALLISER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the Candahar debate has been deferred to suit the convenience of Her Majesty's Government, and also of the promise made by the Secretary of State for India, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to reconsider their views should it be proved that the retention of Candahar would materially contribute towards the stability of British rule in India, Her Majesty's Government will undertake that, until the debate on the subject shall have taken place in this House, no steps shall be taken that could in any way commit this country to abandon Candahar?

MR. GLADSTONE: In reply to this Question, I have to say that I am not aware of the fact assumed by the hon. Member, that the debate on Candahar has been postponed for the convenience of Her Majesty's Government. I understand there is no occasion yet offered when the debate could be taken. Her Majesty's Government are anxious to afford the first occasion for the purpose; but it is impossible, until we are extricated from the present engagements with respect to Supply, to give any distinct indication on that subject. With regard to the reference to the promise made by my noble Friend, I believe there is nothing inaccurate in the terms in which it was cited. Then comes the material part of the Question,

> "Whether Her Majesty's Government will undertake that, until the debate on the subject shall have taken place in this House, no steps shall be taken that could in any way commit this Country to abandon Candahar?"

With respect to that part of the Question, viewing the nature of the case, I must say that we cannot undertake to instruct the Viceroy of India to waive or postpone any measure which he may think is required by the state of affairs in reference to the Motion which is now pending in this House.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE REVISED VOLUNTEER REGULATIONS.

Mr. MACLIVER asked the Secretary of State for War, When the New Rules and Regulations for the Consolidation of Volunteer Regiments, promised in November last, will be ready; and, if, under the proposed Regulations for the Militia, it is intended to make any change in the position of the present Adjutants?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the revised Volunteer Regulations are in proof, and that I hope to deal with some minor points, still unsettled, in time to issue the Regulations in April. I do not know what my hon. Friend means by the proposed Regulations for the Militia; but several questions affecting adjutants are under consideration, and will probably be settled before the 1st of July.

ARRESTS UNDER THE PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT.

Mr. DILLWYN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the statement made in the London letter of the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle" of March 10th, that two of the prisoners arrested under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act were taken to Dublin Gaol in irons is correct; and, if so, whether he will give instructions forbidding the use of irons except in cases when the authorities have reason to believe escape or rescue are meditated?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: In reference to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that the facts of the case to which it refers are as follows:—Two persons were arrested under the provisions of the Protection of Person and Property Act, and, whilst being conveyed to Dublin, were handcuffed. The handcuffs were, however, taken off after the party had proceeded five miles from the place where the men were arrested. It appears that some persons had recently escaped from that district, and the police considered that it would have been dangerous to act otherwise. With regard to the further Question of the hon. Member, I may state that instructions have been given to the police authorities to subject persons who may be arrested to as little indignity as possible, consistently with their safe custody, and particular directions have been given not to use handcuffs unless there is danger of an escape or of a rescue.

ARMY—SMALL ARMS—MAGAZINE RIFLES.

Major NOLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, If preparations are being made to arm any portion of the Army with magazine rifles, or with adjustable magazines to facilitate loading; and, if not, is this a question which will be categorically submitted to the new Ordnance Committee?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I have to state that the question of magazine rifles has been for some time under the consideration of a Special Committee, which is not one of those to be superseded by the Ordnance Committee. That Committee will not deal with small arms.

ARMY—THE NEW REGULATIONS—MASTER GUNNERS.

Major NOLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, If, under the new regulations, master gunners will be made warrant officers?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes, Sir; master gunners of the first and second classes will be made warrant officers.

HIGHWAYS.

Mr. MAGNIAC asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, considering that general discontent prevails with regard to the present Law of Highways, and that in the last Session Her Majesty's Government would not agree to the appointment of a Select Committee of this House, they will take active steps to procure information on this subject?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, he was not surprised that considerable discontent prevailed with regard to the present law of highways; but the only reason why a Select Committee of the House had not been appointed to inquire into the subject was that a Committee of the House of Lords was last Session occupied with such an inquiry, and had been re-appointed this year. There was no reason to doubt that the information thus obtained, together with that already in the possession of the Local Government Board, would be sufficient to enable him to deal with the question, as he hoped to do, in another Session.

THE ASSESSMENT OF LANDS.

MR. MAGNIAC asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, having regard to the impossibility in the present state of the Law of assessing Lands for rating purposes upon a just and equal valuation, he will communicate with the local authorities for the purpose of obtaining such information as would enable him to bring in a Bill on the first available opportunity for providing for the altered state of the Country?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, he could not altogether agree that, in the present state of the law, it was impossible to assess lands for rating purposes upon a just and equal valuation, though he quite admitted there were very great difficulties in the way of doing this. He also admitted that it was desirable that the machinery for the purpose should be amended, and a more definite rule laid down for assessment committees as regards periodical revision of valuation and deductions from property to arrive at rateable value. No fresh information on the subject was needed. Only a favourable opportunity was wanted, and more than once he had had occasion to express regret that there was no prospect of such an opportunity this year.

INDIA—THE EAST INDIAN LOAN OF £2,000,000.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the instalment of the loan of two millions due from India has been paid in the current year 1880-81; and, whether the amount so due is to be a set-off against or to be added to the amount of £500,000 proposed to be granted in aid of the Afghan War?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: The Act of 1879 authorizing the advance of £2,000,000 to India requires the Government of India to repay £290,000 on account of the principal of that loan before the close of the current financial year. No payment has been made by India in performance of that condition, nor is the limit of time granted for such performance as yet reached. Her Majesty's Government will introduce a Bill releasing India from the obligation to repay the loan; but if that Bill should not become law before the 31st instant they will not press India to make a payment which Parliament has been asked to remit. Her Majesty's Government propose to pay £500,000 in the current year to India, irrespective of the sum due by India on account of the loan which is to be remitted.

SCIENCE AND ART—BRITISH POTTERY AT THE BETHNAL GREEN MUSEUM.

MR. GRAY asked the Vice President of the Council, Why the prices of modern British pottery, at present exhibited in the Bethnal Green Museum, have been carefully erased from the labels affixed to them, whilst the prices of modern Foreign pottery have been allowed to remain; and if he will state the date of the Order of the Committee of Council on Education sanctioning such erasures?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Minute sanctioning the withdrawal of the prices upon modern examples of British pottery and porcelain at present exhibited at Bethnal Green Branch Museum is dated March 23, 1865, at the time when Lord Aberdare was Vice President of the Committee of Council and Sir Henry Cole was Director of the Museum. These examples were, for the most part, purchased at International Exhibitions at greatly reduced prices, and, at the special representation of English manufacturers concerned, the prices were expunged from the labels, complaints being made that Museum prices were quoted to the trade by customers at a much lower rate than the goods could be supplied at. The examples of foreign manufactures having been acquired at the usual prices, the labels were maintained, showing the cost.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE JUDGE OF THE NORFOLK COUNTY COURT.

Mr. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the report of a case which appeared in the "Norfolk News" of February 26th, in which the Trustees of the Long Strutton District Amalgamated League Sick Benefit Society applied to the county court judge for an order to compel the treasurer of the Society to give up the banking book. In the course of the proceedings, the judge is reported to have asked "if the Society had anything to do with the movement with which Mr. Arch was connected." A reply having been given in the affirmative, he said "he should show no mercy to Arch and his lot, as they were a pest to society;" and, whether he can state if the words quoted were used by the judge; and, if so, whether he would deem it right to ask him to refrain from remarks of this character in future?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that County Court Judges were not under his jurisdiction, but under that of the Lord Chancellor. He had communicated with the Lord Chancellor on the subject referred to in the Question of the hon. Member, and was enabled to state that a report had been received to the effect that the County Court Judge referred to had indulged largely in political disquisitions on the occasion in question, having denounced school boards, household suffrage, and other things. ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. Member opposite who said, "Hear, hear!" was quite within his right in doing so, not being a County Court Judge. The Judge in question had been communicated with by the Lord Chancellor, and, in reply, the Judge wrote that he made use of some hasty expression on the occasion referred to. He had now expressed his regret in terms satisfactory to the Lord Chancellor. It was to be hoped, therefore, it would be considered that sufficient notice had been taken of the matter.

INDIA—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT.

Mr. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that the Contagious Diseases Act was re-applied to Bombay early in 1880, in spite of strong objection expressed by a large number of influential Natives and Europeans, including the Bishop of Bombay; whether the Native Justices and Municipal Council of Bombay have not declined throughout to vote money towards the expenses of the working of the Act; whether the Government of Bombay have deducted the sum of 15,000 rupees from the grant of 90,000 rupees usually paid by the Government towards the expenses of the Bombay City Police, although that grant was long previously agreed upon, after full discussion between the Municipality and the Supreme and Local Governments; and, whether the Home Government approve of the forcing of the Acts in question upon a population so sensitive and peculiar as that of India in regard to the treatment of women?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have received no formal information on this subject from the Government of Bombay; but their proceedings for last year contained references to it. I am aware that the Contagious Diseases Act was re-introduced last year in the city of Bombay, after having been dormant for some years, in consequence of the urgent representations of the military and medical authorities as to the prevalence of disease among the troops and the civil population. The measure excited some opposition; but I am not aware who were its principal opponents. The Municipality were called on to defray half the cost of working the Act, as they did when the Act was formerly in force. This they declined, expressing themselves as opposed to the Act; but offered to contribute 15,000 rupees a year towards the maintenance of lock hospitals. The Government then called on them to pay this sum of 15,000 rupees, promising to devote it exclusively to the maintenance of lock hospitals. This they declined, and the Government then ordered that amount to be retrenched from the usual contribution made by Government to the cost of the Bombay Police Force. In the absence of a complete statement of the reasons which have influenced the Government of Bombay in the matter, I am unable to say whether their action can be entirely approved by the Government; but I observe that careful precautions have been taken to confine the operation of the Act to the class of public women, and that the Act has been long in force in the other Presidency cities, Calcutta, and Madras. I will cause further inquiries to be made.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Prime Minister, Whether he was aware that Supply was finished at three minutes to 12 o'clock last night; and whether, Supply being considered urgent by the right hon. Gentleman, he would take care on future occasions to have sufficient Votes in Supply placed on the Notice Paper to occupy the Committee till a later hour?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answer to the hon. and gallant Baronet, I have to say that, undoubtedly, we believed we had placed sufficient Supply on the Notice Paper to have occupied the Committee according to ordinary rule throughout the Sitting. Very strong pressure was, however, brought to bear upon the Government while they were going through the Votes, a large number of Members representing to them that it was highly desirable that what we call the Irish Votes should be postponed. Hon. Members must know that when requests of that kind are made by a considerable number of Members, and when no reasonable objection can be taken to them, it is the practice of all Governments to meet all those desires as far as it is possible. That is the sole reason why the discussion in Committee of Supply last night was not prolonged.

MOTIONS.

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NOTICES OF MOTIONS.

Ordered, That the Notices of Motions be postponed until after the Notices of Motions for an Address to the Crown and a Message to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh on the Assassination of the Emperor of Russia.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, that the House will be unanimously of opinion that the assassination of a great Sovereign, placed upon one of the highest Thrones upon earth, would, under even ordinary circumstances, supply a fitting occasion for us to carry to the foot of the British Throne the expression of our sentiments of sympathy and condolence; but, Sir, in the present instance, there are many heightening circumstances which cannot be excluded from our view. There is, first, the noble self-forgetfulness with which it appears that the Emperor, having escaped from the first deadly attack made upon him, was induced to disregard the cautious advice of those around him, that he should again seek the shelter of his carriage, and to say, "No—it was his duty to see to the wounded." Again, Sir, we cannot but bear in mind that the circumstances of this assassination have reached a pitch of cruelty and horror, perhaps hardly known in the melancholy annals of such deeds. And, finally, we must express our feelings of the black ingratitude to such a Sovereign, which alone, according to all human judgment, could have led to the conception and execution of such a crime. It recalls to my mind some lines in which the patriarch of all poets has recorded his feelings upon the case of a very ancient Sovereign, whose wise and good reign had failed to elicit the universal gratitude which ought to have been its consequence and its reward. As his thought is represented by Pope, Homer says—

> "Let tyrants govern with an iron rod,
> Oppress, destroy, and be the scourge of God;
> Since he who, like a father, held his reign—
> So soon forgot—was just and mild in vain."

For, Sir, all know that, whatever there may be in that great Empire, as doubtless there may be found in all communities, to call for criticism or for censure on the imperfection of human institutions, none of it was owing to Alexander II. If it existed, it was part of the inheritance he received. The sole labour of a devoted life was, with him, to improve that inheritance for the benefit of his subjects and of mankind. But, Sir, I believe it is not the language of flattery, nor even the language of mere feeling, naturally excited by what has occurred, which leads me to state with confidence that there cannot be a doubt that the reign of Alexander II., in the history of Russia, and in the history of European and Christian civilization, will ever be regarded as an illustrious and memorable reign. He came to the Throne when his country was locked in a deadly struggle with three of the Powers of Europe, two of them among the greatest Powers in the world, and he extricated her from that struggle with all the promptitude and all the honour that the most loyal citizen of his country could have desired. It was not his fate to pass through a long reign without again seeing his country involved, towards the close of it, in another great and dangerous struggle; but that great and dangerous war was ennobled, at least to him, and to many who shared with him the deep conviction of his heart and mind, that it was a war of duty and a war of liberation. But, passing from considerations of peace and war, which must ever awaken in our minds mixed associations, let us only ask ourselves whether modern times have exhibited any reign more distinguished, more remarkable for the great works of peaceful legislation which he bequeathed to that great Empire. Perhaps, Sir, we are none of us aware—I certainly cannot pretend to any accurate or minute knowledge—of those works; but even the outlines of the names of a few of them are such as to demonstrate that they were due not only to a sense of high duty and Christian philanthropy, but also to an enlightened intelligence and a powerful will. It was the happy fate of Alexander II., by one of the greatest acts ever peacefully accomplished in the annals of civilized change, to give civil and social freedom to a population of serfs estimated at more than 20,000,000 of human beings. It was his happy lot to establish in Russia a system of local government which, as a local government, I believe to be thoroughly free, independent, and popular. It was also among the triumphs of his reign to introduce into Russia an institution which we fondly think to be especially associated with our own history—the institution known as trial by jury. Nor were these the only acts for which he may claim the favourable judgment of the enlightened historian. My duty is not to enter into a catalogue of these acts; it is only to point to a few of the more memorable among them; and it is, indeed, sad to think that such a man should be reserved for such a fate. Doubtless, there are counsels of Providence behind which it is not for us to scrutinize, and which, we must believe, will tend to all that is wise and good. In the illustration which I just now cited it was deplored that the mild Sovereign was so soon forgot. That will not be the case with Alexander II. The fond affection of his people will ever cling around his memory, as well as the sympathy and admiration of the world. In these circumstances, it is easy for us to understand with what feelings the Queen, allied as she is with the late Emperor of Russia by domestic ties, and thoroughly cognizant of all that has taken place in a reign contemporary with her own—it is easy to understand with what feelings she must have heard of this terrible catastrophe. Therefore, I have no more to do than to invite the House, loyally, earnestly, affectionately, and unanimously, to go to the foot of the Throne, and assure Her Majesty of the grief and the horror with which we contemplate this act, and of the sincere and respectful sympathy with which we enter into all the feelings which she must entertain with regard to this act. I move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the Assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of Her faithful Commons, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial Family of Russia, and with the Government and people of that Country."

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, it must be quite unnecessary for me to add anything to the eloquent language which has just proceeded from the Prime Minister. I only rise that there may be no doubt whatever in the minds of all who may take note of the proceedings of this House on this occasion, of the universal feeling of sympathy and the universal feeling of admiration for him whose life has just been cut short, which animates the people of this country and the Members of this House. I believe that throughout the European family there is no member which has felt the thrill of that horror more sincerely or more deeply than has England. We have known of, we have watched, we have sympathized, witht he works which have been now so eloquently and so truly set forth. If there have ever been moments in which political differences may have caused the shade of jealousy with regard to the external policy of that great Empire, I venture to say that never even for a moment have the hearts of this people ceased to beat with feelings of sympathy for the personal character and the great domestic labours of the Emperor Alexander II., who has just been taken from his people. We have seen and we have known how truly, and in what spirit of self-sacrifice, he has laboured in a field strange to us in some respects, and we have, perhaps, appreciated his labours all the more on account of the great differences which existed between that Empire and our own. We have, indeed, shuddered to think of the long agony he must have endured under the crime which has been, one may say, in the course of commission now for more than two years, and which has culminated, which has been at last consummated, in a manner the most terrible and most repulsive; and we can but share the feeling expressed by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister that, sad as has been, in one sense, the termination of that career, the sadness and the horror will after a time pass away in the recollection of the great work which has been done and the great name which has been left behind. I cordially—and I know that I speak in the spirit of the whole House—agree to and second the proposition which has now been placed in your hands and read by the Prime Minister.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the Assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that She will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of Her faithful Commons, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial Family of Russia, and with the Government and people of that Country.

To be presented by Privy Councillors.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE TO H.R.I.H. THE DUCHESS OF EDINBURGH.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I have to ask the House, with the full anticipation of a similar assent being given, to concur in a proceeding somewhat different in form, but the same in substance and intent. I move—

> "That it be ordered, that a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, and that the Marquess of Tavistock and the Earl Percy do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said Message."

In regard to this Motion I need say still less than on the last one which I had the honour to move. When the Duchess of Edinburgh became the wife of the second son of the Queen, it was authentically known that there never had been a daughter in any rank of life more tenderly loved by her parents, or more worthy of that love; and when they committed her to the care of the Sovereign and the people of this country, it was the fond and affectionate desire of the Emperor that she should be cherished and appreciated here as she had been by him. The experience we have had of the Duchess of Edinburgh has convinced all who have had the opportunity of judging it of the perfect worthiness of Her Royal and Imperial Highness to fill the place which she held in the Imperial Family of Russia, and to fill the place which she holds in our own Royal Family. The qualities of character which I dwelt upon in recording the virtues and deeds of the dead Emperor are qualities happily reflected in his daughter. This sorrow is, indeed, a deep one, and one which goes to the centre and heart of her life. As a matter of fact, I follow precedent in the Motion which I make; but if I did not this would be an occasion for making one. I therefore make the Motion of which I have given Notice; and in doing so venture to say on behalf of the House that we assure Her Royal and Imperial Highness of the deep sympathy and sincere condolence which alone we can offer to her in her grief and bereavement—a grief and bereavement which I trust will draw their consolation from a higher source.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I rise to second this, as I seconded the previous Motion of my right hon. Friend. Since Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh has become a daughter of England, as well as a daughter of Russia, she has learned sufficient of the English character to be assured that words of sympathy proceeding from our tongues are never words coming from our lips only; and I am sure that the expression of sympathy and condolence of this House will be received by Her Royal and Imperial Highness as being as true and as hearty as it really is.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That this House do condole with Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia, on the heavy blow which she has sustained in the death, under circumstances of so painful a character, of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

Ordered, That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, and that the Marquess of Tavistock and the Earl Percy do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said Message.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the House had now arrived at that stage of the ordinary Business of the day when he felt it to be his duty to appeal to those hon. Members who had Notices on the Paper to give way in order that the House might go into Committee of Supply. Considering the great pressure of Public Business, he hoped they would do so. The first Notice stood in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh).

MR. BRADLAUGH said, the first Notice stood in his name; and though he considered it of much importance to a large number of persons in the country that his Motion—for a Select Committee to inquire as to the payment of perpetual pensions—should be brought on—proofs of this being shown in the fact that 848 Petitions, with 251,332 signatures, had been presented in its favour up till last night—he did not think he would be doing his duty to his constituents if he stood in the way of the Public Business of the nation. In postponing his Motion he appealed to the Government to afford him, as soon after Easter as might be convenient, an opportunity of bringing his Motion on.

MR. J. W. PEASE, who had a Motion adverse to the continuance of the present Opium Traffic, also postponed his Motion.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-1.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £6,883, Local Government Board, Ireland.

MR. PARNELL observed, that this was a Vote for the Local Government Board, which Department had the administration of the Act passed last Session for the relief of distress in Ireland, and he expected, in view of the announcement made by the Government, that they were to take a Vote on Account to last up to Whitsuntide; that this Vote would have been postponed to a late period in the Session; and that the Chief Secretary for Ireland or the President of the Local Government Board would have furnished some information as to the working during last year of that Act. The matter had been before the Government for some considerable time; and he certainly thought that the Committee generally was entitled to complain that so little information had been put before the House in the shape of Returns, although there had been a great many Returns with regard to agrarian outrages in Ireland; and although a great deal of pains was taken by the Irish Commissioners to manufacture a very bulky volume of agrarian offences, not a single Paper had been issued this year to show the working of the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act. Last Session exceedingly meagre information was given; he thought there were two Papers, one of which, however, he had been unable to find in the Library, and which seemed to have disappeared during the Recess. This Session they had no Return whatever, except a Return which was moved for by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold), and which he had not yet been able to see. It was of the utmost importance that the Committee should have some information as to the working of the Act, to show what had been done to carry out the intentions of the Government. It was of importance, both as regarded the past and with reference to the future. He feared there might be many abuses in connection with the distribution of this money when the Act was passed, and took occasion to object to the allocation of money to the Irish landlords for the relief of the distress in Ireland, pointing out that it was merely adopted by the late Government to enable the landlords to collect their rents, and that it could not be of any advantage for its ostensible object as set forth in the Preamble of the Bill; and that so far from any large portion of the money allocated in the last Session of the last Parliament and the first Session of the present Parliament—over £1,000,000 was given to the landlords for the relief of the distress—so far from any large portion of that money being made available for the relief of distress, he would prove to demonstration that a very small proportion of the amount could by any possibility come into operation to check the very intense distress which might exist in many parts of the West of Ireland. He wished to ask the Government if they had information—and if they had not the information, he could not understand why they had not—as to how much of the £1,100,000 had been granted for the relief of distress in Ireland up to date? He also wished to know how much of that money the landlords had actually spent upon relief works; and whether the Government could state how many men were employed with that money, and for how many days? He also wished to know if they could give him any information as to the districts in which that employment had been given, and as to the amount of money disbursed in each Poor Law Union? These were all matters upon which he thought the Government would have informed the House at the commencement of the Session. An Act of the exceptional character of that passed last Session should, he ventured to submit, have been closely watched in its operation by the responsible Executive Government of Ireland. It was money belonging to the Irish people which had been given in trust to the Government by the Irish Church Act of 1869, to use for the benefit of the Irish people, and for certain purposes in Ireland. This money was seized upon by the late Government, and £750,000 was granted for the relief of distress; and the present Government upon coming into Office supplemented that amount by another sum, and revived the Act previously in force. Now, they were fairly entitled to ask what had become of that £1,500,000, or, at least, of the £1,100,000 granted to the Irish landlords? They were fairly entitled to ask what had become of that £1,100,000, belonging to the people of Ireland, which the Government of England laid hands on last Session upon the pretence of relieving distress in Ireland; and he hoped that before this Vote was passed the Government would be able to afford the Committee some information in reference to the points that he had ventured to lay before them.

Colonel COLTHURST wished to refer to the question which more immediately concerned the action of the Local Government Board in Ireland last year. That Board had received powers to grant relief in every Union in the shape of food and fuel, receiving labour in return. Those powers were, in his opinion, sparingly exercised; but, in so far as they were exercised, they were the means of preserving human life, and warding off great suffering. Those powers had now expired, and as it was quite possible, and even probable, that there might be a re-appearance of distress, he wished to ask the Chief Secretary to consider the advisability of bringing in a short Act to confer on the Local Government Board power, when necessary, to give out-door relief in any particular locality. Within the last few days an instance had happened to justify his suggestion. In the South Union, in Dublin, there had been great distress, but the Local Government Board had been quite powerless in the matter, having no authority to give out-door relief; and it was only by what might be called a Providential accident that the workhouse happened to be overcrowded, and relief could, therefore, be given to a certain number of men in return for labour. There would be no danger in adopting his suggestion, judging from past experience of the way in which the Local Government Board had used their powers, and judging from close observation of the past action of Boards of Guardians in the matter.

MR. CALLAN also wished for some information from the Chief Secretary with regard to the details of this Vote, especially with regard to the number of Inspectors temporarily employed, and the amount of money paid to them. The Irish Office had always been remarkable for deliberate suppression; but he hoped the Chief Secretary would not allow that characteristic of the Irish Office to continue. He had asked that night for a Return of Information. Of course, some trouble would be involved in giving that information; but the information would spare the House a great deal of time, and it was the duty of the Chief Secretary to see that his understrappers and officials in Dublin Castle furnished that information. He wished to know how many of those Inspectors had been temporarily employed, how much they had been paid, and whether any of them were still retained. Then he would like to know what gratuities had been paid to the Assistant Secretary and seven clerks for extra services, and how much the Assistant Secretary had grabbed for himself. He further wished to have some information as to the bill of costs of the Solicitor to the Board for several years, which amounted to £1,017. These were all matters to which the tax-paying public attached great interest, and the information would save a great deal of that unnecessary friction which existed with regard to the present occupants of the Irish Office.

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) as to how far the Local Government Board should have power to authorize the Guardians to give out-door relief, said, that he could not give any definite answer on the subject. His own inclination was in favour of the hon. and gallant Member's proposition, and he promised to keep the matter in mind, although he could not undertake to bring in a measure on the subject. In reply to the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell), he did not think that the present was the most opportune moment for reviewing the state of the country in reference to the Relief Acts. He thought that the subject would more properly come on when the General Estimates were brought forward for the next year. He was most anxious that the House should have the information desired by the hon. Gentleman, and he would have granted a Return on the subject if the hon. Member had moved for it. The money granted had not yet all been expended. In January last the loans to landowners then sanctioned amounted to £1,068,000, and at that time about £639,000 had been distributed. The larger part of the balance, £427,000, would be spent in wages before August next. On baronial works completed or in progress £173,000 had been spent; while works had been commenced which required more than £2,000. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), three additional Inspectors were employed during the height of the distress. With regard to the gratuities, they were given for very hard work—he did not think it was easy to exaggerate its severity. Gratuities varying from £120 to £40 had been paid to the Assistant Secretary and the seven clerks, the total amounting to £600. With respect to the Solicitor's bill of costs, he explained that they were fully certified and taxed up to October, 1879; but as accounts had not been furnished in June last, it had become necessary to make provision for them in the Estimate for the present year. The amount of all costs during the last 10 years was £1,458.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL thought that, before the Vote left the Committee, it would be convenient to put a question or two with respect to the use which the Irish Government had made of out-door relief as applied to the distress in Ireland. The Relief of Distress Act was passed with the object of providing for distress caused by the failure of crops in the year 1879, and the House assented to it on that account. But the Irish Government, in the winter months, made another use of the powers of the Act, and one which that House had not foreseen; because, in the months of December, January, and February, permission had been given by the Local Government Board to the Boards of Guardians to grant out-door relief, not for the purpose of relieving distress suffered from the failure of crops, but for the purpose of relieving distress caused by numbers of persons being thrown out of employment in consequence of the exodus of Irish landlords. The question had been thereby raised as to whether the operations of the Land League had not, to some extent, interfered with the material prosperity of the Irish labourers; and it was thought possible that the labourers, seeing the effect which the operations of the League had had on the agricultural interest of the country, might have expressed opinions against the League. However that might be, opinion was strong in December that the use which the Chief Secretary for Ireland authorized to be made of the powers of the Relief of Distress Act had had the effect of preventing classes in Ireland who depended on daily labour from seeing the real result of the policy of the Land League. As a matter of fact, in many parts of the country the distress consequent upon the want of employment had been so great, that bands of men paraded the country, one of which actually stormed the office of a Board of Guardians while it was sitting, and clamourously demanded out-door relief. It was then that the Chief Secretary used the Relief of Distress Act for the purpose of authorizing out-door relief to be given to persons thrown out of employment. Now, that was a use which the House had not contemplated when it gave assent to the Bill, and he thought that assent would not so easily have been obtained had the House had any idea that the Irish Government would have made such a use of the Act. In December, 1879, there were 2,000 persons more in the workhouses than there were in December 1880; and in December, 1879, there were 10,000 persons less in receipt of out-door relief than in December, 1880, when there was absolutely no distress consequent upon the failure of crops. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he could give any explanation of the policy which he authorized the Local Government Board to pursue—namely, that of giving out-door relief to provide for distress that was not consequent upon the failure of crops, but was due to a totally different cause—that was to say, to the exodus of the landlords and the consequent want of employment over large portions of the country? He would also like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman could explain on what ground he considered himself to have power to use the act in the manner referred to. It would appear, he thought, that the Chief Secretary had committed, what in legal phrase was called a fraud, on the power of the Bill, by authorizing the application of it in a manner not contemplated when the Act was passed.

Mr. MACARTNEY desired to mention a circumstance with regard to which he had received some private communications. The poorer class of farmers in Ireland had had the benefit of an Act passed last Session, call the Seed Potatoes Act, one of the provisions of which was that loans were granted to poor farmers by the Boards of Guardians for the purpose of purchasing seed potatoes, the cost of which was to be repaid in two instalments. In many parts of Ireland the crops had been bad, and these payments had pressed with extreme severity on the poor persons who received the loans; and he wished to impress on the right hon. Gentleman the propriety of allowing the Local Government Board to consider whether the repayment could not be made in four instalments instead of two. If the Local Government Board had no power to do this, then he suggested that the Chief Secretary for Ireland should bring in a short measure to give them power to relieve the poor farmers to whom he had referred in respect to the repayment of loans.

Major NOLAN said, that the policy of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock was of a Machiavellian character; it would have been cruel, and might have excited insurrection. The noble Lord said that the Chief Secretary ought to have allowed the labourers to feel the prick of poverty arising from want of employment; but the hon. Member (Mr. Macartney) had stated that in many places the people would not be able to pay even for the seed potatoes they had got, because they had not full crops. In many districts the policy advocated by the noble Lord, instead of having the effect he expected, would have driven the labourers to desperation. He gave the Chief Secretary great credit for following the policy which the noble Lord had condemned. He hoped the Chief

Secretary would consider the propriety of receiving the price of the seed potatoes in several localities in Ireland in four instalments instead of two. There had been nothing like general failure of potatoes; still there had been some, and the condition of the poor farmers was in itself a sufficient reason for the postponement of the instalments. He admitted that in his own county the right hon. Gentleman had behaved very well in this respect. He would like to know what was the policy of the Local Government Board in connection with the matter to which reference had been made last night, but which had not been pursued owing to a point of Order being raised. He desired to know whether the right hon. Gentleman had fully considered the question of instituting relief works in some of the localities in Galway and other counties, or whether he would make some further provisions? He had no doubt that the works were very much required in some places, and would be for a short time, although the cost of them would not be very great.

The O'DONOGHUE wished to point out a remarkable instance of remissness on the part of the Local Government Board in connection with the Relief of Distress Act. In December last the Killarney Board of Guardians adopted unanimously a resolution in favour of holding extra baronial sessions, as there had been great distress in the neighbourhood. The Local Government Board assented to the resolution; the sessions were held and attended by all the proprietors in the district and by the associated assess-payers, and a considerable sum was voted for the works. A resolution was also passed, pointing out to the Lord Lieutenant the extreme urgency of the case, in reply to which they were given to understand that the works would be almost immediately carried out. Inspectors were sent down, and the attention of the Local Government Board was drawn to the facts of the cases by several local proprietors. He had himself asked a Question upon the subject; but he regretted to say that, after the considerable lapse of time which had taken place, nothing had been done.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, with regard to the Question of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, it had been decided to postpone the works in question until after the spring sowing. In reply to the Question asked by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, as to the extent to which the Government had made use of the powers of the Act to give out-door relief, he had received from the Vice President, in the beginning of the year, a statement to the effect that he foresaw there would be a period of distress, and that he feared out-door relief would have to be given in several cases. In consequence of this, 72 Unions were authorized to give out-door relief. There were now, however, only 27 in which out-door relief was given. The Government, at the time, saw no other way in which they could meet the distress. It was believed that there was then a great chance of the distress increasing; but, happily, the result had been different, and it had greatly diminished. The reason why relief was given was partly owing to the circumstances of some Unions in which the people had not recovered from the failure of the crops. In one or two Unions there had been great distress through mismanagement in the planting of potatoes, although this had not been general. Then there was another cause of a temporary character, but nevertheless of great weight, and that was the exceeding severity of the winter. Then there came the want of employment. No doubt, a large number of labourers had been thrown out of work. He did not think the administrative of the Poor Law in England or in Ireland had any right to allow anything except the fact of distress to weigh with them in such a case, and it would be fatal to the right working of the Relief Act to allow social and political considerations to stand in their way. There were persons at the time who said if you do relieve these people, they will tell the farmers they ought to pay their rents, so that the landlords may give them employment. On the other hand, persons said if you do not relieve these people, they will be in a condition of destitution and become an easy prey to agitation. Well, the Government paid no attention to one argument or the other. They considered the extent of distress and the best way to deal with it; and with respect to it there were three courses open. They might have forced the people into the workhouses, given them out-door relief, or set them to work by means of baronial sessions. In the case of the county which came before him first, the gentry were unanimous in advising against forcing the people into the workhouses, and were also in favour of a system of out-door relief, with work where it could be substituted. Then came the question of work or relief, and he could only say he had tried, in connection with the Vice President, to get as much work for the people as possible. On the 5th March, 1881, the total number of persons in receipt of out-door relief was 67,667, and, comparing the present month with the corresponding month of last year, the number was 67,667, as against 59,548. It was, no doubt, the case, that in many Unions some demoralization had existed, consequent on the relief given last year, and which, in his opinion, had not been diminished to the extent it ought to have been. With regard to the seed potatoes, the cost of seed in 253 Unions was £599,000, and the half which was to have been collected this winter amounted to about £300,000. In consequence, however, of provisions made under the Act last year, payments had been postponed to the extent of £146,000. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) desired that the repayment should be in four instalments, instead of two, in some of the distressed Unions; but he wished to point out that this could not be effected without another Act of Parliament, and he very much doubted whether the proposal was a wise one. Generally speaking, no doubt these seed loans had been of great advantage to the farmers; but he could not help thinking that they would feel the repayment, after four or five years, to be a very heavy tax upon them. Of course, the law must be carried out; but it was not the intention of the Government that it should be carried out with severity. He confessed that he did not think the circumstances of the country were such as to warrant any alteration in the conditions on which the aid in the construction of public works had been afforded. The time fixed for the payment of the instalments of the loans could not be extended without an Act of Parliament.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked, if a Return would be given of the number of Unions to which advances had been made?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the names of the Unions would be given if the hon. Member would move for a Return.

MR. CALLAN asked, if there was any chance that relief would be afforded in the matter of repayments if a representation were made as to the state of particular Unions? The Poor Law Union of Dundalk was one of the richest and most prosperous Unions on the East Coast, but it was connected with districts that were miserably poor. If in such a case a representation were made, would the Local Government Board be in a position to make some concession so as not to insist on terms of repayment which, at the present moment, would press very heavily upon the Union? He was afraid that if the terms of repayment were absolutely insisted upon, it would be necessary, in many cases, to seize the household furniture of the people of the district, as by no other means would it be possible to get anything whatever. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider the propriety of extending the period of repayment still further—say for another year—in regard to those Unions in which the Government were satisfied that there still existed extreme distress. There could be no harm in giving the Local Government Board a discretion in the matter.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, that a discretion had already been given in regard to increasing the number of Unions in which a postponement of repayment would be allowed. Great care had been taken in preparing the rules that were laid down in reference to postponement, and he feared that it was now too late to re-open the subject afresh. He presumed, however, that the hon. Member would not expect him to give an answer as to any particular case until he had had an opportunity of making an inquiry. He would ascertain whether the regulations as to postponement were final.

MR. CALLAN said, the concession was only asked for in the case of part of a Union, and he thought the case was one which would commend itself to the consideration of the Government.

COLONEL COLTHURST thought the regulations in regard to the suspension of relief works would be most unequal in their operation. In many districts, where the relief works might interfere with the spring work, the suspension would not avail because the work was generally done by contract; but it would materially affect the relief in remote and mountainous districts, where the spring work was almost nothing, and where the work was generally done under the county surveyor. It had thus been the means of providing employment for old men and boys, who could not obtain work otherwise, and who were not likely to be employed by a contractor. These were the very classes who could not obtain employment in the spring work; and if the suspension was intended to be carried out generally now, it would inflict great hardship upon this class of labourers, without giving any appreciable advantage to the farmers.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he had not got the Circular with him; but he was very much mistaken if there was any rule for the suspension of relief work under the circumstances mentioned by the hon. and gallant Member.

Colonel COLTHURST asked, if the right hon. Gentleman would consent to send instructions to the local Standing Committees, so that they might have a discretionary power to continue the relief work, merely displacing such labourers as the farmers chose to take? If the right hon. Gentleman would give that discretion, it would settle the whole question.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER thought that, as a rule, the relief work ought to be suspended in the spring; but he would give an assurance to the hon. and gallant Member that his statement should be thoroughly considered.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, there were a number of Unions which, although in a comparatively flourishing and solvent condition, had in them electoral divisions which were in the poorest possible condition. That was the case in his own Union, and three or four attempts had been made to induce the Local Government Board to postpone the repayments, on account of the extreme poverty of the people, and because, having got their seed very late in the season and owing to the wet weather, they had hardly any crop. The circumstances of one electoral division in a Union was no criterion of the condition of another in the same Union. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would allow representations to be made in favour of these divisions.

Major NOLAN said, there was a special case upon which he should like to have the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. In some Unions—for instance, in the Galway Union—seed was supplied which purported to be champion seed, but when the crop came up it was found to be very bad seed of some other kind of potato. The districts in the Union were willing to pay their instalments, but they considered themselves to have been very badly used. Instead of being supplied with good seed, they had simply wasted the manure they had put upon the land. He wished to know what steps the Local Government Board intended to take in the matter? In many instances the people had bad seed not worth 5*d*. a-stone. They considered that they would be very badly used if they were compelled to pay the seed tax, and the Local Government Board and the Poor Law Unions said they had no authority to do anything except to charge it. It was certainly a case which might be considered by the Government, and some rule laid down.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, that a special case of that kind could not be subject to any rule, but must be left to the Boards of Guardians.

Major NOLAN thought the Chief Secretary had not quite caught his point. The Boards of Guardians did not consider that they had any power in the matter. Of course, the Local Government Board were not responsible, but they ought to give the Guardians power to charge over the whole Union the loss occasioned by the supply of bad seed to a particular district. The Local Government Board, however, required to have the power to make this charge upon the whole Union.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he would communicate with his hon. and gallant Friend upon the subject.

Mr. BIGGAR said, it was undoubtedly the case that primarily the expense of the seed was charged on the land, and the year's crop should be able to pay for it. But the illustration given by his hon. and gallant Friend applied to a particular district, and it showed that, in certain instances, there was a tendency to encourage jobbery. He believed that hon. Members representing different parts of the country had been urged to use their influence with the Government in regard to particular localities. That, in itself, was a very mischievous principle, and if the payment for these seed potatoes was dispensed with, it would only enable the landlords to drain a little more of the life-blood out of their poor tenants. The first thing provided for should be the expense of the seed, and the landlords should only get their share of what was left. If the payment for the seed was not made, the practical result would be that the landlords, for some time longer, would be able to obtain extortionate rents. The charge for the seed should be payable in one sum, and it should be paid before the rent, the money due to the landlords being paid afterwards. At the same time, in a district which had been impoverished by the exceptionally extortionate demands of the landlords, and the exceedingly bad crop of the year 1879, it might be legitimate to allow the payment for the seed to extend over a period of two years. The same thing applied to the baronial works. The execution of these baronial works had, he believed, afforded an opportunity for a good deal of extensive *bonâ fide* fraud, and in some cases gross jobbery and rascality had been perpetrated. He knew, personally, of cases in which jobbery had been committed. And he thought it would be well if the Government refused to lend too willing an ear to the appeals made to them to encourage this baronial expenditure, which, in many cases, simply meant the throwing away of money. He very much approved of the view of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) that, in granting relief, they should not inquire too closely into the reason how it came about that relief was wanted, but only into the fact whether relief was required. Where the suffering was wide-spread over the country, it was desirable that the people should not have their homes broken up, and that whole families should be sent to the workhouse; whereas, by temporary relief, they would be able, after a certain time, to tide over their present condition of pauperism. He did not think there was anything in the contention of the noble Lord that many men were out of work because the landlords had left Ireland. The real fact of the matter was that the employment of labour in the cultivation of the land was an unprofitable business. The money granted to the landlords was a serious part of the case, and had been a real evil. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to state, if he could conveniently, to what extent aid was likely to be still given to the landlords? In a great majority of cases the money paid to the landlords had been a complete fraud, and a perfect scandal. A friend of his, in the county of Cork, informed him that the agent of Lord Kenmare—which noble Lord was a Member of the present Government, a Catholic in religion, and a Whig in politics—had received money for the relief of persons in distress; but instead of making advances in cash to the parties who did work, he had simply given them a receipt for their rent in advance. His friend wrote to say that so recently as the 11th of February, Mr. Downing, the law agent of Lord Kenmare, gave a receipt for rent up to the 1st of March. The landlords refused to give cash to people who were members of the Land League; and, beyond that, the actual amount of work done was misrepresented—credit being taken for seven and a-half yards where only five yards had been done. The person he referred to—Mr. Downing—only represented a class, and was no worse himself than the great majority of land agents in Ireland, who obtained plunder from the public works sanctioned by the Government, and were able, at the same time, to gratify their political animosity against the Land League agitators. They got their rent, charged for more work than was actually done, thus making an improper profit out of it; and, in addition, they borrowed the money from the State at a nominal rate of interest. He thought it was the duty of the Government to attempt, in some way, to remedy the evils of such a system. He should be glad to learn if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary intended to do anything in the matter, and if there was any possibility of getting off without paying the landlords anything further.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the hon. Member must be aware that the loans had already been made, and the work, to some extent, done. There was no discretion as to the allocation of the loans. In regard to the specific complaint made by the hon. Member, his attention had not been called to such a case, and the deduction of rent from the money earned for labour was illegal.

Mr. BIGGAR asked for an explanation of an item of £391 in the Vote for an additional Auditor appointed at a salary of £500, of which £400 was to be repaid by the counties, and £100 by the Port and Docks Board, Dublin. Why was this sum to be paid first by the Government, and then repaid?

The O'DONOGHUE understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the employment of money advanced to the landlords as loans for public works in the payment of rent was illegal. That was quite true; but was there any check upon the expenditure, and were there any means of ascertaining how the money was employed? Had the right hon. Gentleman any means of knowing that the money was actually expended in the payment of labour?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER stated, that an endeavour had been made last year to ascertain how the money was expended, and it was found, almost universally, that it was paid for labour. The law was that the persons employed should receive the full value or consideration agreed to for their labour respectively in the current coin of the Realm. In regard to the Question put by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), if he would refer to the Estimates for 1881-2, he would find that £216 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum was paid to the Auditors; but the Local Government Board found that the existing staff could not get through the work, and they had appointed an additional Auditor.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £1,800, Public Works Office, Ireland, *agreed to.*

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £6,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Mr. PARNELL said, there was an item under this Vote of £3,100 for fees to Law Officers and fees to Counsel consequent on the recent State Prosecutions in Ireland, and also an item of £3,000 under the head of General Law Expenses. He should ask, by-and-bye, for some information with regard to the item "G, General Law Expenses;" but he proposed, for the present, only to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £3,100 under the sub-heads B and F, for fees to Law Officers and fees to Counsel.

The CHAIRMAN: By what sum does the hon. Member propose to reduce the Vote?

Mr. PARNELL said, he proposed to reduce it by excluding sub-heads B and F, amounting to £3,100. The prosecutions in Dublin were undertaken in pursuance of he knew not what policy. In fact, he supposed that the Government had not, at the time, quite made up their minds what policy they were going to pursue; but they imagined that they might waste a little public money in carrying on a farce in the Four Courts, Dublin, at the expense of the public. He did not understand why a Liberal Government, in any case, should have resorted to the obsolete device of an indictment for conspiracy. When the attention of the late Government was directed to the Land movement in Ireland, they did not adopt the plan of an indictment for conspiracy. They could have done so if they pleased. The materials for a charge of conspiracy were just as much open to them as they were open to the present Government; but they preferred the more honourable and the more straightforward course of making each man responsible for his own action and his own words, and they prosecuted Mr. Davitt and one or two others at Sligo to that end. He did not think that anybody could object to being made responsible for what he said and what he did himself; but he did object to the doctrine of constructive conspiracy being called in by Her Majesty's Government for the purpose of a political prosecution. In fact, if they intended to persevere in such a course, no man would be safe; but men might be held to be responsible for what somebody else said in America or Australia, provided they could get a jury to believe that the persons in question were acting in mutual combination. In fact, the doctrine of constructive conspiracy was a most dangerous one; it was dangerous to individuals, and it was also dangerous to the public good. He regretted exceedingly that it should have been reserved for a Liberal Government to take refuge behind that doctrine for the purpose of attempting to put down a political agitation in Ireland. Now, what was the doctrine of constructive conspiracy? A man's words were seized upon for the purpose of making out a case. The Crown Lawyers seized upon certain isolated passages in a speech; they said that a certain individual had made a certain reference in one part of his speech, and that some other individual made a somewhat similar reference, and then they collected the passages, and, putting them together, they tried to make out that an understanding had been arrived at by many persons, and that that constituted a breach of the law of conspiracy. But in the present day men came to a political agreement without coming to any distinct personal understanding. A doctrine was announced by one public man, which he (Mr. Parnell) read in the newspapers, and, approving of that doctrine, he went on to a public platform and recommended the same thing. It followed, according to the doctrine of constructive conspiracy, that he had been conspiring with the man who made the first speech—whom, perhaps, he had never seen—simply because he adopted his published ideas and endorsed them as reasonable, fair, and proper. He now wished to ask the Government whether they intended to set in motion the law of constructive conspiracy in Ireland, or whether, on the other hand, they would simply make every man responsible for his own words and actions? Did they intend to arrest men under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus under that law of constructive conspiracy? An act, which, if committed by one man, would not be an offence against the law of the land, became a criminal offence when two or more persons conspired together to commit it; and hence it followed that under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus the Crown might claim the right to arrest persons because they might think they had conspired together to do things which, done by one person, would not have been a breach of the law. The matter was of considerable importance in connection with the new powers which the Government had been given; and however much they might have been disposed to forgive the Government for their sins of commission in the past, and for instituting prosecutions under an obsolete law, which had broken down—yet, when they were asked to vote money for such purposes, he thought they were entitled to inquire whether the Government intended to arrest any persons in Ireland in the future under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for any offence which might come within the law of conspiracy. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £3,100.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £3,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he did not suppose any hon. Member wished to occupy much time that evening in debating questions which had taken up so much time during that Session. The hon. Member for Cork City had asked whether the Government intended to arrest persons under the law of conspiracy when putting in force the Protection of Person and Property Act. With regard to the policy of the Government in instituting those prosecutions he did not intend to enter into a legal definition of the words "constructive conspiracy." He would leave that to the Law Officers of the Crown. He could only say that what chiefly operated on the mind of the Government was the fact that they found several persons advising men in the strongest possible terms to break their contracts, and not to pay their debts. They were advised that if that was done by a combination it was a breach of the law. They considered that it was a breach of the law, and that it was their duty to bring the matter before a jury, so that if the evidence was sufficient a conviction might follow. He thought the Government were perfectly justified in doing so, and would have been very much to blame if they had allowed the law to be broken without attempting to vindicate it. The hon. Member asked him a Question with regard to their action under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He could only refer him to the terms of that Act. They would not arrest any persons except those with regard to whom they had reasonable suspicion that they had either committed a crime punishable by law—such as acts of violence, intimidation, or having incited to these acts. That had been very frequently described in the debates on the Bill; and, so far as he knew, nobody would be arrested under it unless they came within the category mentioned.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was glad the hon. Member for Cork City had raised the question of conspiracy. He had had an opportunity of consulting a friend of his who was well known as an authority on the law of conspiracy—he meant Mr. Henry Crompton. He now charged the Government with inventing or re-inventing the old law of conspiracy against labour which had been altogether destroyed by the legislation of the last 10 years, as being part of a system of thoroughly bad legislation. He thought that charge was made in sufficiently definite terms to receive a definite answer. He would go a little into details. It was not many years ago, as the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well, since in this county it was a criminal offence for a workman to enter into anything like a combination, the moment the combination became of an effective character. It was held by the laws of that time that workmen were perfectly justified, and were not disobeying the law, in entering into a strike; but the moment workmen, in order to make their strike effective, "picketted" the streets to discover who were standing out and disregarding the union, then the Criminal Law was put into operation, and the workman was made a criminal offender. The legislation of that time, which did not come from the Liberal, but from the Conservative side of the House, took a very sensible view of the situation, and said—"If working men are entitled to enter into a combination at all, every act which is a fair and legitimate result of that combination is a fair and justifiable act." Now, he applied that course of argument to the Land League. The statements of the Chief Secretary for Ireland was that he found a number of persons going about the country inciting persons to make a breach of contract. Now, he asserted positively, on the authority of Mr. Henry Crompton, that it was perfectly lawful for a number of men to combine even to effect a breach of contract. Now, if it be justifiable with regard to a breach of contract between master and workman, he contended it was justifiable between landlord and tenant. It might be said that the case of the landlord and tenant was essentially different, because the subject-matter was the property of the landlord. He denied that proposition altogether, He denied that the subject-matter of dispute between the landlord and the tenant was in any sense solely the property of the landlord. It was the joint property of the landlord and the tenant. The Solicitor General smiled sceptically when he made that proposition; but, perhaps, he had not read carefully the reports in *Hansard* of the debates on the Land Act of 1870. He challenged the Solicitor General to deny the proposition of joint ownership or partnership between landlord and tenant. If there was no such joint ownership, what right was there to give a tenant compensation upon being turned out? His proposition was, therefore, that the farm —he did not profess to speak in legal language—was a piece of goods in which the landlord and the tenant had a joint interest and ownership. Under the law, as it existed in this country, it was perfectly permissible for a tenant to break his contract, or to enter into a combination to break his contract, if he thought proper to do so. Therefore, his charge against the Government was that, under the pretext of law, they were merging into lawlessness; and that, in the defence of property, they were stamping upon the rights of tenant's property, and trampling upon that liberty of combination which successive statutes, coming from both sides of the House, had given as an unquestionable privilege to the working classes of this country. He challenged altogether the accuracy of the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman as to the arrests which had taken place. He contended that the majority of the arrests which had taken place already were in distinct contravention of the terms of the Act itself, and in still more distinct contravention of the pleas upon which that legislation was passed. He challenged the Chief Secretary for Ireland to say that any of the men who had been imprisoned under the Act were men in any sense belonging to that class of dissolute ruffians or *mauvais sujets* who had been so often spoken of. He knew himself of one case—that of young Mr. Kelly, who had been arrested and imprisoned, and he was a most respectable, well conducted, and orderly young man. He had taken a rather prominent part in the demonstrations made in connection with the land agitation; but he would challenge the Chief Secretary to say that he was imprisoned because he had advised a breach of contract to anyone.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, what he had said was that those arrested were suspected of having committed a crime punishable by law.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: By no stretch of the imagination could the conduct of Mr. Kelly be brought under that definition.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: And inciting to violence or intimidation.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, they could not call inciting to breach of contract an act inciting to violence or intimidation. Another point he wished to remark upon was the amount of legal ability which was engaged by the Crown at the prosecutions. He did not begrudge hon. Members their share of the spoil, which was, no doubt, well earned; but he thought their high ability might have been better directed than in trying to bring home a criminal charge against those whom the people regarded as the saviours of their country. What he did complain of was that the right hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite, who were surely competent lawyers and men of the greatest ability, should have found it necessary to surround themselves with a perfect constellation, a galaxy, a panorama, of legal talent. What was the meaning of it? What was the necessity of half those lawyers? There was no necessity at all, except that they wished, by a side-wind—he would not say a "dodge"—to deprive his friends of as much legal ability as possible by engaging it themselves. He asked an explanation upon that point, and he thought he had a perfect right to do so with some energy, for the reason that it was only that system of bribery and fees which had prevented such able Gentlemen sitting by his side as supporters of the Irish movement, instead of being on the Treasury Bench. Those were the points upon which he wanted information—his main point being, whether the law of conspiracy was applied to contracts between landlord and tenant.

MR. CALLAN also wished to ask some questions with regard to the trials. He found, from a sub-head, that the expenses of the trial for 20 days amounted to some £1,550. When he compared that sum with the sums he had seen marked on the briefs held by gentlemen of the English Bar, he felt almost ashamed of the Irish Bar to think that the Law Officers of the Crown should accept such paltry fees. The education of those gentlemen was just as expensive, and they were just as accomplished, as the Law Officers of the Crown for England. In trials in England, it was common to hold a large number of consultations; but, in the State Trials, he found that there were 20 days' sitting without any consultation at all. Supposing that trial had taken place in England, what would it have cost? He should like to give the English Attorney General's clerk such a brief as the Law Officers for Ireland had in the late trials. He wondered what he would do with it? In England, at the very least, the trial would have cost £5,000; and yet, in Ireland, it was put off for the paltry sum of £1,500. The leader for the defence, familiarly known in Ireland as Frank Macdonnell, he was informed, got 1,000 guineas for his brief; and he was told that none of the leading counsel for the defence received less than £500. There was one item which he certainly would like an explanation about, and that was the item "General Law Expenses," £3,000. He found he was referred to a note or subhead, and that note put down the details as miscellaneous. Now, he got quite as much information from the word "Miscellaneous" as he did from the title "General Law Expenses;" and, therefore, he thought some further explanation should be given.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW) said, he only wished to say a few words in reply to the observations made by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He had no reason to complain of the manner in which the Law Officers had been criticized. But the most important matter, in his opinion, was that part of the speech of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), where he asked for information with regard to the application of what he called the obsolete doctrine of conspiracy. He (Mr. Law) took exception altogether to the statement that conspiracy, as a branch of the Criminal Law, was obsolete. He thought, during the last 10 days, he had seen several criminal prosecutions for conspiracy in England; and there was a large class of mischievous offences which could not be dealt with by any other process than that of a prosecution for conspiracy. Complaint was made that in a prosecution for conspiracy one man was unjustly made responsible for what was said or done by his associates; but he (Mr. Law) must point out that this was nothing more than happened in all cases of association, whether for lawful business or for a guilty purpose. In all partnerships alike there was a combination for a common object, the essence of the thing being that each man should not have to depend upon his own exertions merely, but should also have the benefit of the exertions of the persons associated with him. Given a common purpose, and a combination for that purpose, it was just as reasonable that a man should be held criminally answerable for the acts of his confederates in furtherance of their common guilty purpose, as that one partner in a business should be held liable for the acts of the other partner or partners done for the benefit of the firm. In this case, however, there was no occasion to stretch the law by any construction whatever; the persons prosecuted took credit, and they had justly taken credit, for having, in all they had said and done, acted entirely above-board. They declared plainly that what they had meant to do was to combine for a certain purpose; and if it were held that by that course they had exposed themselves to a prosecution for infraction of the Criminal Law, well and good. The Government would have been guilty, under the circumstances, of a dereliction of duty if they had not brought the matter to an issue. It was always part of the contention of the traversers that the course they had taken in thus combining, and their action in furtherance of the objects of that combination, were within the limits of the law. The Law Officers of the Crown, however, believed that the traversers were acting, not within the law, but in flagrant violation of it. On that point he would not go further than to state that the case was tried not before a single Judge, but before the Court of Queen's Bench as then constituted; and it was held by the Court that it was a breach of the Criminal Law for two or more persons to combine to induce others not to pay their just debts, and also that it was a crime to combine to prevent persons taking farms from which tenants had been evicted—in other words, to prevent people from doing that which was a thoroughly legal act. Those were the two principal charges against the traversers, and the justification of the opinion the Government formed as to the nature of the acts of which those persons had been guilty was sufficiently shown by the decision of the Court. So strong, indeed, was the opinion of the Court upon that matter that one of them stated that if the case had been a civil one he should have directed a verdict for the plaintiff; but he (the Attorney General for Ireland) would pass that by. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) seemed to think that the law of conspiracy would not apply in cases of "picketting," and that one man might in that way lawfully injure another who took a course opposed to his views.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that as he was informed it was perfectly lawful at the present moment for a member of a trades union, when a strike had been agreed upon, to go as close to the place of business in connection with which the strike had occurred, as to be able to ascertain whether any of his companions went there or not.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): To go for the purpose of acquiring knowledge is not picketting.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I am informed that it is picketting.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law) said, he did not consider it such, although, of course, the hon. Member could call such action by any name he liked. He should not have advised a prosecution of the Land Leaguers if they had confined their operations simply to obtaining knowledge as to who paid his rent and who had not. If they had simply gone to the trouble of watching the rent offices, and had never taken a step beyond that—never tried to induce people to break their contracts, or to intimidate their neighbours, if they had never advised the besetting of people's houses, or following them from place to place to annoy and injure them, he should not have advised the prosecution; but to abstain from this would not have served the purpose of the Land Leaguers. Their object was to bring the landlords on their knees; and he begged to say that a combination for that purpose—a combination to do mischief to any man or body of men—had, from the earliest time, been dealt with as a criminal offence. It was indisputably a breach of the law to intimidate a man to prevent him from fulfilling a lawful contract. Personal liberty consisted, not merely of freedom of body, but also of freedom of mind and will; and, as they had been told by a learned Judge, now a member of the Court of Appeal, any persons who sought, by watching, besetting, or by black looks or otherwise to coerce or interfere with a person's freedom of will, were guilty of a criminal act. He would therefore repeat that what had happened not only justified, but imperatively called, upon the Law Officers to advise the Crown that a prosecution should take place. As he had said, it was contended and loudly declared by the Land Leaguers that they, in everything they had done and were doing, were strictly within the limits of the law; and that being so it was only right that they should be disabused of their mistake. It had been argued that the landlord and the tenant were co-partners, inasmuch as they were both interested in the farm. Well, he did not dispute that they were both interested in the farm; no doubt a tenant had some interest in the land, and a co-partnership might exist, though the share of one partner might be comparatively small. He would ask, however, whether the fact of their both having an interest in the land gave one of them a right to combine with other people to do an injury to his partner? The late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn had had before him a case in which this very point had been raised—where one partner went into a mischievous association with an outsider to do an injury to the other partner. The man was indicted for conspiracy, and the Court of Criminal Appeal held him to be rightly convicted of the crime, although it would not have been possible to punish him if he had acted by himself. He now came to another point upon which he had an observation to make. It had been alleged that the Crown had acted unfairly by surrounding itself with a "galaxy of legal talent." No doubt there were a number of very able men engaged upon the trial; but the "galaxy" was on behalf of, as well as against, the traversers. Certainly the defendants were not so badly supplied with legal ability that their case suffered in the least; and the Crown had only acted with propriety in selecting those legal gentlemen to assist in conducting the case that they thought would be most useful. Though the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) declared that the traversers were left in a pitiable plight, it must be acknowledged that they had the advantage of the services of most able counsel; whilst the happy result of his piteous complaint was that a considerable stream of gold flowed in at once to the coffers of the League from Ireland, America, and elsewhere. As to the magnitude of the case, it should be remembered that the proceedings at 128 or 130 meetings were to be proved, and that some 500 speeches had to be considered. There were eight counsel for the Crown and eight for the defence; whilst there were 14 persons upon their trial, and the Government could not have been acquitted of dereliction of duty if they had not secured the best counsel they could possibly procure. This, at all events, he could say—that the selection of counsel on behalf of the Crown was not in the slightest degree made for the purpose of prejudicing the defendants, but simply with the object of doing proper service to the Crown. He trusted he had now given sufficient explanation upon the matters which had been referred to. He did not wish to reopen old sores. He was glad that the whole thing was over, because not only was the case the source of considerable anxiety, but it was, in some respects, a painful one to those who had to conduct it.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN regretted that he had been so unfortunate as not to hear any explanation from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, or from anyone on the Treasury Bench, as to the question that naturally arose to everyone's mind in connection with that trial—namely, why it was that the prosecution had been instituted at all, and why it had taken the shape that it had in the Court of Queen's Bench? Let the Committee recollect that the offences charged against the traversers were 10 months old. No doubt, if he might use such a colloquial phrase, it was by way of "piling up the agony" that some offences were brought up to the very eve of the trial; but if the Crown believed their own case, they had evidence of acts and language used in the months of January and February of last year on which to found an action. He wished to know from the Crown if they could say why they lay by apparently slumbering? Was it in order that those men for eight long months might be allowed to believe that they were on the path of legality? Why did the Attorney General lie by, he would repeat? The right hon. and learned Gentleman had the evidence circulated by the late Government; and he was able to obtain information from all kinds of newspaper reports from Gurney's reporters and from the police reporters. The evidence adduced on the trial in Dublin presented to his (Mr. Sullivan's) mind an impression which he could never forget, and it was this—that, but for what he knew of the personal character of the Attorney General for Ireland, and only for the fairness with which he conducted the prosecution, he should have said, if he had been a stranger, not knowing the right hon. and learned Gentleman, or anything of the circumstances, and judging merely by what he had heard in Court, "that he was, in a moral sense, most culpable for having lured those men to their ruin"—if they had been ruined. If the traversers had been on the path of illegality, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman was aware of it so many months before, it was his duty promptly to tell them so. If he had known that crimes were being committed in February, was he not bound, and were not the officials of Dublin Castle bound by their oaths to come forward and vindicate the law? If illegality was being perpetrated in February, March, April, May, why did not the prosecutions take place before September? Eighty years ago, on no less an authority than that of the King, complaint was made of a similar course, and it was stated that certain officials had done what was in the highest degree culpable by allowing crime to continue, by winking at it, by conniving at it, by allowing those who committed it to believe they were on the path of legality. It was declared by the King of England that it was a criminal act for officials to store up crime against individuals for the purpose of enmeshing and ruining them. Why was no warning voice raised in Ireland to tell the people to keep away from those meetings—to have nothing to do with those criminals who were luring them on to destruction? Had not the Government been like the panther watching behind the tree, waiting his time for a spring? If they had not known that the Attorney General for Ireland was not only a kindly Gentleman, but an honourable public official—and he was glad his Colleagues had spoken of the right hon. and learned Gentleman in that spirit—they would have accused him of having lured on the traversers to their ruin. He did not wish to be personal in the slightest degree, and he only used those phrases in the sense of his argument; but why did the right hon. and learned Gentleman and the Castle officials lay by silent, motionless, conniving by their silence, even up to the month of September? One man had been prosecuted for saying that the landlords ought to be shot like rabbits in a warren. No one would deny that that was language of a most heinous and culpable kind. He (Mr. Sullivan) had no political sympathy which would induce him to say the use of such language was not a wicked and culpable act. Why, then, was that language allowed to pass unnoticed, and why was the man who uttered it allowed to remain at large—a man who, not in one but in several speeches, incited to assassination? Now, he asked the serious attention of the Government to that question, why did they allow that individual to force himself on the Land League meetings? The man was never a member of the Land League at all. The Government allowed him for months to go round and tack himself on to the tail end of Land League meetings, allowed him to rush on platforms before the chair was taken and let off some of those incentives which figured next morning in the London newspapers as language used at Land League meetings—for the Crown confessed that they knew what was going on? They threw that into the common charge in order that this abominable language might stick to such men as the hon. Member for Cork City, whom they wanted to bring down.

With all his respect for the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland, this was not a course of conduct that befitted their high position. They had their police spies, and their police reporters, giving them information of the language that was used at those meetings; and it came out in evidence on oath in Dublin that the man to whom he had referred, before he had gone on platforms and after he had gone on platforms, before the day of meeting, and after the day of meeting, was drinking in public-houses with those police officials. The police gave him drink before he went on to the platforms, they gave him drink after he left the platforms; and he, in order not to appear a mean fellow, although he was exhorting people to wicked and outrageous acts, treated the police to drink in return. That was the sort of man who was allowed by the police for five months to go making seditious speeches through the country, getting every day worse. There was for the conduct of that young man Nally an explanation that might lead some of them not to attach so much blame to him as at first sight one would suppose he deserved. It seemed he was not exactly a believer in the Permissive Bill, and, perhaps, was not often accountable for his language—in fact, it came out on the trial that the young man was, from a very early hour in the morning until a very late hour at night, in an exciteable condition—he would only describe it in that way. That young fellow was put upon his trial, and his ravings were read gravely over to the jury by the Irish Attorney General, though the right hon. and learned Gentleman had in his possession at the time the explanation of that language. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not that explanation in his possession, why did he for five months hesitate to prosecute? Now, the late Government in Ireland, at all events, had acted in a more candid and straightforward manner. They found some of those men attending Land League meetings, and using what they considered to be illegal language, inciting the people to crime and violence, and they grasped the men there and then. The right hon. Gentlemen now sitting on the Front Opposition Bench, at any rate, deserved credit for this—that they did not allow those people to walk into the pitfall—did not allow them for eight long months to believe that they were endeavouring to attain an object by legitimate means—by public agitation. When the crime—as the late Government considered it—had been committed they struck the offenders in the name of the law, brought them to the Bar, and prosecuted them for their conduct. Nor were the late Government guilty of—and he wanted to use a word that would most strongly describe the conduct of the present officials in Ireland without personally reflecting on them—the unfairness of allowing a thing which they considered to be illegal to go on without taking each offender to task for his conduct. The late Government would not have bundled all the defendants together in a group as the present Government had done, so that the Member for Cork City, while away in Philadelphia, hat in hand, begging for alms at crowded meetings in America, was held responsible for the ravings of that peasant he had referred to in the wilds of Connemara. Was the action of the Government in that matter worthy of British justice? Why did not the Attorney General prosecute Nally for his language and the hon. Member for the City of Cork for his? He had abundance of evidence in the one case to convict any man of using seditious language. He (Mr. Sullivan) put it to the Attorney General on his reputation as the head of the Irish Bar, to which he was a credit—he put it to the right hon. and learned Gentleman on his own reputation whether he had not had abundant evidence to sustain a charge for sedition? Now the trial was over, he had no hesitation in telling the right hon. and learned Gentleman what he had said all along to his own Colleagues—namely, that it would have gone very hard with them if they had had to defend themselves against a charge of sedition. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman raked up, not an obsolete doctrine of sedition, for the doctrine was not obsolete by any means, but what was, as regarded those political prosecutions, a discredited resort. As regarded political prosecutions, where the men could be indicted for their individual acts, the course adopted by the Government was by the enlightened public opinion of this country—nay, he would almost say, by the dicta of the great men in the Legal Profession—held to be a discredited and unfair resort. In pressing this matter in the most forcible manner, he desired to exempt from blame the Attorney General for Ireland, to whom belonged the credit of conducting the first State prosecution in Irish history that had been fairly conducted by an Officer of the Crown; but he challenged the Government on these matters—first, that the Crown remained silent and inactive for several months; and, secondly, that when they did take action they proceeded upon a miserable charge of conspiracy instead of prosecuting for sedition. It was really painful to see the minuteness with which the case for the Government was got up; but in the two or three days' opening speech of the Attorney General there was not a superfluous word. It was, however, impossible to listen to the speech without feeling that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had proved too much, for he told an awe-stricken audience of words uttered at 157 meetings, while words uttered at three meetings in May, and when Parliament was sitting, would have been sufficient for any evidence necessary for the case. Why, before Parliament broke up, were not the Irish people treated to a word of warning upon the illegality of those meetings, if they were illegal? He complained that the prosecution, when instituted, was for political exigencies. In the academical sense, it might be said that the Government acted as they did from a pure love of abstract justice, and could not have taken action a week sooner or a week later; but it was known that the prosecution was not dreamt of until a wicked Press in London had hounded on the Government to take a step which ended in failure. This great State Trial was the huge blunder of the Irish Administration, just as the Coercion Bill had been the blunder of the English Administration. Two nights' discussion would not exhaust the important issues involved; but, under the present circumstances, on account of the pressure on public time, he would not enter fully into the matter. Of course, the form of the objection was to the Vote; but none of the Irish Members objected to the Vote in this sense—the Irish Law Officers did their duty, they did it fairly and honourably, and the remuneration represented in that Vote was not too much for them. He hoped, therefore, that the Committee would understand the Irish Members in that spirit. They had raised this contention upon this Vote, because they considered the prosecution a mistake, because they thought it ought to have been begun at once if crime was afoot, and that a charge of conspiracy ought not to have been the form of the proceedings.

Mr. GIBSON said, that if there should be a division he should deem it his duty to vote with the Government, although he did not think the prosecution which was instituted was the wisest or the most effective way of dealing with the particular crisis with which the Government were unfortunately called upon to deal. The prosecution was commenced on the 2nd of November; and although it was commenced on November 2nd, and was founded on the legal opinion that the operations of the Land League were illegal, not a single meeting of the Land League was interfered with for some months after that opinion was given. Therefore, so far from being effective as a moral teaching of the magnitude of the law, in the month of November, after the institution of the prosecution, the crime doubled, and in the following December it quadrupled. The institution of the prosecution was thus far from being an effective agent; nor, looking at it as moderately and reasonably as he could, did he think the institution of the prosecution could be regarded as the wisest Executive step that could have been taken, because he did not think it right or wise to institute a State prosecution unless it was founded upon a serious and well-considered belief that it was likely to be successful, and to result in a conviction. He asserted, as a matter of almost universal belief at the Bar, and he believed of almost universal belief in Ireland, amongst educated people, that there was hardly a shadow of chance, in the then system of constituting juries, of getting a conviction from the prosecution; and that was an immense element when the wisdom and prudence of the prosecution came to be considered. He did not for a moment question the perfect soundness of the advice given by the Law Officers in Ireland, whose advice he was sure was supported by law, and was what he should expect from their position and experience; but the prosecution was not one for which the Law Officers were to be considered primarily responsible. The prosecution must have been instituted on the authority and at the instance of the Government; therefore it was one for which it was not reasonable to regard the Law Officers of the Crown as answerable. Of course, it would not be reasonable to ask for the production of their opinion; but he ventured to suggest that in the advice they gave upon this question, in addition to stating what legal offence could be put forward in the indictment, they also indicated the grave uncertainty that existed as to a conviction. He was disposed to think that they pointed out the certainty, in the then constitution of the jury system, of not getting a conviction. The hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) asked why the prosecution was instituted. He did not think that they would have far to seek for a reason. It was necessary that something should be done in the then terrible state of affairs. He was disposed to think that the assertion of the ordinary law, although it might not have been sufficient to cope with a crisis then so grave, might have been more vigorously applied at an earlier period. Unquestionably the ordinary powers of the law were not applied with anything like reasonable vigour until after the meeting of Parliament. Another thing might have been done. In the then unfortunate condition into which Ireland had been allowed to get, Parliament might have been summoned. That not having been done, it was absolutely necessary that something should be done; the Government arrived at the conclusion that it was their duty to institute the prosecution. That prosecution did one thing—it put the Land League and its operations at arms-length from the Government, and that he considered a distinct gain. He did not understand that any of the Irish Members who had discussed the subject questioned that the Government were proceeding on an entirely legal course; he himself had not the shadow of a doubt as to that, nor did he find, in the course of the trial in Dublin, that anyone suggested that the indictment was not legal and sufficient. He believed that no one attempted to question the legality and the fairness and the sufficiency of the way in which the Government put forward their case. If the Government put forward a legal case reasonably and fairly and *bonâ fide*, according to their opinion of what was required for the country, it would be a strange thing to ask the Committee to divide against that Vote because the prosecution was not successful. The hon. Members who had criticized the Vote had abstained from criticizing the small details, which would have been unworthy of them; but his professional eye had been caught by finding amongst the English Votes the expenses of two prosecutions, each of which amounted to over £7,000. That was far in excess of the sum asked for in the Vote. The prosecution, in addition to putting the Land League at arms-length with the Government, had elicited from two able Judges a clear exposition of the law, which he thought had been attended with great advantage in Ireland. No one could question the absolute judicial fairness and great judicial power of the two eminent Judges who presided at the trial; and those two Judges had given well-considered and able and weighty decisions in favour of the legal opinion of the Law Officers. That, he believed, had had a substantial influence in Ireland, and had shown those who had been previously misled what the law was and what law could be asserted against them. It was not for him to make a suggestion to hon. Members as to whether they should divide on the Vote; but he thought this was a question that was more for discussion than division, because any division must take the form of reducing the fees of the counsel engaged, and that, he was sure, was the last thing in the world that hon. Members desired.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was not at all unnatural for hon. Members representing Irish constituencies to discuss the Vote, and there was nothing in the tone of the remarks that had been made to which he could object. One or two remarks, however, had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) which could not pass unnoticed. The hon. and learned Member had made the serious charge against the Government that they had lured men on so that they might prosecute them.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN explained that what he had said was that a stranger might have taken that view if he had not known the personal character of the Attorney General for Ireland.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) asked what was it that the hon. and learned Gentleman suggested that the Government ought to have done? The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) had said that no Government ought to institute a prosecution unless there was some certainty of success; and he gave as a reason for uncertainty in this case the constitution of the jury system. He (the Attorney General) must dissent from that view. He thought no Government should institute a State prosecution unless there was a certainty that they ought to succeed. But how would that affect the jury system? That a State prosecution should not be instituted because there was uncertainty of conviction, because of the jury system, was a doctrine he could not understand; and if the right hon. and learned Gentleman's view was correct, the Government could never prosecute anyone in Ireland.

Mr. GIBSON explained that he had said that the Government was bound to consider the probability of getting a conviction, and that in this case that probability was not held out.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) could only say that it was the duty of the Government, whether there was a defect in the jury system or not, to see that the law was in force, and to enforce the law even by criminal prosecution, when that law had been broken; but he was equally certain that the Criminal Law ought not to be brought into effect until the Government were certain that it would be for the benefit of the community; but if there was a crime committed, they must wait until they saw that they had a real offender whose offence required punishment as a matter of example; and the Government ought not to lightly undertake a State prosecution until they were certain that the effect of the trial would be great. Had there not been a slow but certain growth of crime in Ireland? There was a time in the existence of the Land League when there were speeches by comparatively unmarked men, who had brought themselves technically within the law; but at that time it was the duty of the Government—with the qualification that they should consider whether they were likely and ought to obtain a conviction—to consider what would be the effect of letting the chief offenders escape and picking out minor offenders. There were Members of that House who left their duties in Parliament in the early part of September last, and took part in promulgating the doctrines of the Land League; and on the 19th of September that disgraceful creed of inciting to crime by what was known as "Boycotting" was preached. A Member of the House committed a crime within the definitions of the law when he, in common with others, taught the creed that when a man had made a contract and was urged to break that contract, and when the person with whom the contract was made had recourse to the law to enforce the contract, the man who enforced the law was to be shunned and condemned, and passed by as a leper; while anyone who afterwards sought to obtain the natural use of his capital by taking the land vacated was to be subjected to consequences worse sometimes than violence. That was a criminal act. There could be no doubt whatever, after the ruling of the late Lord Chief Justice and the ruling of Mr. Justice Willes, that that was a criminal act. If two men combined to prevent a person obtaining the fair performance of a contract, they were criminal—and that had been openly preached. When? Not in the early Spring, but in September and October. That doctrine was preached by men of such mark that they, and not the ignorant men, ought to be held primarily responsible. When was the charge made? Unless the Attorney General for Ireland had instituted a prosecution before June, the 2nd of November was the earliest time at which he could do so—and upon the 2nd of November he did institute proceedings. He lost not one day open to him, after the June sittings, for opening proceedings—and what had occurred between June and November? If there was no probability of a conviction in November, how much stronger would the improbability have been in June? In June the Government still hoped that a policy of forbearance towards Ireland would have produced good fruit, and that the legislation contemplated for Ireland would have had an ameliorative effect. What censure could be justly cast upon the Government because in June they had not instituted proceedings? Yet that was the only charge which the hon. and learned Member (Mr. A. M. Sullivan), who had given such proof of his ability at the trial, and who had every knowledge of every feature of the case, could find to present to the Committee against the Attorney General for Ireland. It might be that if the Government had, with all the quickness and desire of some criminal lawyer, been disposed to pick out a word here and there, they could have done so in May and June; but he held that it was not the duty of the Government, instead of endeavouring to pass a measure of amelioration, to have employed themselves in picking out words of sedition uttered by some obscure and drunken man; but, when they found men of conspicuous position, whose example ought not to be an example of crime, but of peace and order, teaching criminal doctrines, then the Government, and not till then, put the law in force against the utterance of words which amounted to crime; and he should think that the last censure upon the Government which the hon. and learned Gentleman could have discovered to make would have been for having acted too slowly. There was one matter to which he must refer——namely, to the assertion made by those who, with very little knowledge of the law, said that the enforcement of the law of conspiracy had become obsolete. That law was not obsolete; and, in his opinion, it would be a day fraught with danger to the country when conspiracy ceased to be a crime. One man might speak foolishly and wickedly, and one man might not have to answer for words which, spoken alone, might have very little effect; but when they had to deal with combination—only dangerous because it was combination, when they had the banding together of many men who could defy the law by virtue of the strength of their numbers, and who, when so coming together, were able to inflict injury on the individual and danger to the commonwealth—then it was for the law to say, you who enter into combination and become in the eye of the law conspirators together—you must answer for the acts of each other. It was a combination that the Government had to deal with, and had for its object to cause persons illegally to break their contracts. The Government could deal with this combination in no other way than as conspiracy. The conspiracy they had to deal with had developed to such an extent that it had been said, in the now hackneyed phrase, to have succeeded in "knocking the Queen's law in Ireland into a cocked hat." That was the object of the combination; it was for that these proceedings were instituted in the manner which even his hon. and learned Friend opposite said he had nothing to complain of, and within a time which was perfectly proper and reasonable.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, the hon. and learned Attorney General had misunderstood the nature of the objection which had been taken against these prosecutions. He had not understood it to be said that prosecution for conspiracy was obsolete. He heard it contended that the doctrine of conspiracy of the constructive kind—that was, conspiracy for which they made one man responsible by citing against him every word any other man might utter—was obsolete. He understood it to be contended that the true principle was that actually reduced to law in the case of combinations of working men; that what a man might do of himself he might do in combination with other men, and persuade any number of other men to do in combination with him. They contended that the Government had departed from that sound principle in endeavouring to restore the old doctrine of constructive conspiracy; and that when they found a man doing what was in itself lawful, they had endeavoured to throw a legal network around him for the purpose of making him responsible for the acts and words of other men. It was well known that every reform in the law tending to give liberty of speech and writing had been brought about by violating to some extent the existing law, and by Governments gradually dropping that law from practice, and allowing it to become obsolete. He and his Friends contended that a perilous condition of things had been reached when the Government endeavoured to revive the doctrine of constructive conspiracy, and make it a living principle of law again. They held that the leading men who were placed on their trial in Dublin were simply leaders of a political Party; that they had done nothing whatever opposed to the principles of the law of England; and that the Government had taken advantage of a law which had fallen into disuse in order to punish them. The Government found men acting as political opponents, and converted them into criminals. Being unable to put down political agitation by fair discussion and by remedial legislation, the right hon. and learned Gentleman then fell back on the principle of constructive conspiracy. The manner in which the Government had acted from the beginning of this prosecution made it almost impossible that it could succeed. An hon. Member had suggested that the Government should not have instituted the prosecution unless they were well assured it would succeed. For his part, he did not go so far as that. He agreed rather with the Attorney General for Ireland, in saying that the Government ought to be guided by the opinion that the prosecution ought to succeed, rather than that it was likely to succeed. But certainly success was an element that ought to have been taken into consideration. With regard, however, to this prosecution, everyone knew that it never would succeed, because it was a political prosecution in the least noble sense of the term—a prosecution which sought to repress political opposition by criminal law. How did Her Majesty's Government show reason and excuse for that prosecution? They found that the leading men had said and done nothing which was outside the range of fair political argument and organization; they found that the objects they professed to have at heart were in no sense whatever illegal. But the Government found also that hanging on the skirts of this movement there was a number of utterly irresponsible men, without education, without position, without leadership, absolutely unknown to the majority of the leaders, and they sought out for every occasion when one of these men made some idle threat, and then applied their doctrine of conspiracy to make it appear that the whole of the leaders were actually responsible for what one man had expressed in the language of braggadocia. The acts and sayings of such men had been brought against the hon. Member for the City of Cork in order to convict him of unlawful combination; and the whole proceeding formed a picture so ignoble, pitiable, and discreditable to the Government that nothing like it had occurred since the days of Lord Norbury and the informer Jerry O'Brien. No jury would convict on such evidence unless it was composed completely of policemen or informers. What the Government had to deal with was this—they had some honest men speaking from their convictions; while, on the other hand, they had a number of obscure, irresponsible, reckless men delivering speeches which were in open defiance of the Criminal Law. Why did they refrain from prosecuting men who advocated the shooting of landlords? Why did they not put the leaders of the land movement on trial for their own utterances, and their own acts? Instead of doing so, they endeavoured to apply to them the all but obsolete doctrine of constructive conspiracy; and they endeavoured to convert an open, honourable agitation into something like felony. In the course of this discussion there had been a great deal of loose language indulged in, and a singular mixing up of politics and law. The Attorney General for England (Sir Henry James) made it one of the accusations against the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell) and some of his Colleagues that they had not employed themselves in endeavouring to lessen the popular feeling in Ireland against the Government of this country. Now, he wanted to know what public man carrying on an agitation ever attempted to lessen the popular feeling against a Government. He wished to know whether, in the famous Mid Lothian campaign, the eloquence of the Prime Minister was occupied in endeavouring to mitigate and soften the feeling of the Scotch people against the last Government? Had the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) ever occupied himself in any of his reforming campaigns in endeavouring to mitigate the popular feeling against the Government against whom he was carrying on the struggle? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland seemed to think that the fact of a law being in existence, and on the Statute Book, justified the Government in instituting a prosecution under it. Now, he (Mr. M'Carthy) believed there was upon the Statute Book a law prohibiting the Jesuits from living in this country. But was there any reason for instituting a prosecution under that law, and would there be any justification for doing anything so foolish? The Attorney General for Ireland attempted to make it out that the only object of the Government was to get a decision upon the question of law. In the view of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, the law was not quite certain. Some people thought certain things were lawful, while others thought they were not. Therefore, said the right hon. and learned Gentleman—"Let us seize the hon. Member for Cork City, bring him up, and have a trial, in order that we may learn what is the law." If that was really so, he did not wonder at the want of success which attended the trial. The Law Officers of the Government ought to have something of the politician in them, as well as of the lawyer; and it would have been wiser for them to consider how far the spirit or the letter of some decaying law was in harmony with the natural laws of modern political movement than to force on a prosecution against a great public agitation in order to find out what the law was. He hoped that his hon. Friend who had moved an Amendment to the Vote would press it to a division. It was only right that they should know what the opinion of the Committee was in regard to the prosecution which had been instituted, and whether they considered it right to pay the cost of a prosecution which had been entered into without any possibility of success.

Mr. BLAKE said, it was his intention to divide in favour of the Amendment of his hon. Friend. He was, however, unwilling to give a silent vote. He would, therefore, trespass for a few moments on the patience of the Committee, while he gave his reasons for the course he was about to take. The reasons why he should vote for the Amendment had not as yet been given by any other Member. He was quite willing to admit that in the circumstances in which the Government were placed the prosecution of the traversers was almost unavoidable; and he also believed that the prosecution, when it did commence, was conducted with fairness. But he must hold the Government, and particularly the Prime Minister, accountable for the fact that the necessity ever arose for these State Trials at all. In the year 1870, when he had just ceased to have the honour of a seat in that House, a Land Bill was brought in by the Government; and there was never, perhaps, such an opportunity given to any Government to legislate effectually upon any question as upon that occasion. The Prime Minister had it in his power to manage the large majority he had in his own way, and to make the Bill a most efficient measure. Had the right hon. Gentleman then introduced such a measure as, by general supposition, was now about to be introduced, they would have had peace and quietness in Ireland for many years past. When the Government came into Office last year, great and reasonable hopes were entertained that they would inaugurate their government by the introduction of a suitable measure of Land Reform in Ireland. But in that respect the hopes of the people were disappointed. They all knew—at least those who had been in the House as long as he had—his acquaintance with the House having commenced some quarter of a century ago—that hardly anything had been given to Ireland for the sake of abstract justice, and that without agitation nothing could be accomplished. Now, his hon. Friends around him, who took an active part in the land agitation, and a part in which he was afraid they were carried somewhat too far by their enthusiasm—knew very well that unless agitation was kept up in Ireland, and very strong reasons were given why an adequate measure should be introduced, there would be very little hope for them. He thought he could cite no better witness as to the necessity for agitation, and the good results that were likely to follow from it, than the Prime Minister himself, for the right hon. Gentleman had fully admitted that without the agitation that took place on the Land Bill and the Church Question on a former occasion he would have failed to carry those measures to a successful issue. He (Mr. Blake) considered that the agitation in Ireland had, perhaps, been carried a little too far. He was himself, to a certain extent, one of the victims of the very strong feeling which existed in Ireland that rents should be limited to a particular standard. It was one of the recommendations of the Land League—and hon. Members beside him would correct him if he was wrong—that, under certain circumstances, the people ought not, until the Land Question was finally settled, pay more than Griffith's valuation. He must give the Land League credit that they did not mean this in a general, but in a particular sense; but, unfortunately, the people took it as it suited them, in many instances in a general sense, and he (Mr. Blake) was, in consequence, in this position at this moment, that unless he consented to receive from his tenants about half of the income he was entitled to he would get no income at all. He therefore waited with the greatest impatience and anxiety, stimulated by his own particular necessities, the period when the Prime Minister would bring forward a measure that would enable him (Mr. Blake) his rights. He was very sorry to say that in Ireland there were some hundreds, perhaps some thousands, in exactly the same position as himself. Therefore, speaking entirely from a landlord's point of view, he trusted that, for the preservation of their lives and the peace and quietness of the country, that the Government measure of Land Reform would not be long delayed, and that it would be of a satisfactory character, just to the tenant as well as the landlord. The only Member of the Government present now who took an important part in the agitation of 1870 was the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). So far as popular rumour went, if the right hon. Gentleman had had his way on that occasion, the Irish landlords would now be in possession of their rents, and the country would be in a state of peace and prosperity. It was because he regarded the Government as the primary cause of the agitation which had led to such unpleasant results in Ireland, and which culminated in the late State Trials, that he should vote in favour of the Amendment. He protested against the Government not having taken the measures they were bound to take on coming into Office, in order to allay the just discontent that existed. He should enter his protest against their inaction in that respect by voting in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman if he pressed it to a division.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR regretted to say that the hon. and learned Attorney General for England had introduced into the debate an amount of acerbity which did not belong to it before. He (Mr. O'Connor) had no knowledge of the law whatever; but he had taken the trouble to consult those who knew something about the law of conspiracy, and he found that on the 4th August, 1873, in the debate on the "Conspiracy Law Amendment Bill," Mr. Vernon Harcourt made some remarks which might be applied now to the operations of the Land League in Ireland. It was really a very remarkable speech. The hon. and learned Gentleman was moving that the consideration of the Lords' Amendment to the Conspiracy Law Amendment Bill should be taken that day three months, and he said—

> "Under the pretence of limiting the penalty the Bill did, in fact, affirm the offence, for if they passed the Bill it would give a statutory assent to the doctrine which Parliament had never yet sanctioned — that an agreement to break a contract within the provisions of the Master and Servant Act was a criminal offence properly indictable as a conspiracy."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxvii. 1539.]

[Sir William Harcourt dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) shook his head. But these were sentences open to the interpretation of any hon. Member of that House. The speech said distinctly—

> "This Bill would, for the first time, recognize in an Act of Parliament an agreement to break a contract to be an indictable offence. . . . To so dangerous and mischievous a proposition he, for one, could never assent."—[*Ibid.*]

In this case the tenants were advised not to keep a contract, and, according to the doctrine laid down by Mr. Vernon Harcourt, it was not an indictable offence to combine in order to agree to break a contract. He left the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to settle conclusions with the Attorney General and his hon. Colleagues as to what the real state of the law was. That was the first point that arose. The second was that the right hon. Gentleman laid down that because two eminent Judges, Justice Fitzgerald and Justice Barry, declared certain things to be illegal, that therefore they were illegal, and in this very same speech by Mr. Vernon Harcourt on the 4th August, 1873, he found the hon. Gentleman protesting against this Judge-made law in these terms—

> "If Parliament was to keep faith with the working classes in respect of the pledges it had given to secure the freedom of labour, it was bound to protect it against the practical supersession of its will—by this sort of Judge-made law. No one had a more sincere respect than he had for the sages of the law; but that respect was limited to their legal province—*Cuilibet credendum est in arte suâ.* Even men so just as Mansfield and Eldon and Ellenborough and Kenyon

> had laid down doctrines on political and economical subjects which it had been the duty of Parliament to correct, and upon no head of the Common Law had decisions gone more astray than upon trade questions."—[*Ibid.* 1535.]

These were the words used by Mr. Vernon Harcourt with regard to the Judges of England when dealing with State questions or questions between masters and servants. If it was justifiable on the part of the hon. and learned Gentleman to raise that objection against the decrees of the English Judges on questions affecting masters and servants then, *à fortiori*, it was justifiable for the Irish Members to raise the same question on the decision of the Irish Judges upon questions between landlords and tenants. It must also be borne in mind that in the latter case the Judges were political in their origin, that they were raised to their places by political Parties for political services, and that they were called upon to decide questions of political struggle between one Party and another. The right hon. Gentleman was now chief guardian of the law; and although it was quite permissible for the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Oxford to cast this slur upon Judge-made law, it was regarded by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary as an indescribable offence for the Irish Members to raise the same objection against Judge-made law in regard to questions of dispute in which the Judges themselves were personally interested. He (Mr. O'Connor) had great respect for the two Judges who had given their decision on this Judge-made law; but he was not prepared to abnegate all the rights of the Irish people because Justice Fitzgerald and Justice Barry happened to say that such and such things were illegal. He did not see why the fact that they said it was illegal should make it illegal. He certainly failed to see why the mere dictum of Justices Fitzgerald and Barry was to make a breach of contract between landlord and tenant a necessarily overt offence. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland thought it necessary to go out of his way to refer to transactions which had been only incidentally alluded to, and which he might have known would awaken painful and disturbing recollections which ought to be allowed to rest. The right hon. and learned Gentleman alluded to the famous advice of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) at Ennis in reference to what was called "Boycotting." He challenged the right hon. and learned Gentleman upon that point, whether it was or was not a fact that "Boycotting" was a part, and a necessary part, of every trades' union organization in this country. Was that so, or was it not? What was "Boycotting?" "Boycotting" meant simply that certain persons belonging to a certain class, opposed by another class, found that their only strength and defence lay in combination; that that combination was only possible by the observance of all the conditions of combination by the combined, and that in order to preserve that combination they must have the moral sanction of a social breach of intercourse with those who disobeyed the combination. As a matter of fact, if he was rightly informed, in some of the instances of the trades' organization of this country a fine was imposed in the Trades' Union Court—a Court which he supposed, if sitting in Ireland, would be accused of high treason by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. That Trades' Union Court called before it any man of the Union who worked for an employer against whom a decree of the union had gone forth. Could the right hon. and learned Gentleman deny that? Could he deny further that the offender was brought before the Bar of the Trades' Union Court, and that the Court, usurping the functions of the Sovereign, frequently imposed a heavy fine for any breach of the trades' union regulations. He was glad to see his hon. Friend the Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald) in his place. He would appeal to his hon. Friend if it was not a necessary and prominent part of trades' union organizations that a person belonging to the union, and disobeying the decree of the union with regard to taking work under certain employers was visited by something like those social penalties which were summed up in the word "Boycotting?" Yet the right hon. and learned Gentleman dare not bring into that House a Bill which would in any way interfere even with the fringe of these rights of combination, and of "Boycotting," and of social ostracism, encouraged by the trades' unions in this country. It was only when they were established as adjuncts to the land agitation in Ireland that they were looked upon as intolerable. The right hon. Gentleman had not proved to his mind, nor had the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, that this mischievous doctrine, as it was called by Mr. Vernon Harcourt—that an agreement to break a contract was a criminal offence was recognized by the law of England. Therefore, before he received this doctrine as the law of the land, he should like to see it a little better tested than it had been at present. He was certainly under the impression that it was perfectly legal for the tenants to combine together for the purpose of breaking a contract, and that it was not an indictable offence. The right hon. and learned Gentleman thought it necessary to speak of the advice which had been given — not to take a farm from which a person had been evicted; and he went so far as to characterize that advice as disgraceful. Now, that advice, disgraceful as it was in the right hon. and learned Gentleman's mind, was, in his (Mr. O'Connor's) mind, justified by overwhelming national necessities. It would be highly dangerous to leave to the landlords the power of eviction, unchecked by some such power as this. If there had been no such part during 1879 and 1880, the people whom they tried by their Disturbance Bill and failed to save would have perished. A combination to prevent the taking of a farm from a man who had been unjustly evicted was no more morally criminal than the combination brought about by the trades' union to prevent men from entering certain employments. The right hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of the difficulty of getting Irishmen convicted by Irish juries. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman would reflect for a moment on the hidden meaning of these words — the difficulty of getting Irishmen convicted by Irish juries, he thought he would find that it would have been more correct to say — the difficulty of getting an Irish politician like the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) convicted by an Irish jury. The Government knew that no jury of Irishmen fairly brought together would convict his hon. Friend, or any of his hon. Friends, upon such evidence as that adduced at the recent State Trials. It was the doctrine of persons who believed in the Divine right of Monarchs that Kings could do no wrong; it was his doctrine that no nations could do wrong in its own interest. The Government must know that in the State Trials, while they were on the one side the Irish nation were on the other, and it followed that the Government were wrong, and that the Irish nation could not be wrong in failing to convict its public men. The sooner the Government took the lesson to heart, the sooner they refrained from oppression, coercion, gagging, and tyranny, and the sooner they governed Ireland according to the principles of equality and justice, the more conducive it would be to the welfare of both countries.

Mr. WILLIS was prompted to make a few observations in consequence of certain remarks which had been made in relation to the law of conspiracy. As far as he understood the law, it was an offence for two or more persons to agree to incite a person to break his contract. It was an offence, not only created by Act of Parliament, but by a series of decisions extending over a considerable period of time. He did not wish to discuss its propriety. The alteration of the law, which took place in 1875, in favour of workmen, when a general trade dispute arose about wages, was just; and if he thought the Land League only incited tenant farmers, who had themselves united to complain of high rents, to break their contracts, he did not know that he should oppose its operation. But the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was mistaken in supposing that there was any analogy between breaking a contract by a labourer and the course the Land League had advised. A labourer retired from the building or place where he was working; but a tenant farmer in Ireland was incited by the Land League not only to break his contract by non-payment of rent, but to remain in the possession of the property, and to compel, by intimidation, the landlord to accept the terms which the tenant dictated. The case of the workman could only be analogous to that of the Irish tenant if the workman not only broke his contract, but took and kept forcible possession of the factory, employed the capital and gave the master just such a share of the profits as in his—the workman's— opinion he ought to receive. It was a most unjust and criminal proceeding on the part of a tenant, after breaking the contract he had entered into, to remain in his holding, and thus endeavour to compel the landlord to accept his terms. An undoubted crime was being committed by the Land League, and it was the absolute duty of any Government, worthy of the name, to suppress it.

MR. FINIGAN had been extremely amused by the remarks of the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Willis). He had little expected to hear from one professing broad Liberal principles such a very narrow view of the law of contract. Contracts were never justifiable, unless there was an equality and a freedom on the part of both contracting parties. In Ireland, contracts between landlords and tenants were very like those existing between the wolf and the lamb. The unfortunate tenantry were bound to live by some means or other; there was no industry, they had no money with which to leave the country, and they were simply placed at the mercy of the landlords, who were ever ready to demand unjust and inequitable rents. It was owing to this state of things that tenants of Ireland were obliged to enter into unjust contracts. He knew of no body of men claiming any acquaintance with jurisprudence who would hold that such a contract was binding. Until the House of Commons learned that the ordinary law in Ireland was administered in a just and fair spirit, and that the convictions under that law were greater than in England, it would not realize the precise condition of affairs in Ireland. Wherever there were no politics concerned the ordinary law was administered in Ireland justly and with dignity; it was only when politics were infused into the administration of the law, and when it was defined that disobedience of unjust laws was a crime, that the Irish people and Irish juries rejected what was called law, but what was a sheer and undoubted wrong. It had been alleged, in this House, by the Prime Minister, that evictions were sentences of death; and it had been stated, without this House, by Members and supporters of the Government, that the law of eviction was an injustice. To punish a man for breaking an unjust law by breaking his contract was a parody on legislation, and a parody on equity. He never advocated the breaking of the law in Ireland; but in reference to what was called "Boycotting," he now desired to call the attention of the House to a clause in the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875. Clause 3 of that Act provided that—

> "An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do, or procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen, shall not be indictable as a conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime."

Now, he held that the indictment for conspiracy brought by the Government against his hon. Friend and Leader the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and others was an act of tyranny. The Government ought to have remembered that they should have applied to Ireland the principles of the Act passed in 1875 for England. He was ready to admit there were several cases in which the Government could and ought to have brought indictments; but against those who were indicted recently in Dublin there was no case for any Court, unless it were the Court too long known in Ireland—namely, the Court swayed by politics corrupted by Party. In any ordinary case brought before an Irish jury, a verdict would be returned equal in point of justice to any given in an English Court. He objected to the Vote now before the Committee, and he intended to support any division upon it; because until the English Government, whether it be Liberal or Tory, learned that the law of Ireland must be framed in accordance with the opinions of the people, there could be no respect for the so-called law—law which was now so much affected by political considerations. He trusted nothing would be done to-night to delay the progress of Business; but at the same time he hoped that Ministers who called themselves Liberal, who called themselves men of justice, would not attempt to defend an indictment for conspiracy, which, though it might be technically right, was judicially and equitably wrong. It ought to be understood by the Government, and by hon. Gentlemen generally, that it was not against the law, but against the system of injustice carried on by official corruption, that the Irish Representatives so persistently contended in this House.

So soon as the same spirit of legislation was evinced in regard to Ireland as in regard to England, the Irish people would be found as true and as firm to the principles of justice as the people of England.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN was not only favourable to the reduction of the Vote now proposed, but he was in favour of its complete abolition. He considered the late State prosecution was unwisely conceived, and from first to last a waste of public money. There was no man of common sense in England or Ireland who did not know from the very commencement of the proceedings that they could only have one termination. It was said in this country, and in Ireland, as it was said in the newspapers of all parties in both countries, that the trial could only end in the acquittal of the traversers. Nothing, in fact, was expected from the prosecution but a field day for the lawyers, and the waste of a great deal of money of the British taxpayer. In Ireland there was, moreover, another view taken of the matter, and when people were casting about to ascertain why on earth these prosecutions were instituted at all, this view commended itself to many minds; it was this—that the officials of Dublin Castle were resolved to pit the British Exchequer against the funds of the Land League, and thus to impoverish that association by causing it to expend a large sum of money which might have been much better employed. They had heard to-night something on the question of contract; but they had not heard it for the first time. What seemed to be the key to the whole position, in this and other debates was, the sacredness of contract between landlord and tenant. But he denied—as he and his hon. Colleagues had denied many times previously—that a contract for the payment of a rack rent was, in reality, a contract at all. Contract was too good and too sacred a word to apply to an arrangement between landlord and tenant under which the latter was to pay an exorbitant rent. He believed that a real crime on the part of an Irish tenant would be, not in refusing to pay a rack-rent, but in paying it. The most sacred duty a tenant could have was first of all to support in decency and in comfort out of the proceeds of his labour, himself, his wife, and his family. [*A laugh.*] Whether hon. Gentlemen laughed at this opinion or not, he boldly asserted it. It was his conscientious opinion; he had uttered it elsewhere, and he had no hesitation in uttering it on the floor of the House of Commons. A large number of Gentlemen connected with the Legal Profession had spoken to-night on this subject. They had spoken very highly of the State prosecutions. The hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) said they were in some respects conducted in a model manner; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had complimented the Irish Members on the fact that they did not too narrowly scrutinize the Vote. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) wished to bear his testimony to the fact that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland conducted the prosecutions in a fairer spirit than they had ever experienced before in Irish political trials; but, at the same time, the prosecutions were, in his opinion, a great mistake, and a needless waste of money. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in opening the case, spoke for two days. That, of course, meant a round of refreshers for all the lawyers, while half the time—nay, even a quarter of the time—would have sufficed. The defence of the traversers cost the Land League about £10,000. He, in common with every member of the Land League, would very much have preferred to see that money distributed to the families of evicted Irish tenants. It would in this way have been much better employed. He should, of course, vote for the proposed reduction; but he would more cheerfully vote for the abolition of the entire amount asked.

Mr. BIGGAR thought he was justified, both as an Irish Member of Parliament and as a taxpayer, in contesting this particular Vote, and in offering some of his experiences in connection with the late trials, and some of the reasons why he considered the Vote ought not to be passed in its present form. The charge brought against the traversers was that of conspiracy. It was attempted to be shown that they had advised the people to break their contracts; but it was rather strange that very little stress had been laid upon the question as to whether such a thing as contract existed between the tenant farmers and landlords of Ireland. He disputed that, even legally speaking, contracts existed between these people. They had seen that the Court of Chancery had held that a man was not even legally, and certainly not morally, compelled to abide by an arrangement under which a landlord or usurer sought to procure from him an extortionate amount of money in relation to any transactions between them. That was a matter of law as clear as anything could be, and he did not think it could be controverted. What was the state of things with regard to the needy Irish tenant? If he did not choose to consent to the terms of the landlord, he and his family were evicted, and might straightway have to go to the workhouse. Much had been said in respect to the question of conspiracy; but it was a remarkable fact that no attempt was made by the prosecution in the late trial to make it appear that there was any connection between the different parties indicted. A great deal had been said about the Land League; but it was never proved that any one of the persons prosecuted was a member of the League. It was a notorious fact that several persons who were put on trial were not members of the League at all. Some of the traversers he had never seen before the trial; he did not even know that such persons existed, and yet he was told he had conspired with them to incite people to break their contracts. What he admitted he had done was to recommend the tenant farmers not to pay unjust rents. He and his colleagues never advised the people not to pay reasonable rents, or not to pay rents in the cases in which the landlord had not acted in an extortionate manner. They merely told the farmers, as they told them still, to abstain from paying unreasonable rents. Another charge brought against them was that they recommended what was called "Boycotting." Now "Boycotting" of certain kinds would be very illegal and very improper. It would be illegal and improper in cases in which actual violence, or a pretence to violence occurred; but would it be pretended that they were not justified in telling the people to hold no intercourse with persons of disreputable character? They held, of course, a man to be of disreputable character who would take land from which another had been evicted on account of his inability to pay an unjust rent. He maintained that any man who would take land under such circumstances ought to be avoided, and he did not imagine that any hon. Gentleman on that side of the House would pretend to controvert that proposition. "Boycotting" was practised in every profession. In legal circles it was very well known that if a barrister took less than the recognized fee, other barristers would not act in the case with him. It was well known, too, that if a barrister took a fee direct from a client, or before it had passed through the hands of a solicitor, he was "Boycotted." These were notorious facts; and, therefore, it did not become lawyers, who fattened on the system of "Boycotting," to attack Irish Members of Parliament when they advised the tenant farmers in Ireland, who had most keenly suffered, and who continue to suffer, to follow the example of a Profession which held a very high position in the social world, although, of course, in some circles, in which he did not join, it was the fashion to bring general charges against the members of that Profession. Reference had been made of late to what were called Land League Courts. He had no means of knowing what had taken place in any of the Land Courts, inasmuch as he had never been present at any of them; but what he believed was really intended, and what he was sure was usually practised in those Courts, was a system of arbitration. There were Chambers of Commerce in the different business centres, and it was a very common thing for these Chambers to settle trade disputes by arbitration, and thus obviate a law suit involving the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, and possibly a very great delay. What was more likely than that a business disagreement should be left to a committee of the trade? Of course, there were no means of enforcing a decision of such a body; but the honour of the persons concerned was at stake, and if a person acted contrary to the opinion expressed by the committee of his trade, the result would be that he would, in point of fact, be "Boycotted," because no one would have confidence in his future dealings. It was quite a common thing for the different trades to have such a committee, and the system had a very salutary effect. It seemed, however, to be forgotten that "Boycotting" had been practised by landlords in respect to tenants. In the case of contested elections before the Ballot Act was passed, it was well known the landlords of Ireland attempted to exercise considerable influence over their tenants; and it was equally well known that whole districts had been depopulated because the electors had exercised their privilege as their conscience dictated. In point of fact, the landlords of Ireland "Boycotted," and thus ruined many tenant farmers, simply because those farmers had at an election supported the so-called Liberal Party of England. A complaint had been made, and it was one which especially referred to the Vote now before the Committee. It was to the effect that a large number of counsel were engaged, and that this had led to a great waste of money. The Attorney General for Ireland had said there were eight counsel in the case. He (Mr. Biggar) was present during a part of the trial, and, in his opinion, four counsel would have been quite sufficient. All the counsel had to do was to, perhaps once in two days, examine a witness. The rest of the time was spent in looking on; but he supposed they got their refreshers all the same. In point of fact, one-half of the money given to counsel was wasted; and he, therefore, thought that the Committee would be justified in supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork. The amount suggested should be struck off the Vote, simply for the purpose of insuring that for the future legal business should be properly conducted. It was one of the great complaints, and, he thought, a very just complaint, against the administration of justice in this country that such great expense was incurred, and that those little games of trade unionism were allowed to exist, whereby counsel encouraged the system of employing more legal assistance in a case than was required. This was a question which deserved far more attention than was at present bestowed upon it, and he thought the Committee should declare very strongly on the fact that more counsel had been engaged in the case they were discussing than were necessary. Another complaint was that on this trial, which was a very serious one, the Crown submitted evidence in regard to transactions which took place after the proceedings commenced. The Government were asked to give particulars of the circumstances on which they intended to base their case, and they mentioned a certain number of meetings at which the different traversers had been present and had spoken; but reserved to themselves the right of bringing forward evidence with regard to meetings which took place after the commencement of the trial. Well, that was an unsound principle, and one which the Committee should very strongly censure. A point had been raised by the Government in this discussion which he did not think they were justified in bringing up, and that was with regard to Irish juries. The late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) had said that the trials should not have been commenced, because of the well-known difficulty of getting a proper jury in Ireland. That was a libel upon Irish juries. Irish juries were exceedingly fair; and he thought that probably one of the best things which had ever been done for Ireland by a so-called Liberal Government was Lord O'Hagan's Act with regard to the reform of the jury system in that country. Before the passing of that Act, it was the invariable practice of the Government to pack the juries in such a way that it was impossible for a prisoner to get a fair trial. It was notorious that the juries were packed, and the jury laws, as reformed by Lord O'Hagan, rendered the practice more difficult; and, under existing circumstances, the administration of justice in political and other crimes was much more fair than they used to be, for juries were packed much less frequently. He could not, however, say that even yet the people of Ireland had much confidence in the administration of justice. It was the custom in some quarters to attack Lord O'Hagan; but, for his part, he considered him entitled to the greatest credit. The noble and learned Lord deserved the highest credit for his honesty in bringing forward a reform which he knew, from his practice at the Bar, was so much required. Now, a very curious thing raised as to that trial was this—that the Government fully adopted the responsibility of the proceedings. They did not lay the responsibility on the Law Officers of the Crown for instituting the trial and incurring such a large expense, and this was another of the blunders that the Government had committed, for they must have known very well that the alleged offences, which had so often been referred to during the progress of the discussion, were only offences according to Judge-made law, and that, as a matter of fact, no moral offence had been committed at all. This was only another of the blunders calculated to make the members of the Land League much more popular with the Irish people, and to discredit the Government. Even from a selfish point of view, anyone would have thought that the Government would have conceived it to be desirable to be on better terms with the Irish people; but they had succeeded in alienating the whole Irish race from them, and consequently in permanently injuring the interests of their Party. Another matter connected with the trial which he wished to point out was this—that the proceedings were so arranged that they were going on while Parliament was sitting. That had been hardly fair to the Irish Members, more especially as everyone knew there was a proposal for passing a Coercion Bill. It was important to the Irish Members, or those of them who were included amongst the traversers, that they should be present in Dublin during the trial, and it was also desirable that they should be in their places in Parliament in the interests of their constituents. The Government should have so arranged the matter that the sitting of Parliament and the trials should not have gone on at the same time. To his mind the Government were not justified in acting as they did. He had gone over all the references made in the discussion that had taken place on this matter, and would shortly refer to some of the things which he had himself observed during the trial, and which he thought justified him in challenging this particular Vote. First of all, with regard to the question which he had asked the Prime Minister, and to which he wished to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention before he went away—the question in regard to the evidence of the police constables. He considered that the policemen should not have been taken as witnesses at all in such a case, and he would give a reason why he thought so. He had been present at a meeting in the county of Cavan, of which evidence was given at the trial, and there was a police officer present at that meeting. He (Mr. Biggar) did not observe the policeman taking notes; but a Catholic priest afterwards informed him that he saw the man doing it, and that he had noticed that he had simply taken down those of his (Mr. Biggar's) words which he had thought would appear to be a breach of the law if taken by themselves. When he had said anything to counteract or lessen the influence of anything he had said before it did not find a place in the notes. Well, he did not think the evidence of such people as these police reporters should have been taken at the trial, and he did not think that in a criminal matter of that kind the Crown Counsel were justified in bringing it forward. In regard to every police officer examined at the trial, the invariable result of their cross-examination was that they acknowledged their inability to take down in shorthand all that a person spoke. Some of them said they could take down a large proportion of what was said, whilst others could only take a small portion; but they all acknowledged that they could not take all that an ordinary speaker could utter. Well, the Committee knew what was the value of evidence of that sort. They knew that unless a person was reported verbatim a correct idea was not conveyed of what that person had really said. In each of these cases he had referred to, when the witness had broken down and acknowledged his incompetence to report what had been said, the duty of the Crown Counsel should have been to order the witness to get off the witness table. The Crown Counsel had done no such thing, however, for they had gone on examining these men, and a great deal of valuable time and a great deal of money had consequently been wasted. These were things that had occurred under his own observation, and which were notorious. Another matter he wished to refer to was this—and it was the last point with which he should trouble the Committee with reference to these trials—that in giving the evidence of the witnesses from the printed copies of the speeches in possession of the Crown, the Crown Counsel threw great difficulty in the way of supplying them to the counsel for the defence. The leading counsel for the traversers applied to have a full copy of each speech as soon as a part of the speech was put in in evidence by the Crown. Of course, it would be easily understood that giving an extract from a speech did not give a correct idea of what that speech was. The Attorney General, artfully enough, seemed to fall in with the view of the Judge as soon as an expression of opinion had been given by that personage, and said, in an off-hand way—"I will give you a copy of the speeches to-morrow;" but what was the result? The result was that in each case a formal application had to be made, to be followed by a new order, and the requisite document was not supplied until a new branch of the trial was reached. The counsel for the defence did not get the copies of the speeches which were offered in evidence until the day after they had been referred to by the Crown Counsel. As soon as the reasonableness of the contention of the Attorney General was brought before the attention of the Court, the proper order was made, and each speech was put into the hands of the counsel for the traversers directly the evidence of each witness commenced, which gave an opportunity, more or less, for the traversers' counsel to get witnesses examined in regard to other portions of the speeches than those referred to by the Crown Counsel. But, even under the reformed circumstances, it was not at all easy for the counsel for the traversers to make a good cross-examination of witnesses, because they had to go over the whole speech and pick out any extract which seemed to tell in favour of the traversers during the progress of the examination in chief by the Crown. He only pointed out those things to show that, according to his idea of what a prosecuting counsel ought to be, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was not entitled to the very warm eulogiums that were passed upon him with regard to the fairness of his conduct of this particular trial. His (Mr. Biggar's) opinion of what the right hon. and learned Gentleman's duties were might be erroneous; but it certainly seemed to him that in a criminal case a prosecuting counsel should not be permitted to explain the evidence. He should come to the real merits and justice of the case, and not fish for a verdict in opposition to what might be the real merits to be submitted to the jury.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had not heard an explanation of an item with regard to which he had asked for information early in the evening. He found that under the Vote there was a sum to be granted in connection with the Chief Secretary's Office, and of that the Chief Secretary had not thought fit to offer the Committee the slightest explanation. The word "miscellaneous" was supposed to account for an item; but that was a vague phrase, which was not worthy of a public office. He trusted that some information with regard to that matter would be given, if not by the Chief Secretary, at any rate by some-one on his behalf.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law) stated that the item included the printing and stationery department in connection with legal matters in the office.

Mr. BELLINGHAM did not wish to detain the Committee any length of time, but merely desired to say that he supported the Motion of the hon. Member for Cork for three reasons. In the first place, as a protest against the whole policy of Her Majesty's Government ever since they had been in Office; in the second place, because he considered these State Trials were a perfect farce; and, in the third place, because he believed the effect of the trials had been to advertise widely the very principles and doctrines the Government professed to dislike.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 20; Noes 153: Majority 133.—(Div. List, No. 160.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £3,500, Queen' Bench, &c. Divisions, Ireland.

Mr. BIGGAR said, it was possible there might be no occasion to move to reduce the Vote; but he noticed that the salary of the Master of the Queen's Bench Division was £1,200 per annum. He believed that according to the terms of his appointment that gentleman ought to give his whole time and services to the office. The salary was large; but he (Mr. Biggar) believed the Master carried on a prosperous business as a solicitor in Dublin, and also prepared candidates for examinations. Under those circumstances, he thought that the Government were not justified in paying him a full salary, when he did not give his whole time, but carried on a private practice of considerable profit.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thought there was something very unsatisfactory in the Vote, because it was proposed to increase very considerably several of the expenses connected with the Courts in Ireland. The Taxing Master's salary was to be increased, the Registrar's salary was to be increased, and three Town Registrars' salaries were to be increased. It was perfectly notorious that the cost of the Supreme Court was much larger than the circumstances of Ireland required. There were likely to be proposals for some decrease with regard to the Courts in Scotland; and he believed that would be a right course; but he hoped it would be accompanied by a decrease in the cost in Ireland. There was very little information in the Paper with regard to these costs, and the Paper was exceedingly unsatisfactory.

MR. PARNELL observed, that when the English system of Judicature was re-modelled, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the offices which were in existence under the old system, and to ascertain which of them it was necessary to retain, and which should be abolished. When the Judicature Act for Ireland was passed a similar Committee was promised with regard to the offices in Ireland. He did not know whether the Committee had reported; but it was an ominous circumstance that when they were looking for retrenchment they found a Supplementary Estimate proposed, to increase some of the salaries of the Irish officials.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW) observed, that the salary of the Master of the Queen's Bench was formerly paid from the Consolidated Fund; but the salary had now been included in the Estimates. As to the other matters mentioned, there had been a re-organization of offices, and there was an apparent increase; but the number of offices had been considerably reduced, and although some of the salaries were increased there was really a decrease in the total cost. As an instance of this, he mentioned that the number of Taxing Masters had now been reduced to two.

MAJOR NOLAN said there had been a large reduction in the number of offices; but the Taxing Masters found themselves hardly treated, because they had not received a considerable increase in their salaries. They considered themselves ill-used, because their salaries had not been increased, while their work had been increased.

MR. CALLAN wished for some explanation on the question of Election Petition trials. He found £220 put down for reception of Judges; but on turning to the sub-head under which it was stated that the Vote would be accounted for by the Chief Secretary's Office he found no details given. He found that in England an average of £244 had been allowed, in connection with Election Petition trials, for disbursements to sheriffs and mayors, while in Ireland an average of only £154 was allowed. He also found that the same amount was not allowed for officers in attendance upon Judges as in England, £120 being paid in England and only £46 being allowed in Ireland. These were matters requiring explanation, and he should oppose the Vote unless that explanation was given.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW) directed attention to pages 24 and 30 of the Estimates to show that the Irish Office was not so far behind England in this matter. In the Irish Estimate, page 31, the item £220 for reception of Judges was put by itself; but at page 24 the cost for hire of Court Houses, reception of Judges, and other expenses in England, amounting to £6,100, were put down altogether.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £1,103, Land Judges' Offices, Ireland.

MR. BLAKE asked whether it was in contemplation to reduce the number of the Judges in the Land Court, pointing out that some years ago the business was much larger than it was now, and that the Judges were now almost idle; and at that period Judge Flannigan had offered the Government to do all the business himself. Under the circumstances, with only a quarter of the work to be done now that there was then, the two Judges must be almost idle.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW) reminded the hon. Member that the Act provided that when a vacancy occurred in this Court it should not be filled up until it was ascertained that a second Judge was necessary.

MR. BIGGAR wished to know whether it was the case in Ireland that some of the Judges of what used to be looked upon as the Superior Courts now went Circuit?

MAJOR NOLAN said, he was a Member of the Committee on what were called the "Bright Clauses" of the Land Act, and it was then expected that the Land Courts would have a great deal of work in consequence of those clauses. The House was now expecting another Land Bill. He believed that under the new Bill a Land Court would be necessary, and he thought it was unwise of the Irish Members to attempt to reduce the Judges.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £50, Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland, *agreed to.*

(7.) £2,500, County Court Officers, &c. Ireland.

MR. BIGGAR wished to know what was the explanation of the sum of £1,460 for Clerks of Crown and Peace?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW) explained that formerly Clerks of the Peace were paid from the county rates; but in consequence of the consolidation of that office with the office of Clerk of the Crown they were now paid by Votes in Parliament.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £28,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for the Constabulary Force in Ireland."

MR. PARNELL wished to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether the foot note gave correct information? It stated that the total original Estimate was £1,134,461; but the column stated it to be £778,161. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman was in a position to explain this difference. He would also like to know how much, if any, of the charge was thrown upon the Consolidated Fund, in addition to the sum named in the Estimates, and whether the Government had information as to the amount paid by the various counties for extra police during the last year?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, no account had been received for the county charges; but he believed there was no extra charge upon the Consolidated Fund.

MR. PARNELL asked if the counties to which an additional force had been sent were up to their full strength?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he imagined they were nearly so. The charge was for 5,381 men, which was a little under the full strength.

MR. CALLAN said, some years ago the number of police to be placed in each county was declared by Act of Parliament. No power had been given to vary the number of men. Nevertheless, reductions had been made, and in his own county, for instance, the number of men had been reduced to about 130. His hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork asked whether the number of men allocated by the Act of Parliament were really stationed in each county, or did the Irish Office persist in the course which had been on many occasions condemned by the House, of charging the extra police to the county. The counties of Galway and Mayo had been charged with extra expense for the force sent there; but no allowance had been made for the force taken away from other counties. Therefore, he wished to know whether, when the Government charged the Western counties of Ireland for extra men, they allowed the counties from which those men were taken the difference of cost?

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY desired to draw attention to the subject of a question put by his Colleague about three weeks since. As many as 80 or 90 police were brought into the City of Limerick during the election, and were kept there a considerable time. The city had not then the force it was entitled to, notwithstanding which, an extra charge was made for the men. The Attorney General for Ireland had stated, in reply, that the extra force had been demanded by some of the local authorities, and, as he (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) understood, either by the High Sheriff or the Corporation of the City. As soon as this statement was published it caused much astonishment, and on inquiry it turned out that no such demand had been made by any of the authorities of the city. He therefore trusted the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the absence of the Attorney General, would be able to give some explanation of the circumstances under which the men were sent in, and say whether the city was to be charged for them, seeing that the authorities had made no demand.

MR. PARNELL said, the point he wished to make clear to the Committee was this. An Act of Parliament provided that each county in Ireland should have a certain police force. After the passing of the Act the force in the various counties had been allowed to fall below the number provided in the Act. In 1865-6, during the Fenian disturbances, the Grand Juries throughout Ireland petitioned in many cases for extra police, and the Government sent them into the counties which had not their complete force and charged them as extra police, although they only brought up the number of men to that guaranteed by the Act of Parliament. In other words, the Government got rid of the necessity of paying out of the Imperial resources for a certain number of ordinary police sent to a number of Irish counties. That question had been over and over again raised by Grand Juries in Ireland; but the matter at the present time assumed more importance than at any period since the Fenian rising in 1865-6, inasmuch as the Government had been proclaiming a number of counties, and sending to them what they called an extra police force, which was charged upon the local rates. His point was, that many counties into which an extra police force had been sent did not possess their full force previously, and that the Government should have paid the cost out of the money voted by Parliament, instead of throwing it upon the local rates, seeing that, even with the extra force sent in, the counties in question had no more than the number of men allowed by the Act of Parliament. This practice was especially unfair when it was considered that the Government had taken men from certain peaceful counties and transferred them to Western counties like Mayo and Galway, and to Southern counties like Cork, and charged them upon the local rates, without taking off any of the charge made upon the counties from which they had drafted the police. He thought the Government should lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the number of men which each county was entitled to out of the moneys voted by Parliament, and out of the Consolidated Fund, in a normal state of affairs; the actual number of men in each county supported out of the moneys voted by Parliament, and the extra force which are charged in such counties on the local rates. If a Return showing these three particulars were furnished, hon. Members would be able to see what foundation there was for the repeated charges made by county authorities, from time to time, that the Government had been acting unfairly in throwing the charge for extra police on the various counties.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the police were sent into the counties under two provisions. One of these was upon the requisition of the magistrates, and was independent of the proclamation that the county was in a state of disturbance. He imagined the hon. Member for the City of Cork alluded to that. He could not positively say there was no case of a county having been below its full force and calling for police, the cost of whom were charged to it; but certainly he did not think that had been so to any extent. On the contrary, he believed the extra force had been only sent in when the counties had their full number of men, or nearly so. If any case of the kind alluded to had occurred, it was probably of a temporary character only, as in the instance quoted by the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy). By the Return of the 1st March, the whole extra force sent into the counties, independently of the proclamation for disturbances, was 628 men. This number had been spread over several counties, and showed, speaking generally, that the counties to which they were sent were up to their strength before they were sent in. The numbers sent in under proclamation was 1,056.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked whether extra police had been sent into all counties which had been recently proclaimed as requiring such extra police?

MR. W. E. FORSTER thought the hon. Member was confusing the two modes of sending police to the counties. He believed that in every case in which a county had been proclaimed in a state of disturbance extra police had been sent.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY, seeing the Attorney General for Ireland in his place, took the opportunity of repeating his question with regard to the police sent to the city of Limerick at the time of the Election. Contrary to the reply given by the right hon. and learned

Gentleman on a former occasion, that they had been sent in at the request of the authorities of the city, it appeared on inquiry that no such demand had been made.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law) said, that, whoever the parties were, the police had been sent in at the request of some of the city authorities. He could not, from memory, give the name of his informant.

Mr. PARNELL said, the fact that there were two methods of sending police to counties—one at the request of the magistrates, and another on proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant of the counties in a disturbed state, did not alter the question at all as regarded the charge for extra police. Whether they were sent in under requisition or proclamation mattered nothing so long as the result was that the charge for these extra men was thrown upon the local rates, and when the extra men did no more than bring up the force to the number the counties were entitled to have under the Act. The right hon. Gentleman must see that it was unfair, when the force in the county was insufficient to maintain law and order, and, if that force was also below the number allotted to the county by Act of Parliament, to send in an extra force under the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant to bring up the force to its proper strength, and at the same time to charge the draft upon the local rates. If the right hon. Gentleman would say that each county should have the full quota of men allotted to it by Act of Parliament before it was charged for extra police sent in under proclamation or on requisition of the magistrates he would meet the point raised.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER entirely agreed with the hon. Member for the City of Cork that it was unfair to charge a county under the circumstances pointed out by him. He could not, however, believe that this had been done.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, it was not often that he agreed with the hon. Member for Cork City; but in this case he did so entirely. He was aware, from personal knowledge, that some counties, his own, for example (Leitrim), had been below their fixed establishment of police, and that extra police had been imported on the requisition of the magistrates, or otherwise, and that the cost had been thrown upon the local rates. He thought it desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should give an assurance that the anomaly complained of should be looked into, and that where it was found that a county had been debited with the cost of extra police it should be disallowed when its fixed establishment was not complete.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, the late Chief Secretary, the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), would be aware that it was a very common occurrence indeed for the force of a county to be kept below its proper number, and then for a large additional constabulary force to be sent in from another county.

Major NOLAN thought it was highly objectionable to take away the ordinary force of a county, and then to charge upon the local rates the expense of an extra force. They ought to receive an assurance from the Chief Secretary that this would not be allowed to happen again, but that a county would have its own ordinary quota of constabulary before it was charged with an extra force. He did not mean that the force should not be reduced in consequence of casual changes by some two, three, or four, but that no considerable number should be taken away even in quiet times. It was obviously unjust to reduce the strength of a force in a county and then charge it with extra police.

Mr. PARNELL said, he could explain how the matter worked. Suppose they took the police from a county like Carlow and sent them into the county of Mayo, they charged Mayo with an extra police force, although it was probable before they went there that the police force in Mayo was not up to the full strength provided by Act of Parliament. The consequence was that the cost of the extra force in Mayo was taken off the Imperial Exchequer and thrown upon the local rates, and at the same time the force in the county of Carlow was reduced below its proper strength. By-and-bye Carlow became a disturbed county, and the force in Carlow having been left below its proper strength by the drafts made from it because there were possible disturbances somewhere else, men were sent in under the provisions of the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation to make up the full strength, and the men necessary to bring it up to its full strength were then charged on the local rates as extra police.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he would certainly look carefully into the matter. He admitted that such a practice of charging the extra police upon the county under such circumstances, if it should happen to any extent, would be very unfair, but doubted whether it had been largely followed. He did not believe that in any county the force was kept exactly up to 100 per cent, taking one county with another; but, as a general rule, the proportion was about 95 per cent. A few were generally undergoing a course of training at the depôt; and, therefore, 95 per cent was usually taken to be the full quota, and would be a very fair proportion of the nominal strength. The whole matter would, however, be carefully considered; and if he found it was the case that counties were paying for extra police for a force which was only sufficient to fill up the gap occasioned by the withdrawal of the regular police, something would be done to provide a remedy.

MR. TOTTENHAM was unwilling to prolong the discussion; but the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had expressed the opinion that the practice of removing the police and then charging for an extra force could not have been carried on to any appreciable extent. He (Mr. Tottenham) would mention what occurred in the county of Leitrim five or six years ago. [MR. W. E. FORSTER: I was not in Office then.] The Grand Jury, on the occasion he referred to, signed a strong remonstrance against paying for an extra police force when their own fixed force had been reduced by withdrawals to 40 or 45 men, speaking from recollection, below its proper strength. When there had been so large a reduction as that, it was obviously unfair that the county should be called upon to pay out of the local rates for extra men, under circumstances for which it was not in the slightest degree answerable.

MR. BIGGAR said, that with regard to this Constabulary Vote the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had very fairly promised to look into the matter, and had stated that he was not accountable for it. There could, however, be no doubt as to the normal condition of things, which was to keep the force very much below the recognized number, and to send in an extra body of police and charge it upon the county as an additional force. The consequence was that the county was not only charged with its regular quota of police, which, as a matter of fact, it did not possess; but it was also charged with an extra police, which did not bring the force beyond its recognized number. This, he thought, was most unjust to the ratepayers, who had not demanded the services of any extra force. On the contrary, where an extra force was sent in by a proclamation made by the Lord Lieutenant, it would be found that the people of the county had protested against the special laws under which Her Majesty's Government took power to send in an additional force. It was, therefore, not only unfair, but unjust, to compel them to pay for the services of a body of constabulary which they believed to be entirely unnecessary. In the instance referred to by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Tottenham), the county was charged with extra police when its own regular force had been steadily kept from 40 to 50 below what it ought to have been. In that case even the magistrates protested against the county being saddled with the cost, and sent in a requisition to the Government to that effect. Under the Coercion Acts now applied to Ireland one or two magistrates could send in a requisition and obtain an extra force for the simple purpose of terrorizing over the tenant farmers of the country, and then the people were compelled to pay for being tyrannized over. In the first instance, they were tyrannized over, and then they were made to pay for the expense of the tyranny. He strongly protested against such a principle, on the ground that it was both unreasonable and preposterous.

MR. PARNELL expressed his obligations to the Chief Secretary for having kindly undertaken to look into the matter, and to inquire into the mode in which the police force of the various counties was dealt with. He wished to say, before the Vote was taken, that the Irish Members had intended to raise a debate upon the question of the constitution of the Constabulary Force, and more especially upon the practice of sending extra police into the different counties which the present arrangement warranted. But as the hour was very late, and as it was impossible to have a satisfactory debate upon the question owing to that lateness, and as he was unwilling, having regard to the state of Public Business, to ask the Government to report Progress, so as to give an opportunity for raising a debate at another time, he would simply confine himself to making a short protest against the principle involved in the Vote, and to taking a division upon it when it was put from the Chair. He thought that if the Government had acted with sufficient determination at the end of last Session the services of these extra policemen would not have been necessary. The money the Committee were now called upon to vote would certainly not have been required if the action of the Government had been different. But, unhappily, Her Majesty's Government had chosen another line, which would, he was afraid, render it necessary for them to come to Parliament and ask for an additional force, not only this year, but for many years to come. The Irish Members thought that the employment of this force was a mistake from beginning to end. They considered that the arming of them with rifles and bayonets was entirely unnecessary. They would be able to discharge their duties quite as effectually if they were only armed with the ordinary policemen's batons. Their services were generally required to protect process-serving. Crowds of women and children went out to obstruct this process-serving, and in some instances it would be found that the force engaged in protecting the process-servers had wounded these women and children with their bayonets. His own opinion was that a constable would be able to remove women and children more effectually if they were not encumbered with rifles and bayonets. They would also more effectually aid in the serving of the civil processes of the law if they were armed as the constables of England were. He observed the other day that when a body of the English police were called upon to disperse an angry and riotous mob in the mining districts in the North of England — a mob far more excited, far more violent, and using weapons which no mob in Ireland was accustomed to use in arresting process-serving — yet the police were able to disperse this mob with the aid of their staves only. If they were able to do this in regard to a mob of riotous men in England, they ought to be able, in Ireland, to disperse a riotous mob of women by the same means; and they were certainly not entitled, in such an emergency as he had described, to send in an armed force of constabulary. He believed that there had been a great deal of marching about of the constabulary in Ireland with the view of protecting process-serving. He considered that a great deal of this marching about had been entirely unnecessary, and that if they had relied more upon the justice of the operations of the law they would have been able to dispense with these movements. Most of the process-serving had taken place in distressed districts in the West of Ireland, where the people were absolutely unable to obtain bread; and he very much feared, now that the landlords had obtained the power of coercion, that they would be encouraged to carry out evictions in these distressed districts. If this should really prove to be the case, he was satisfied that there would be stories of evictions which would horrify the House of Commons. He trusted that, later on, he might have an opportunity for reviewing the action of the Government when the main Vote for the Constabulary was brought forward. He also hoped that the Vote would not be postponed as late as it was last year; but that it would be brought forward some time before the last few weeks of the Session, and at a time when criticism would be of use. At present he would confine himself to making a protest against the whole policy of this armed force in Ireland, believing it to be entirely unnecessary; and he should certainly take a division upon the Vote.

Mr. CALLAN remarked, that in 1870 the power was taken from Parliament and placed in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant of dealing with the Irish Constabulary, and within six months after the passing of the Act there were proclamations issued putting the powers conferred by the Act in force. In 1877 other powers were given to the Lord Lieutenant; but they were simply to alter and vary the number of sub-constables. In 1865 the number of police stationed in the county of Louth was fixed at a certain figure; but it had never been kept up to within 30 of the fixed number, and yet constables had been sent from Louth to Galway, and Galway had been surcharged for an additional force. If the Chief Secretary would look into the matter, he would very much facilitate the discussion of the Constabulary Vote. The Chief Secretary seemed to be altogether governed by the views he received from Dublin Castle—so much so, that he did not appear to be able to call his soul his own. Now, that was just the kind of Chief Secretary they did not want, and the kind of Chief Secretary it should be the object of the country to get rid of. Unless, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman entered upon a new course, he hoped the country would soon be relieved of such an incubus. To-day, he (Mr. Callan) had given Notice of his intention to move for a Return of the number of sub-inspectors, stating the number of years they had served in any particular county. A great deal of dissatisfaction existed in Ireland in reference to the favouritism displayed towards different members of the Constabulary Force. A Catholic sub-inspector was never allowed to remain permanently in a county, or, indeed, for a longer period than 10 or 15 years. If any remonstrance were made, the stereotyped answer was that it was the usual practice, and that it was not desirable to allow any sub-inspector to remain in the same county for more than 10 or 15 years. But they would, nevertheless, find that Protestant sub-inspectors had repeatedly been allowed to remain in the same county for 20 or 25 years; and he wished to know what special ground there was for the exemption or departure from the general rules in these instances? He had been told that he could himself obtain the materials for the Return he asked for. He did not see why the officials in Dublin Castle should not be called upon to make it, and why the trouble of hunting through the pages of some 20 or 30 volumes should be thrown upon a private Member. He thought the Chief Secretary would facilitate matters if he would pay a little more attention to the wishes of the Irish Members; and in regard to the Irish Constabulary, he specially advised the right hon. Gentleman to adopt some new course of procedure, unless he was desirous of getting into more hot water than he had got into already. He pressed upon the right hon. Gentleman the propriety of giving this Return, as he intended to found a Motion upon it for impugning the conduct of Mr. Mc'Dermott and the authorities at Dublin Castle.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 189; Noes 16: Majority 173.—(Div. List, No. 161.)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would now move that the Chairman report Progress; and, in doing so, he wished to express the grateful thanks of the Government for the very great forbearance and indulgence which had been shown on both sides of the House. He hoped they might be permitted to proceed with Supply again to-morrow, which would be greatly to the convenience of Public Business. He believed there would be a disposition on the part of hon. Members to make the necessary concession; and if it were made, the Government would propose to take the Vote for the subvention to the Indian Revenue in respect of the expenses of the Afghan War.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the right hon. Gentleman, if he was in a position now to inform the House when it was likely the Transvaal Vote would be taken?

MR. GLADSTONE replied, that they might have gone on with the Transvaal Vote perfectly well; but, although he could not say absolutely what might happen in a case of that kind, he thought there was a sufficient likelihood of the Government being able to put the House in a greater command of the subject than it now was, by the production of further information, to make it quite worth their while, in the interest of the House, to postpone the Transvaal Vote for two or three days. That was the sole motive for postponing it; and otherwise the Government would have been disposed to proceed with it.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE inquired in what order the other Votes would be taken? They had got the Army Estimates and the Navy Estimates fixed, and it would be convenient to know on which days the other Votes would be taken.

MR. GLADSTONE stated that it was proposed to put down after the East

Indian Vote to-morrow the Vote on Account of the Civil Services. The Army Vote was already fixed for Thursday; and if they were allowed to take Supply again on Friday, as he hoped they would be, they would propose then to make the Statement relative to the Navy, and to take the first Vote. He was now assuming that it would probably be found convenient to take the Transvaal Vote on Monday; but he would like to reserve a little discretion with regard to that point.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether he intended to make a statement with regard to the East Indian Revenue Vote of £5,000,000; or whether it would be made by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India?

Mr. GLADSTONE replied, that it would be in regular order for him, on behalf of the Treasury, to move the Vote, and he would be prepared to offer an explanation of it if required.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, before the Chairman left the Chair, perhaps the Committee would allow him a moment for a personal explanation. Last night he stated that he considered the Committee had good ground for complaining of the conduct of the Government in not furnishing the Committee with the necessary documents, which they ought to have had before being called upon to pass the Excess Votes in Supply. The hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, rose immediately afterwards, and stated that those very documents had been furnished to hon. Members a week previously. He (Mr. O'Connor) heard that statement with considerable surprise, and felt that he was in the position of a man who had discovered a "mare's nest." He was on the point of rising to withdraw the adverse observations which he had made with regard to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury; but the Chairman put the Vote so quickly that he had not time to do so. Now, however, he learnt from a letter which he had just received from the hon. Member for Midhurst that he was perfectly right in his complaint, and that the hon. Member for Midhurst was under a mistake with regard to the issue of the documents in question. It turned out that the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts had never been furnished to Members, and that they really had not the information which the Treasury and the Committee had repeatedly declared to be necessary.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he was exceedingly anxious that the Committee on Public Accounts should be appointed in time to prepare Papers for the Excess Votes, and after the Committee was appointed he believed they reported on the subject on the very first day.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that was so. They met on Wednesday, March 2, and reported upon the Excess Votes, and presented their Report on the same day to the House. He had certainly supposed that between that time and yesterday the Report had been circulated, especially as he had seen it in print; but it now appeared that it was not distributed.

Mr. GORST suggested that on future nights, when Supply was the first Order of the Day, the Government should put down sufficient Votes to occupy the House while it was disposed to continue its labours. Last night the Committee closed before 12 o'clock, because there were no Votes remaining of which Notice had been given, whereas two or three hours more might have been occupied. To-night the same thing had happened, the Votes put down being exhausted. Supply was, no doubt, urgent at the present time, and it was most important for the interests of the country that it should be taken. Therefore he hoped the Government would consider his suggestion.

Mr. GLADSTONE reminded the Committee that, at 5 o'clock, it was explained that yesterday the Irish Votes were postponed at the request of the Irish Members. But in closing the Committee at 12 o'clock, they were only following what used to be the uniform rule; and, personally, he was averse to putting down too great a number and variety of Votes for one evening.

Mr. GIBSON inquired whether, before the Transvaal Vote was taken on Monday, the Government would circulate Papers which would put hon. Members in a better position to discuss the question.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, what he had stated was that it would be impossible for the Government to come to a conclusion on that point without consideration. Concerning negotiations carried on by telegram, it was not possible to say absolutely beforehand at what time information could be laid; but the Government hoped, if the Transvaal Vote were postponed, to be able to put hon. Members in a position to discuss it.

MR. BIGGAR wished to say, in reply to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that he doubted very much whether putting down a large number of Votes conduced to the saving of time. He thought it more likely to lead to long wrangles and discussions on reporting Progress, and debates on minor points, with the view of keeping back other Votes. On the other hand, if only a moderate amount of Business was put down, hon. Members were disposed to get through it; and therefore he thought the latter plan the better.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

INCLOSURE PROVISIONAL ORDER (WIBSEY SLACK AND LOW MOOR COMMON) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain lands called or known as Wibsey Slack and Low Moor Commons, situate in the township of North Bierley, in the parish of Bradford, in the county of York, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 114.]

INCLOSURE PROVISIONAL ORDERS (SCOTTON AND FERRY COMMON) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to confirm the Provisional Orders for the inclosure of certain lands called or known as Scotton and Ferry Common, situate in the parish of Scotton, in the county of Lincoln, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

COPYRIGHT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HASTINGS, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law relating to Copyright, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HANBURY-TRACY, and Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY.

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 16th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —£500,000, AFGHAN WAR (Grant in Aid); £3,560,250, on account, CIVIL SERVICES and REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

Resolutions [March 15] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Copyhold Enfranchisement * [117].

Second Reading—Maintenance of Children [59], *debate adjourned.*

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — SUPPLY — ARMY ESTIMATES—VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, in the absence of my right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), I desire to put two Questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. In the first place, it is the wish of a great number of hon. Members who are interested in the Army not to delay the discussion on going into Committee of Supply to-morrow night beyond a reasonable time. At the same time, there are a number of questions connected with the Army in which they are much interested; and they wish to have an assurance from the Government that an opportunity will be afforded of discussing those questions at a later period of the Session? The other Question has regard to the proposed Vote on Account. It is proposed to take a Vote on Account for three months' Supply. That is an unusual proceeding, and I think there will be considerable objections to it. Therefore, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, Whether, considering all the circumstances of the case, the progress already made, and the readiness of the House to fall in with the views of the Government, he will not re-consider the matter, and consent to take a Vote for two months?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, in regard to the first Question put to me, I make no doubt that to-morrow will be turned to the best possible account for the discussion of Army questions. I am not able to give a precise answer as to future opportunities; but it is quite plain that sufficient opportunities ought to be afforded for discussing the great questions relating to the Naval and Military Establishments of the country. Therefore, while I should like to consult my right hon. Friend before making any specific reply, I think, in substance, I can answer the Question of the right hon. Gentleman in the affirmative. With regard to the Question of the Vote on Account, I am certainly under the impression that it is not very usual to ask for a Vote for three months; and the only justification for making our request I can state to the House is that we should bear in mind that, as far as the practical and ordinary Business of the Session is concerned, this Session, which began for the purpose of our labours on the 6th of January, did not really begin till the 14th of March. That was the real commencement of the Session. The right hon. Gentleman opposite is desirous that the term of the Vote should be reduced to two months; and after the manner in which the House in all quarters has shown a disposition to put forward the necessary Business of the country at a very considerable sacrifice of private convenience, I think it would be most ungracious on my part not to accede to the request unless the absolute necessities of the Public Service required it. There is, certainly, no absolute necessity for a Vote for three months. At the same time, I wish to point out that we have arrived at a time of the year when our financial arrangements must be considered. Immediately after we have got rid of the discussion on Candahar, everyone must feel that we shall have arrived at a time when it will be most important to go forward seriously with the submission of our proposals with regard to land in Ireland. That being so, I cannot anticipate any great progress in Supply between the month of March and Whitsuntide; and I think it will be our duty to make further progress with the Army and Navy Votes before we can attack the great and miscellaneous mass of Civil Service Votes. It is, therefore, possible that we may be obliged to ask for a second Vote of Credit; but, for the present, I willingly accede to the request of the right hon. Gentleman, to which, indeed, I should think it highly improper to demur.

INDIA—THE RETENTION OF CANDAHAR.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the Prime Minister, Whether, in consequence of the answer he gave yesterday, the Indian Government would now be at liberty to abandon Candahar without further communication with the Home Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Indian Government received certain instructions from the Home Government, and I have not the least doubt that the Indian Government will, and almost must, make further communications to the Government at home before Candahar can be quitted. I mentioned on a former occasion that we did not anticipate any movement which would vitally involve that arrangement at an early date; and so anxious were we too keep the House well informed, that when, immediately after my making that announcement, we found that a limited body of troops was going to be withdrawn, my right hon. Friend near me instantly apprised the House of the circumstance. The Indian Government, no doubt, will make a further communication to the Government at home before the evacuation can be completed.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £500,000, Afghan War (Grant in Aid).

Mr. GLADSTONE: The important proposal which I have now to make to the Committee is, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the redemption of a pledge. As respects the House, it is a matter with which the Committee, as far as I know, in respect of any previous proposal, is perfectly free to deal. We were not, as I have recently explained, in a position to redeem this pledge at an earlier period, because it was only during the early part of the present year—I do not remember the exact date, but after the last Session of Parliament—that we were able to form a trustworthy estimate as to what the aggregate expense of the Afghan War was likely to be. We should have wished, indeed, having arrived at that knowledge, to make known our intentions to Parliament at an earlier date; but the manner in which the House has been occupied, in an unbroken course, upon Irish questions prevented our giving effect to that wish. Let me also say that although this proposal is one in regard to which I have no special right to anticipate the judgment of the House, yet it forms no part whatever of the general Indian or Afghan controversy. Even the supporters of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Stanhope) relating to Candahar might give their support to the present proposal; and, on the other hand, an opponent of that Motion might, if he thought fit, decline to give us the assistance we now ask for the people of India. I wish, therefore, broadly to separate this question from the important questions of policy involved in the Candahar Vote. A question of policy is certainly involved in this Vote; but it is entirely and absolutely distinct from that which is involved in the Candahar Vote, and, happily, it may be discussed with little reference to the general motives and objects which govern the Indian or the Afghan policy of the Government at the present time. Now, Sir, with respect to Parliamentary opinion, it will be borne in mind that the late Government refused, on more than one occasion, I think, to accede to the Motions which were made for the purpose of committing it to assist the Indian Treasury in relation to the Afghan War in the manner proposed by this Motion. But at the same time I think I am correct in saying that although the present Parliament is not bound by the decisions of the late Government, and may in some respects entertain a different opinion—I do not dwell now upon that point; but what I wish to point out is that those decisions, adverse to the proposal made by my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Fawcett) were not decisions founded on an absolute difference of principle. The language adopted by the Government of the day was rather, I think, in the first instance, that the time had not arrived when we could look upon the question as definitively considered; and, in the second instance, a proposal was actually made and was adopted by the House, by which a limited aid involving a small gift and an inconsiderable advance of money was accorded to the Indian Treasury. So far as the abstract principle of pecuniary assistance to India is concerned, I think it may be said that it was conceded by what was done by the late Parliament, because, although the advance of £2,000,000 borrowed for the purpose of assisting the Indian Treasury at the moment was to be repaid under an arrangement by the Act that sanctioned it, yet, on the other hand, the interest of that money was undertaken as a charge by the British Exchequer, and the re-payment to be made by India was not, I think, to include any allowance for that interest. I am not quite certain; but my impression is that the interest on the whole or on part of that money did remain as a charge on the British Exchequer. Then, Sir, I wish to mention what the plan of the Government is. The proposal of the Government is that we should raise our aid to India to the sum of £5,000,000, partly of converting the advance of £2,000,000 into a grant, and partly by taking on the Ways and Means, for a series of years, half-yearly grants of £500,000, amounting in all to £3,000,000. These two proposals, although in my mind they form one plan, are entirely distinct from one another. We cannot make a proposal to the House, at least in the present form and state of Business, by which the House would commit itself to the whole plan. We must necessarily, if we obtain this Vote from Committee of Supply, bring in a Bill for the purpose of altering the Act under which the £2,000,000 were borrowed. Therefore, there will be an independent judgment of the House on the two portions of the proposal; but we at the same time submit the matter as a whole, and as representing in a whole, that which we think it is reasonable for the country to do. We may be asked, perhaps, why we have fixed on the figure of £5,000,000? It is a Vote in aid of the Indian Exchequer for the purpose of meeting in part the charge of the war, which in round numbers, I believe, may be put down at £13,000,000, without including in that charge a sum which might, perhaps, be included in it—namely, the cost of the Frontier railways, which, undoubtedly, are connected with military, although I trust they will be very useful for other purposes also. We have adopted this figure as, upon the whole, perhaps, preferable to taking any certain given proportion of the charge, which would be looked upon, I think, more like precedent than the independent figure, if I may so call it, we have thought fit to decide upon, and we take it because we think it amply fulfils the engagements into which we entered during the last Session, that we should ask Parliament, under all the circumstances, to make what we have always called a substantial contribution in aid of India towards the great expenses of the Afghan War. I think I have explained how the £5,000,000 are made up. As this sum of £5,000,000 has to be made up, it may be thought exceedingly strange, and may require a word of explanation, why we should have brought this Vote upon the House in the expiring days of the financial year, with only a short notice of our intention. The reason is this—that having arrived at the conclusion that the most expedient course would be, not to borrow the amount of money in a lump sum that we propose to make over to India, but to take a series of payments from Ways and Means, we find ourselves in this position—that it appeared obviously right that the financial year 1880-1 should bear a portion of that charge, and that we should not postpone the commencement of it until 1881-2. That being so, it became necessary to get an Estimate placed among the Supplementary Estimates, and we are asked to vote it now, before the financial year expires. I think that I need not dwell upon the arguments that have led the Government, in conformity with declarations made by most of us on former occasions, to think that a Vote of this kind ought to be given. It is certainly a serious matter. I do not at all disguise that from myself. It was a serious matter when a more limited proposal was made by the late Government and adopted by the House. The whole notion and conception of direct pecuniary aid from the British Exchequer to the Exchequer of India, for the purpose of meeting in part the charge of a war which was only carried on from India, like the Abyssinian War, but carried on upon the Frontier of India, is a serious question, which the House ought not to treat lightly, and I am sure would never dream of treating lightly. But the considerations which led the late Government to think that aid ought to be given, and which have led us to think that that aid ought to be substantial and considerable, to the extent we now propose, are these. Not the absolute financial necessity of India. We believe that, as far as financial necessity is concerned, we could not justify our proposal on that ground alone, and we do not place it on that ground alone. Neither do we at all disguise our opinion that in a financial point of view this relief will be, not only a welcome relief to a labouring exchequer, or even a full exchequer, but a sensible and a very useful relief to the Indian Exchequer, and valuable on the ground of public policy, for the purpose of supporting Indian credit, and giving strength to the system of Indian finance. So far I think I may safely carry the argument. Next, I cannot doubt that this grant will have a very excellent effect in India. I am now speaking of what may be called the policy of the grant. There has prevailed in India, as prevails in this country—and of necessity prevails in this country—that we cannot clearly define as an Indian object the purpose of the Afghan War. An Indian object no doubt it might be held to be by those who approve of the war, and primarily an Indian object; yet not, I think, even by them could it be held to be exclusively an Indian war. If even in this country that feeling has prevailed, much more must it be expected to prevail in India; and I have not the least doubt that the best of all investments for a Government is an investment in the good-will, loyalty, and affection of those whom it governs. I do not, therefore, in the least degree hesitate to recommend this grant to the House as being a wise grant in respect to the hold which we desire to retain on India—not merely by superior force, but more and more by commending ourselves to the minds of the people of India as their real friends. But I would also say that it is of that mixed character of policy, having reference, undoubtedly, to the general stability of the Empire, and even to purposes which were European as well as Indian. It is of that mixed character of policy, which in the main forms the basis of the ground upon which we make this recommendation to the House.

There is one other matter connected with the subject which I wish to mention. I am certainly bound in all these questions to look to the interests of the Indian Exchequer; and I have felt, and my Colleagues have felt with me, that it was our duty to look to the financial arrangements of India herself in regard to meeting the expenses of this war, and to give some assurance to the House that we are desirous of avoiding the imposition of an unnecessary burden upon them, if we think, or even reasonably hope, that we can point to some means of material public economy in India herself in the management of her finances. Now, there is a point which, at different times, has attracted the attention of different Secretaries of State for India, and which, in particular, was often in the mind of my noble Friend, Lord Halifax, when he was Secretary of State for India. The House is well aware—and, indeed, we have painful proof of it—that the financial organization of India is in a very crude and backward state as compared with the condition to which, happily, we have arrived in this country. But the House is not, for a moment, to suppose that a highly developed and strictly and rigidly organized financial arrangement belongs to any state of Government, but one very highly advanced. You may find states of Government highly civilized and advanced, and yet not exhibiting their advancement in that particular form; but you will find no instance of any highly organized and economical financial arrangements in the strict sense of the term finance—that is, in the management and account of public money. You will find no instance where that stage of financial development has been reached, except where Governments are comparatively old, thoroughly established, and normal in their condition, and have brought to bear upon them motives of enlightened statesmanship and great administrative ability. It has been only since the Peace of 1815 that our own financial arrangements, in this sense of the word, have, by a great number of successive steps, been brought to this condition; and, therefore, although we may be greatly astonished at the defective and crude state of things which kept us all so long in the dark with regard to the expenses of the Afghan War—and although we may earnestly look for the adoption of better arrangements in the future—we must not be too severe upon those who govern in that country, and who have had much to consider in the establishment of the system under which it is now administered. But the point which has attracted the attention of Indian Ministers is the condition of the balances in the Indian Treasury. We are certainly under the impression that those balances might be put upon a basis much more economical, with a much smaller standing amount of cash, and, at the same time, without the smallest risk of disarrangement to the means taken for meeting the demands of the Public Service. The able gentleman who, with great knowledge of India, has now gone there to take special charge of the Indian finances is, I think, fully prepared for a careful examination of this subject; and I am not committing him when I say I think he shares the hope which I, for one, and others have entertained, that considerable economies for the benefit and relief of India might be attained, and would be exceedingly desirable to realize, at this present juncture, which has certainly been a critical one for Indian finance. I only refer to this matter because I think the House will feel that when we are about to ask them to impose a serious burden on the British people to meet a moral obligation, it is also part of our duty to look at a subject of this kind, and see whether Indian finances afford hopeful means of effecting considerable economies. Having said that, I will only add that it may be asked what we propose to do with respect to the £2,000,000 loan. The basis on which that loan has been placed is this—The money was borrowed in a lump, and became part of the debt of the country; but the Act under which it was borrowed provided for certain repayments from the Indian Treasury, the first of which falls due within the financial year now about to expire, and the provisions of the Act requires that these repayments, as they are received, should not pass into the Ways and Means of the year, but should be applied specifically and directly to the liquidation of that particular debt. I need not say that if the House thinks fit to adopt, in the first place, the Vote which we are now proposing, as one of a series of annual Votes—and we shall have to ask for a similar Vote in the course of the Session to make provision for 1881-2, and shall likewise adopt part of the plan as a whole—there will be no specific provisions remaining in the law for the redemption of this particular debt of £2,000,000. With regard to the £2,000,000, I must add that I think the question whether any particular provision ought to be adopted in regard to that sum is a question which does not belong so much to the present subject as to the general financial arrangement which may be come to with regard to this debt. In that view it may be right to look at it; but it has no bearing upon the present question, and if it is thought fit to have a separate discussion, the time for that will be when we introduce a Bill for the purpose of remitting the obligations of India to make these repayments. I think, Sir, I have now troubled the Committee quite sufficiently in making our general motives intelligible in explaining what is the exact character of the proposal we have to make, and I have only to trust that it will meet with the favourable consideration of the Committee.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he would endeavour to approach the discussion of the subject in the same tone and temper as that in which it had been approached by the right hon. Gentleman. He was exceedingly glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman, in the first place, that it was perfectly possible to discuss the great financial question raised by the present Vote without reference to the causes of the original Afghan War, or the occupation or abandonment of Candahar. He would certainly not discuss either of these points now. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that day, what, in fact, he had told them on more than one occasion before—that no graver financial question could be raised than that which was raised by the present Vote. He (Mr. Stanhope) could not, in the first place, understand why it was necessary to raise that great financial question at the present moment. Primarily, it was a very inconvenient mode of raising it. They were approaching the very end of the financial year, and were, in consequence, rather driven into a corner; because if they entered into a long discussion they ran the risk of delaying the Votes that were necessary to complete the financial arrangements of the year. In the second place, he felt that they approached the discussion now under very considerable difficulties, because they had not the advantage of having before them the actual financial condition of India, as explained in the Budget Statement of the Indian Government. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India told them some time ago that one of the main reasons why he was unable last year to state to them exactly what contribution should be made by the English Government towards the expenses of the Afghan War was that they expected a Report from the Viceroy of India and the new Finance Minister, who would examine into the question as soon as he reached India, and would then make a Report to the Government of this country as to the mode and the form of the contribution. The first question, therefore, which he wished to ask the Government was, whether they had received such a Report? He supposed they must have received it, after the noble Lord's statement; and if so, he was fairly entitled to ask that the Report should be laid upon the Table of the House. Then he did not understand, if that were so—if they were only going to vote £500,000 — why that course should not have been taken last year. He could have understood the delay if they had been asked last year to make a Vote finally, without any future prospect of discussing the arrangements that were proposed to be made as to giving assistance towards the cost of the Afghan War. He could also understand that the Government might not have finally decided what grant they would give; but the state of facts now, instead of having changed since the month of August for the worse, had changed very much for the better, and instead of the war having cost as much as it was expected to cost in the month of July, subsequent Estimates had enabled the Government of India to reduce the amount. Therefore, he thought they might have been able last year to deal with so limited a proposal as that of the granting of £500,000. He was heartily glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that he did not base the Vote upon the financial necessities of India. Nothing was more desirable than that it should be made perfectly clear to the country that this grant was not asked for because of the financial difficulties of India. They were told last year by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India that if they were to exclude from calculation the expenses of the Afghan War, he arrived at the satisfactory conclusion that India, in the course of the last three years, would have had a surplus of income over expenditure amounting to no less than £11,000,000. Since that time, he believed, the prospect had improved. Nothing, at any rate, had occurred to lead them to suppose that there had been any falling-off in the Revenue. On the contrary, he believed that when they received the Budget Statement they would find the situation more satisfactory than it was anticipated last year. He did not think the people of this country, therefore, ought to lose sight of this great result—that, although the expenses of the Afghan War had been enormous, nevertheless, India had been practically able to defray the charge for the war without imposing any new taxation and—with a very small exception, which he could not accurately estimate now, but which, he believed, amounted to only £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 sterling—she had been able to pay the amount without adding to her debt either in England or in India. Nobody could deny that that was a satisfactory state of things. He approached now the financial question, and, in the first place, he would point out that it was a proposal quite distinct from that made by the late Government. The late Government received an application from the Government of India. The Government of India represented that in consequence of the state of the silver market it was entirely impossible for them to make, during the financial year, the necessary provision for the service of the Home Government, and they applied to the Government of England to give them some assistance. The proposed form of that assistance was a temporary loan of £2,000,000, to be repaid by annual instalments. In that view the late Government acquiesced, and, in making the loan, took steps to insure that it should be repaid by seven annual instalments. But the present Vote was of a totally different character. It was nothing more or less than a direct subsidy to India out of the Imperial Exchequer. Towards the close of his speech, the right hon. Gentleman referred, incidentally, to the great advantage which might attend this proposal if it enabled a more efficient control to be established over the cash balances of India. He heartily agreed with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman. He thought the main difficulty of the whole situation and the real cause of the mistake in the Estimates for the Afghan War was that the Indian Government was unable, at any specific moment, to say distinctly what was the amount of their cash balances. At the same time, he thought they must be exceedingly careful how far they instituted a Parliamentary control over the financial arrangements of India. The right hon. Gentleman said quite fairly that it was impossible to establish, in a country not so advanced as this country, a system of finance that was suitable here. He hoped they were not likely to err in that direction; but they must not run the risk of giving to India institutions for which she was not prepared, nor must they attempt to force upon her European methods before she was absolutely ripe to receive them. A control had always hitherto been exercised by the Financial Department at Calcutta. The Financial Department of Calcutta occupied the same position that the Treasury occupied here; and he believed that exactly the same complaints were made against it by the spending Departments in India as was made against the Treasury by the spending Departments in England. There was one other point which he heard with great satisfaction from the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed his strong opinion in favour of further economies in India. That was the opinion arrived at, after careful consideration, by the late Government. He had not heard up to the present moment, any sufficient acceptance of that doctrine on the part of the present Government; but he now heard it with satisfaction. He next came to the direct financial question raised by this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that it was exceedingly desirable that they should take any reasonable steps calculated to secure the affection and respect of the people of India. In that sentiment he heartily concurred; but there was another important consideration they ought to bear in mind, and that was that in any steps they took to benefit the people of India they must be quite sure that they carried with them the favourable opinion of the people of this country. Now, the nature of the steps the Government were proposing to take would undoubtedly be to revolutionize the relation between the people of England and India. His noble Friend, Lord Derby, the other day, in a speech which he made in "another place," referred to this difficulty in terms far more able than he (Mr. Stanhope) could command, and explained that if, for the first time, they made India a direct burden on this country, they would run the risk of raising a state of public opinion in this country which would be most disastrous to the future maintenance of our Empire there. Now, those were weighty words, which deserved to be thoroughly considered. They had not, on the one hand, as other conquerors had done, endeavoured to draw any revenue from that country; but, on the other hand, they had at all times been able to say to the people of this country that India had not been a burden to us. If now, for the first time, we said—and said, too, in the most objectionable form, the form of an annual grant—if we said, year after year, to the people of this country—"Look here, there is this great India, of which some people are so fond of speaking, a source of serious and annual charge to you"—then he was very much afraid we should run the risk of raising a condition of public opinion which we must hereafter deeply regret. Considering the matter from another point of view, it might have the effect of diminishing the responsibility of the public servants engaged in carrying out the administration of India in India. Any rash enterprize had hitherto, undoubtedly, been checked by this very important consideration—that in regard to any war they waged the cost would have to be taken out of the resources of India. He remembered a very excellent speech made on this very point not many years ago by a noble Lord who was once an ornament to that House. He referred to Lord Sherbrooke, from whose remarks he would now venture to cite one passage—

> "It is desirable," said the noble Lord, "at all times to maintain an effective control over a distant Government such as that of India; but there is this check, that by undertaking rash wars the Government knows that it is embarrassing its own resources. If it once got hold of the idea that it had the boundless credit of the Imperial Exchequer to fall back upon this check would be lost."

[*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] He was glad to hear that that sentiment was cheered by hon. Members opposite; but were they not going now in direct opposition to it, because they were taking a step which would, undoubtedly, tend to diminish the responsibility of any future Government of India, by inducing them to believe that in embarking on any enterprize they felt it necessary to undertake they would be able to rely not only upon the finances of India, but ultimately upon the resources of the British taxpayer. They would also run very considerable risk of raising even a larger question, and that was an Imperial responsibility for the finances of India. That was one of the gravest questions that could possibly be raised in that House. It had always been, as far as he knew, denied in Parliament that this country was in any way directly responsible for the finances of India; and we had always held out to the creditors of India that they must look to the resources of India alone, and not to the Imperial Exchequer. But if they once began to supplement the resources of India in the form of an annual grant, people would believe that although they might say in principle that England was not liable to make good any of the deficiencies in the Indian Exchequer, yet, after all, if it came to a pinch, this country would be ready to fill up those deficiencies. He ventured to point out to the House these dangers, and he would now say why he had done so. If the Government was prepared, upon its responsibility, to make a proposal to break through these principles, it was their duty to tell the House very distinctly what limits they intended to impose. Did they propose to enter upon this policy solely in case of war, or did they propose to enter upon it from any other causes? Was it to be limited to India, or was it to be extended to other parts of our great Dominions? It would be perfectly certain, when they had created a precedent, that they would have unexpected demands springing up from various quarters, which they would find it extremely difficult to meet. He would take one case—that of famine. God forbid that there should be for many years to come a great famine in India; but they must confess to themselves that such an event was not only possible, but almost certain in the course of years. Suppose at such a time the Indian finances happened to be embarrassed by the vast cost imposed upon the Government in consequence of the duty of feeding the starving population, and that the Indian Government came to this country and said—"The Government is interested in the Imperial duty of feeding the starving millions under its rule, and, therefore, we call upon it for a subsidy." How were they going to answer that appeal? It would be all very well to answer it as they had done before when some such idea was mooted—namely, that they never granted subsidies out of the Imperial Exchequer; but when they once broke through the rule they would find such demands exceedingly difficult to resist, unless they were prepared to lay down definite limits to the proposal they were now making, and were also prepared to give the fullest possible assurances to the House and to the country that under no circumstances would those limits be departed from. He had ventured to make these remarks to the House in the hope that they might elicit, before the debate closed, some authoritative declaration from the Government on this and other points he had raised, and he was quite sure if they did so that it would facilitate the progress of this Vote.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down asked Her Majesty's Government what limit they proposed to put on demands of this kind from the Indian Exchequer for aid from the British Government. He could not answer for Her Majesty's Government; but his personal answer to the question was that a grant of this kind would only be proposed when it appeared that Her Majesty's Government, disregarding the interests of India, had involved India in a war that was not for her own advantage. It was only on that ground, and that alone, that we should be asked to put our hands in our pockets. It was quite impossible, upon the present Vote, to enter into the general question of the finances of India, upon which the hon. Gentleman opposite had slightly touched. The hon. Gentleman took a rosy view of the finances of India when he asserted that the Afghan War had been carried on from the taxation of India, and without any addition to the debt. He (Sir George Campbell) could only say that he did not accept that statement; but he received it under protest, until the time came when he could discuss the subject, and when the House would be in a better position to come to a judgment upon it. In regard to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, it struck him as rather hard on the Indian Financial Department to put the House in possession of the idea that that Department was in so crude and inefficient condition. He joined with the hon. Member opposite, when he said that, after all, they had a considerable Financial Department in India, and that it possessed some functions analogous to the Treasury of this country. He was bound to say that, in his opinion, although it was not so perfect and polished an instrument as the Treasury in this country, in reality it was more capable of performing its functions than the right hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose. He said this because, from his personal view, it was not the Indian Financial Department that was wholly and entirely responsible for the extraordinary and serious and gross blunders which had occurred in regard to the expenses of the Afghan War, and which we were now, unhappily, called upon to supplement. There was a Scotch proverb—"There are nane sae deaf as those who winna hear;" and there was no class of public servants who were so unlikely to get the truth in regard to a great war as those who had recklessly entered into it, and who did not want to know the truth. The real authority upon whom the blame of the blunder should fall was not so much the Indian Financial Department, as the late Viceroy of India—Lord Lytton. If that noble Lord had been anxious to know what had really been expended, without regard to financial consequences; if he had not taken upon himself, in the most reckless manner possible, to contradict the statements which had been made by Members of Her Majesty's Government, and if he had been really anxious to know the truth, he might have known it if he had chosen to do so. By sending, as a private individual would do, for his bankers' book, in order to see how much had been spent, he might have made himself acquainted with the truth almost within 24 hours. If he had required an estimate of the cost of the war, he might have obtained some kind of estimate; but, on the contrary, he thought fit to enter upon the war without any sufficient estimate, and to continue it upon statements which were no estimates at all, but mere haphazard guesses of the total sum, in round numbers, that might possibly be spent if the war were brought to a speedy conclusion, when it was evident it could not be so. He (Sir George Campbell) did not want to enter into details; he only wished to say this—that in concluding this painful subject, he hoped that the blame of the great financial blunder would be laid on the right shoulders; and, if so, then the late Viceroy was the individual who was principally to blame in the matter. In regard to the Vote now before the Committee, he had not expected that it would be submitted, in the present year, in so broad a form as that in which the right hon. Gentleman had now submitted it. He had expressed his opinion last Session that it was more becoming the dignity of this country that they should make immediate provision for the subvention of the Indian Revenue for the cost of the Afghan War; but he had felt that being then in the middle of the financial year, when the arrangements were for the most part made, it might be difficult to make provision in that year for the large sum that might be required. He understood the arrangement to be that Her Majesty's Government, in the present year, should give to Indian finance such small amount of assistance as it was possible to give. He presumed that the sum of £500,000 now proposed to be given was as much as the Government could well give in the present financial year. He had hoped, however, that it would be understood that in the following year some larger arrangement would be made, and that the Government would find themselves able to settle the matter more rapidly than was now proposed. In regard to the present year, it certainly seemed to him that the arrangement proposed by the Government introduced an anomalous state of things. The Government of India would be relieved of something like £800,000—£500,000 in the shape of grant, and £290,000 in the shape of remissions, which would otherwise have to be paid. But while they were making these remissions, they were called upon to provide only £500,000, and this appeared to him to be an anomalous state of things. It appeared that while India had failed to pay its instalment of the loan of £2,000,000, we were not, in the present year, to make any provision for the sum due in the shape of instalment. The consequence would be that this country, in addition to making a grant of £500,000, would, at the end of the year, find itself £290,000 more in debt than it ought to have been if the arrangement which had previously subsisted had been carried out. It could not be hoped that any other arrangement would be made in the course of the present year; but he trusted that, in the course of the ensuing year, some arrangement would be made to provide that the loan of £2,000,000 should be paid off. The money was borrowed by Her Majesty's Government and lent to India, and he hoped that some means would be provided for paying it off without allowing it to remain as a permanent debt upon this country. With regard to the arrangement, which had been explained to the House by the right hon. Gentleman—namely, that the sum of £3,000,000 should be distributed over six years by annual instalments of £500,000 per year — it would, in his humble opinion, notwithstanding the high authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, have been much more calculated to preserve the dignity of the House, and would have been of more advantage to India herself, if an arrangement had been proposed which would have provided for the more speedy payment of the grant. We were, he thought, placing ourselves in an unfair and undignified position. For a great, rich, and powerful country like this to go to a comparatively poor country like India, like needy debtors pleading poverty before a County Court Judge, and asking to be allowed to pay the debt we admitted that we owed, in half-yearly instalments, was certainly an undignified proceeding. It would be much better to put our hands in our pockets at once and supply the means for paying off the debt we owed to India. He agreed with the remarks which had fallen from the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Stanhope), in regard to the general financial position of this country in reference to India, and the feeling which might be engendered here if it were supposed that the principle of the subvention of India were likely to be adopted. The subvention of India ought only to be permitted on those rare occasions in which it was generally admitted that this country had done wrong to India, and that it was necessary to repair that wrong. But it seemed to him that if wrong had been done, it was not only right that something should be done by the Imperial Parliament to heal the wrong, but that the people of this country should be made to feel that we had been wrong. Although he did not speak as a responsible financier, he would say that if he had any control in the matter he would put 3*d.* additional upon the Income Tax this year and pay off the whole grant at once—making the people pay for the Afghan War in a way that should make them wince under the infliction, and determine that in future they would never have a Government which could render such things possible. That was the view he took of the situation. [An hon. MEMBER: Put it only on the Conservatives.] An hon. Gentleman said—"Put it only on the Conservatives." He believed that the Conservatives formed the majority of the people who paid Income Tax. For that, among other reasons, he would put the entire cost of the war, in one lump sum, upon the Income Tax; and the working classes, who paid most of the indirect taxation, would escape. The working classes, as a body, were never in favour of the Afghan War; but it was the Conservative supporters of the late Government, hounded on by *The Daily Telegraph* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, who encouraged them in their Jingo policy. It was only fair and just that they should now be made to pay for that policy; and he should have rejoiced if the Prime Minister had proposed a somewhat heavy addition to the Income Tax, instead of distributing the payment of the grant over six years. A good heavy, substantial addition to the Income Tax would have made the real culprits wince; whereas they would hardly feel the annual subvention of India by a sum of £500,000. In carrying out the policy which had been announced by the right hon. Gentleman, they should endeavour not only to do justice to India, but to do it in such a way that it would commend itself to the feelings of the people of India, and tend to cement the good will which he hoped would long continue to exist between the two countries.

MR. ONSLOW said, that he cordially agreed in one remark which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone)—namely, that this was not the opportunity for discussing in any Party spirit the question of the Afghan War. Although the hon. Member opposite (Sir George Campbell) had expressed an extraordinary opinion regarding those who ought to be held responsible he would not follow the hon. Gentleman in the remarks he had indulged in; but would confine himself to the real question before the Committee. The question was not a new one. He thought he was right in saying that this was the fourth time within the last three years that the subject had come before the House. He hoped, however, that in addressing himself to it he should be able to maintain the opinions which he had always expressed on the question—namely, that it was politically immoral for this country to bear any portion whatever of the cost of the Afghan War. [Mr. R. N. FOWLER: No, no.] His hon. Friend on his left said "No, no;" but perhaps his hon. Friend would allow him (Mr. Onslow) to have an opinion equally with himself. The discussion came on last year when there was necessarily an absence of full information on the subject; but Her Majesty's Government had promised a Report from India on the subject. It was due, he thought, to that (the Opposition) side of the House that someone on the opposite Bench should inform them why no communication had yet been made by the Government from India, seeing that they had now been 12 months in Office, and the Finance Minister had now been for a considerable period at his post; but yet no opinion from the Government of India had been produced for the urgency or necessity of this Vote. It had been said that the conduct of Her Majesty's late Government in only giving £2,000,000 towards the war, and requiring that sum to be repaid hereafter, was shabby and unjust. Those were words that were used in the debate upon the question last year by a right hon. Gentleman opposite; but, in his (Mr. Onslow's) opinion, the extraordinary step now taken for contributing to to India any portion of the expenses of the war in Afghanistan would be looked on by the people of this country as unnecessary, uncalled for, and as an additional burden unjustifiably placed upon the taxpaying community of this country. He maintained that no financial necessity had been shown for this step; and he believed that it was only done as part of a pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister last year, and in compliance with the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman and by many of his supporters at the General Election that they disagreed with the policy of Her Majesty's Government in having entered upon the war and with the mode in which it was proposed to provide for the cost of the war. Having disagreed with what the late Government had then done, this Vote was now submitted to the House of Commons rather more or less under the influence of Party spite than as a question of policy. ["No!"] The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said he hoped by this Vote to make the people of India more loyal to the Imperial rule of Great Britain. He (Mr. Onslow) had no intention of entering into a history of the Afghan War, or of endeavouring to show who was right and who was wrong; but he might tell the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) that every Native of India, from the highest to the lowest, and especially the thinking portion of the population, heartily agreed in the policy of Her Majesty's late Government. ["Oh!"] He had the best authority for saying so; and he believed that the policy of the late Government, irrespective of any financial considerations, had made the people of India more loyal than they ever were before. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had cast a kind of stigma upon the Treasury of India. Having been connected with that Department for many years, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that there was no more hard working body of men within Her Majesty's Dominions than the public servants connected with the Financial Department of India. It was, he believed, in the previous Administration of the right hon. Gentleman that two gentlemen—Mr. Foster and Mr. Whiffen—were sent out to inquire into the financial administration of India, and to make such alterations in the mode of keeping the accounts as they thought necessary—of course, with the sanction of the Viceroy and his Council. Those gentlemen had succeeded in reforming the financial administration of the country; and he (Mr. Onslow) believed that, at the present moment, the accounts in India were kept quite as well as they were in this country. There were, however, enormous difficulties experienced in keeping the accounts in India, owing, in many instances, to the entire absence of railway and telegraphic communication, and to the numerous Treasuries at wide intervals from each other; but, bearing in mind all the difficulties of the country, the mode of keeping the accounts in India could not be made any better than they were, until we had a better means of inter-Treasury communication. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to certain reductions of expenditure which had been made in India. Now, ever since he (Mr. Onslow) had been connected with that country "economy" had always been the watchword; but whenever they began to reduce the expenses in one Department additional sources of expenditure were sure to crop up in another. It was a most difficult thing to keep down the expenditure in this country. It was far more difficult in India, where there were such enormous military and public works to be carried out, and when there was such a pressure from this country for the speedy execution of so-called remunerative public works. As soon as they began to reduce their military expenditure the expenditure on public works was sure to increase. He did not say that there was anything wrong in this. The more money that was spent on public works in India the better for India and the better for this country; but, at the same time, he sincerely hoped that before long it would be found possible to reduce the expenditure in India materially, though he very much doubted whether it would be possible to do so. Every successive Finance Minister fondly hoped that he would be able to reduce permanently the expenditure of the country; but no one had as yet succeeded in doing so. He did not imagine that Major Baring would be more successful than his predecessors. His hon. Friend opposite (Sir George Campbell) had accused Lord Lytton, the late Viceroy, of being the sole cause of the error made in calculating the cost of the Afghan War. He (Mr. Onslow) did not concur in the censure which the hon. Member cast upon Lord Lytton. It was not for him to blame any particular individual, and he should be sorry to speak in disparaging terms of any Viceroy of India who had so nobly done his duty to his country as Lord Lytton had. No doubt an error of calculation was committed; but he believed that the responsibility for the mistake did not attach itself to any one particular Department. He was afraid that there had been great carelessness displayed in more Departments than one; and although he had no wish to throw the blame altogether from the shoulders of the Viceroy, still he did not see why the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Campbell), who had been for so many years connected with India, should speak so disparagingly of the late Viceroy, seeing that a good many people might be inclined to speak disparagingly of his own Administration. He (Mr. Onslow) should certainly, if the Vote went to a division, divide against it. He saw no necessity for it. He saw no necessity for it two years ago; and he saw no necessity for it now. No fresh information had been laid before Parliament to show that it was necessary; and he thought it was a grave error on the part of Her Majesty's Government to make such a proposition now. It might be drawn into a very serious precedent hereafter; and he hoped they would look upon the question as upon every other Indian question, not so much in connection with the triumph of a particular Party, for if they did that our rule in India would soon be destroyed, but as a grave and serious financial question which required calm and careful consideration.

MR. LAING said, he had a strong conviction that the Government, in proposing this Vote, was taking a vital step for the security of the Indian Empire. That magnificent Empire, which he hoped no Minister would ever think of abandoning, rested on two pillars—one of force, and the other of justice. We had already shown the overpowering nature of the physical force which we could bring to bear on the maintenance of our rule in that country; but he thought it would be an evil day when we relied on the policy of force alone, and did not also take into account the moral element of justice. In his experience he had always found that the best security for our influence in India rested upon the conviction amongst intelligent Natives that, on the whole, our rule was animated by the desire to act fairly and do good to the country. The position there was such that the tests applied were mainly financial; and he had always found that the topics which engrossed most attention, and which formed the touchstone by which they decided the sincerity of British proceedings, were questions of finance. In that respect it could not be denied that a great many things had been done in this country, and especially of late years, which had tended to shake, to a considerable extent, the confidence which the people of India felt in the intentions of England. In former times what an immense burden had been imposed on the finances of that country by the Army Regulations for the amalgamation of the Indian Forces with those of the Queen, and the adoption of the system of short service with reference to the necessities of India. There could be no doubt that those changes were at that moment costing India at the rate of £2,000,000 a-year. Again, there was the question of import duties. No doubt, it was desirable that the import duties on British manufactures should be reduced; but what must be the feeling in India when they saw that, although our Colonies were allowed to impose rates on British manufactures, they were prohibited from so doing? The same question might be asked with regard to the famine tax. What would intelligent Hindoos feel when they found taxes extremely oppressive and noxious in their nature, imposed on the solemn pledge that they were to be appropriated to the relief of the distress caused by famine, swallowed up in the expenses of the Afghan War? He ventured to say that every nine men out of ten in India considered that this war was unnecessary. These were the things that affected our rule in India. He valued this Vote, not merely for the financial relief which it gave to the country, but for the moral assurance it gave that England did not wish to carry on wars for Imperial objects alone, or to influence Party Elections at home, while, at the same time, charging India with the whole cost. The arguments which had been used on the other side of the House seemed to him not to have touched the essence of this question — whether it was a purely Indian or Imperial war. The Committee had been told that the state of finance in India was so prosperous and flourishing that India could very well afford to pay all, and that England ought not to give any relief. He totally denied the assumption that the finances of the country were in so flourishing a state. The assumption could be made only by ignoring the £30,000,000 added to the Debt, upon which there was hardly 5*s.* per cent returned. But was the doctrine to be that if the finances of India did become flourishing that India was never to get the benefit in the extension of public works and the remission of taxation? If one thing was needed more than another in India to make our rule popular, it was the judicious remission of taxation. Let the Committee consider the licence tax, which took from a large number of ignorant traders from three to five rupees each. Was that never to be repealed; and because Gentlemen sitting upon the opposite Benches had confidence in the Revenue of India improving, was all this to be applied to meet war expenses to which England was not to contribute? It was said it would be a bad example for England to become, under any circumstances, responsible for Indian finance. But the answer to that was very simple—"Do not drag India into a course which will oblige her to incur that expenditure. Nothing could be clearer than the precedent set in this case. It established that, where a war was undertaken contrary to the temper and current opinion of Indian statesmen from Lords Canning, Mayo, and Northbrook downwards—where a policy of that sort was forced on by the Ministry at home for Imperial purposes —India should not bear the whole expense of that war. Was the policy suggested by hon. Gentlemen opposite the way to win the affections and to secure the intelligent support of a vast Empire like India? He thought not. It appeared to him that a number of questions had been raised on the opposite Benches which were quite irrelevant to the present issue. But there was the question of the enormous mistake made in the Afghan War Estimate. On that subject he coincided, to some extent, with the hon. Gentleman opposite, because he did not think the Indian financial machinery was so much to blame as those who worked it. What had occurred reminded him of the recent railway accident, in which the engine-driver forgot that the steam was reversed, and in the darkness of the night ran back and caused a collision. The question whether India was to pay the whole of this expenditure, or England was to bear a share of it, turned on the consideration whether this was purely an Indian local war, occasioned simply and solely by Indian obligations and Indian policy, or whether it was, as Lord Beaconsfield described it, an Imperial war, for Imperial objects. If they could go back five or six years, was there anybody who would adopt what was called a forward policy, and would now quarrel with Shere Ali? There could be no doubt it was an unfortunate idea that prompted a single Secretary of State, for the sake of a diplomatic triumph, to reverse the policy of his predecessors by forcing a resident on Shere Ali. If, as Lord Beaconsfield had explicitly stated, this was an Imperial war, he did not see how it could be possible to refuse some contribution to its cost, without fixing in the mind of the people of India that England meant to make them pay—right or wrong—for the mistakes of a policy dictated from home; and in doing so he felt convinced England would be taking a step fatal to the interest of that great Indian Empire which he wished to see transmitted unimpaired to generations to come.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the question arose whether the contribution was in the nature of a subvention, or whether it was a matter of account. If it were in the nature of a subvention he should vote against it, because he did not think that the United Kingdom was so situated that it would be fair to vote for a subvention towards a country so flourishing as India was in theory. This question had been raised very concisely in a Resolution presented for the consideration of the House by the present Postmaster General, which was to the effect that, considering it had been officially stated that the Afghan War was undertaken in the interests of England and India jointly, the House was of opinion that it was unjust to make India pay towards the cost of that war more than seven times as much as would be contributed by England. The propriety of the Vote rested on the question whether there was foundation for that Resolution or not. He believed there was foundation for it, and that it would be unjust for England to shrink from paying her fair share of the burden. There was another subject intimately connected with Indian finance upon which he held very strong opinions—that was to say, he believed that England, by her peculiar policy, was largely accountable for the derangement of the Indian finances. It was believed on the discovery of gold in Australia and California that the price of gold would diminish, and that the price of silver would increase. But the reverse had occurred. Now, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that Parliament was accountable for the state of things which had artificially reduced the value of silver as an article of commerce; and in doing so, he reminded them that the precious metals had become money-agents, from the fact that their values were conveniently shut up in a small compass. We had prevented silver being an article of manufacture in this country by levying an *ad valorem* tax upon it as a manufactured article, and had thereby destroyed a class of trade which it was in the interest of India to cultivate rather than discourage. The result was that silver, which had to bear a tax of 30 per cent when manufactured, had depreciated because its chief market had virtually been closed against it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would point out to the hon. Gentleman that he is travelling beyond the Question before the Committee.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA ventured to say that he was on the point of applying his arguments to that question, nevertheless he at once bowed to the ruling of the Chair. He reminded the Committee that when the loan for £5,000,000 was contracted, one of the arguments upon which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer laid great stress was that it was a temporary measure rendered necessary by the derangement of finance in India owing to the depreciation which existed in the value of silver. That he wished to submit as an additional reason why England should take some portion of the cost of the war upon its own shoulders.

MR. R. N. FOWLER cordially welcomed the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and, indeed, would have gladly supported them had they seen their way to go further in the same direction. The right hon. Gentleman, in opening the debate, had said it was quite possible to support Her Majesty's Government in their proposition as well as that contained in the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. He was in the position described by the right hon. Gentleman, agreeing with his hon. Friend in his Motion on Candahar. He would not then enter into the Party questions which had been discussed in the course of the debate; but it must be borne in mind that the Afghan War was represented by Her Majesty's late Government repeatedly as an Imperial and not an Indian question, and it was upon that ground that he had given them his support when he was a candidate at the last Election. That was the reason, also, why India should not, in his opinion, bear the whole cost of the war. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, in his able speech, referred to the fact that the Indian finances were in a very flourishing condition; and that statement, coming from so high an authority, was very gratifying. Taking three years together, and apart from the war expenditure, the hon. Gentleman had stated there was a surplus of £11,000,000. But he must remind the Committee that there were various questions connected with the administration of Indian finance, relating to the reduction of taxation, still requiring attention. He believed the House would be glad to see taxation in India reduced as much as possible. The Committee must be aware that there were a number of Members of that House, and many persons outside it, who agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Mr. J. W. Pease) in the Motion he had to make upon the subject of the opium trade, which they regarded as a scandal, and considered that something ought to be done to make the Revenues of India no longer dependent upon it. Again, the salt tax was regarded as objectionable as a source of revenue by many people; and he thought all hon. Members would be glad to see the day when that tax—a tax on a necessary of life—could be, at any rate, diminished. Then there was the land tax, which, it seemed, had been raised to the highest point at which it could be sustained. None of these sources of revenue were to him perfectly satisfactory. Undoubtedly India was a poor country as compared with England; and, under the circumstances, he thought it hard that India should be asked to contribute to the expenses of a war which, although it was connected to a certain extent with that country, was, nevertheless, waged for Imperial purposes. Believing, therefore, that the war had been waged for Imperial purposes, it was upon that ground that he now gave his cordial support to the proposition of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. BRADLAUGH rose to support the proposal of the Government. In doing so he would allude to the very hard phrase used by the hon. Member for Guildford. The hon. Member had said that it was politically immoral to pay anything towards the cost of the war in Afghanistan. But he (Mr. Bradlaugh) could not help thinking it was much more immoral to tax the North-West Provinces of India, as they had been taxed for two years, for a war which was utterly unjust and mischievous, and which ought never, in his opinion, to have been entered into at all. While the hon. Member for Guildford thought himself entitled to speak for the intelligent and educated people of India, there was a large number of poor and starving people in that country for whose sake he hoped the wicked steps of the late Government would be retraced.

Mr. S. LEIGHTON reminded the hon. Member who had just spoken that there were other persons in that House who represented the poor and starving people of India as well as himself. The speech just delivered by the hon. Member for the City of London had given him great satisfaction as coming from that side of the House, because it showed there were hon. Members who acted on occasions like the present with perfect freedom from Party considerations. He could not, however, agree with his arguments. The hon. Member had said the Afghan War had been waged for English, and not for Indian, purposes, and that, therefore, England ought to pay something towards the cost. If his premises were true, how could the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer propose such a miserable contribution towards the cost of the war as £500,000 a-year. It seemed to him that if we ought to pay anything at all we ought to pay a much larger portion of the expense than that proposed. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy regarded this Vote simply as a Vote of Censure upon Lord Lytton. That was a large question, into which he did not intend to follow the hon. Member; but could not help thinking he would have held a different opinion had he still been Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The war was undertaken to avenge the death of an Indian civil servant who had been murdered at Cabul. He had no hesitation in saying that the lives of civil servants in India were unsafe as long as that murder remained unavenged, and that the whole of the Civil Service in India were of this opinion. But this £500,000 a year was to continue for six years. The expenses of the Afghan War would be defrayed at once. The Imperial subvention would be nothing but annual subsidy to the general expenses of the Indian Government. How, then, could it be said that the money was to go in payment of the expenses of the Afghan War? In his view, the Vote took the form of a subsidy to be expended in ordinary matters, and not in the cost of the Afghan War. The hon. Member for Orkney, who had also been Financial Minister in India, said that the war had been undertaken for the sake of our interests in Europe. But it must be borne in mind that the whole of our complications with Russia were the result of our possession of India—that is to say, if there were no India there would be no Eastern Question so far as we are concerned. The nation, whatever it might be, which ruled India must necessarily be brought into the same relation with Russia as we stood in at the present time. The Committee had heard from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the finances of India did not require to be subsidized. The subsidy, he had already pointed out, must necessarily be applied to general expenditure, and not to the special expenditure of the war. But supposing at the end of the six years over which the subvention was thrown India was in need of financial support, how could England consistently refuse it, when at a time of financial prosperity this unnecessary subsidy had been voted? The Vote involved them in a pecuniary obligation of indefinite duration.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR could not understand why so much opposition had been raised to a contribution on the part of this country towards the expenses of the Afghan War, seeing that it was entered into under orders from the Cabinet of England. He might remind the Committee that the war of 1840 which was unjustly called the Opium War, with China was carried on by England mainly by Indian troops, and that the greater part of the war expenditure was paid by England, leaving on India the charge for the ordinary pay which the Indian troops would have received in India. In regard to the Persian War also, England made a handsome contribution to the war expense incurred by India—a much larger sum than that now proposed for the Afghan War, and the same thing took place with regard to another war in China in 1860. For these reasons he had always thought it fair on the part of England to contribute largely on account of the Afghan War. It was a war avowedly carried on for Imperial as well as for Indian interests; and as regards the cost of the war, he must frankly state to the House that, so far from relying on the expense only amounting to £20,000,000, a writer in *The Pall Mall Gazette* had calculated that the amount would reach £30,000,000; and he had very little doubt that the calculation would prove nearly correct when the accounts were finally closed. He did not agree with the Prime Minister in blaming the system under which the finances of India were managed. He had had considerable experience with regard to the military expenses of India; and he must say that, so far from the system being to blame for the mistakes which had occurred, it was, in his opinion, individuals, and not the system, that ought to be blamed. There had been every desire on the part of the late Indian Government to conceal the amount which was to be expended on account of the war. The first Estimate prepared by the Military Department stated the cost for the few months of 1878-9 at £1,200,000, and even that was not at once made known. The first knowledge which the people of this country received on the subject was in the Financial Statement of the Government of India that the war expenditure in 1878 and 1879 would only be £670,000. It was not just and fair to the people of India to let English public opinion run away with the idea that the system of finance in India was so defective as to have prevented the Indian authorities making known, if they had so wished, the real amount to be expended on the Afghan War. As regards this war expenditure, it was objectionable, because he thought that it might have been better laid out; for he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Orkney that if we desired to make India happy and contented we must reduce Indian taxation to a very large extent indeed. Whatever sums of money we could afford by avoiding useless wars would, in his opinion, be advantageously spent in relieving the people of India from the heavy taxation which had fallen upon them. He believed the late changes with regard to the salt and licence taxes had been extremely detrimental to our rule in India. He particularly deprecated the salt tax as one which bore on the masses of the people of Southern India in particular with extreme heaviness, and was detrimental to the interests of that country.

MR. STORER said, he should not have interposed in the debate had it not been that several side issues had been introduced into it which would tend very much to distract the attention of the taxpayers of the country from the point at issue, and had it not been for the question put by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), to which, up to the present, no answer had been given—namely, the question as to their being now asked to take a new departure in Indian finance and set a dangerous precedent. This new departure had been controverted by one or two hon. Members; but, so far, the statement of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had not been seriously impugned. He was by no means inclined to admit the argument so jocularly brought forward by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, to the effect that because the Afghan War, for which this subsidy was required, was a tax upon the country by a Conservative Government, it ought, therefore, to be paid by laying an Income Tax on the Conservative Party. He did not know whether the Prime Minister would endorse that idea; but certainly it had appeared to be received on the Front Bench with some applause. No doubt, as a joke it was a very good one. It could hardly be taken seriously, because the people of this country were uncommonly well aware by this time—not only those who had read through the Blue Books, but those who had seen the statements in the newspapers with regard to the Russian Correspondence discovered at Cabul—that the late Afghan War was not at all attributable to the Conservative Party; but was a legacy left by Lord Northbrook and the Duke of Argyll to the late Government, which no Ministry coming into Office at the time could have avoided dealing with. He looked upon the manner in which this question had been brought forward to back up the request for this Vote, and the way it had been alluded to as a necessary consequence of Conservative policy, as only another instance of the desire of hon. Members opposite that the country should regard any piece of misfortune that happened during their Administration as attributable to the action of their Predecessors, and any piece of good fortune—whenever it arose—as equally owing to their own sagacity and prudence. The country were convinced that, however, this war was an Imperial question—and that it was there could be no doubt—it was also an Indian question. Every Indian question of importance must be an Imperial question; but that did not prove either that the expenditure connected with it ought to be paid out of Indian finances, or that they were not now asked to make a new departure and establish a precedent that might be dangerous in the time to come. If the policy which the Liberal Government were pursuing at present, as to the abandonment of Candahar, was to be followed out very probably the taxpayers of England would be called upon for additional instalments, and for much larger payments than the present one. This was one point of view in which the Vote ought to be regarded; and he objected, as strongly as it was possible for him to object, to admitting a precedent that might be fraught with the most serious consequences in the future.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, the debate had been carried on so far by hon. Members who might be described as "specialists." No doubt, those Gentlemen ought to be at the front; but the question had bearings which were of the deepest interest, both morally and financially, to the people of this country. The question as to who was to blame for the origin of the war, and as to whether the taxpayers should not contribute towards it, must be a question of the very first importance to the taxpayers of the country at this moment. No doubt, the Vote before them was proposed, and would be laid on the shoulders of the people of this country at a time when they had not recovered from the impoverishment arising from the depression of industry and commerce that had been going on for the past four or five years. He was not sure that there was not some truth in the hint given by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, that when misfortunes did come on this country they had, in some degree, a political origin, and arose from the mistakes made by the Conservatives when in power. It was, no doubt, true that the late Government came into power at a period when this country had passed through a season of almost unexampled prosperity——

Mr. STORER: I must explain. I only said that the Liberal Government attributed all misfortunes to their opponents.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he had no objection at all to put it in a hypothetical form. The late Government acceded to power at a time of great prosperity, and when it was not difficult to mislead the people of the country into what was called a "spirited foreign policy." It would be remembered that the late Prime Minister had stated that it might be of great advantage if more attention were paid to foreign affairs and a little less to the affairs of England—he was not quoting words which had been used; but was giving the substance of the policy as indicated by the right hon. Gentleman then Prime Minister in this House. Happily, we had been brought back into a much more sober state of mind, and he put it that there could not be a more pointed proof given of the ultimate judgment of the people than the readiness with which he was sure they would take on themselves a share of the expense of this war—there could not be a more pointed proof of their belief that the war was not one undertaken for Indian interests alone, but one having its origin in a supposed Imperial necessity. The question had been asked as to where the line should be drawn, and whether we should consider the financial difficulties of India; and he would reply that it should be drawn when the country was undergoing a fit of Russophobia — when it had given the guidance of its foreign policy to a Minister of strong Oriental imagination, who sent a feeble and vain Viceroy to India. This, he believed, explained why the Afghan War was entered upon; and, furthermore, why, whilst it was being carried on, the British public were kept in ignorance as to the real expenditure. It had been objected that the present proposal would be a dangerous precedent to establish; but the precedent had been established when a loan of £2,000,000 for India was asked for and granted by the House. It had been attempted to account for that loan by reference to the Indian exchanges and the depreciation in the value of silver; but the attempt had been of a very flimsy character. A precedent for contribution by the British taxpayer to meet Indian exigencies could not be put upon a more flimsy ground. He hoped the Committee would divide on this question, because he should be sorry for it to go out to the country that the Conservative Party had no opinion upon the Vote. They had heard speeches not altogether favourable to it—somewhat carping in their tone—but he was afraid there was a lack of courage to go to a division amongst hon. Members opposite. He trusted that this one good result would follow from this Vote and this discussion—namely, that the people of this country would take warning not to lend themselves too readily to the views of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite—politicians who got up wars on such flimsy pretexts as this Afghan War originated in—and, further, that it might be made clear to the people of India that the great mass of the British people were prepared to do justice to their country, and not to indulge in Imperial fancies on the one hand, and to repudiate Imperial obligations on the other.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR did not propose, in the few remarks he had to make, to travel over all the subjects which had been touched upon by hon. Members on the other side of the House. He apprehended that the question they had to do with was not either how the Afghan War came about, or whether the accounts had been properly kept. It had nothing to do with the actual expenditure on the war; but the question they really had to determine was the broader one as to whether England ought or ought not, under any circumstances, to contribute towards the expenses of a war of this character. This question had been debated more than once in this House; but, within the last week, an entirely new argument had been invented in favour of the course suggested by the Government—and the creation of that argument, in its original form, was due, he believed, to the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. That hon. Gentleman's view, as expressed at Oxford, was that England ought to be called upon to pay for this war, in part at all events, in order to teach the English taxpayers never to permit any Government again to indulge in such an undertaking. The hon. Gentleman wished to teach the taxpayers a lesson; but it should be pointed out to him that the lesson they might learn might be exactly the opposite of that which he desired they should be taught. It was possible that the English taxpayer might be induced to conclude, from this suggestion being brought forward by the Government, that the mistake they had made was not in supporting the late Government, but in putting the present Government in power, because he apprehended there was no doubt whatever that had the late Government remained in power no proposal of this kind would have been made to the House. But his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had improved on this argument, for he not only wished to teach a lesson to the taxpayer in general, but the Conservative taxpayer in particular, because what he had said was that he should like the whole of the subsidy to be thrown on the Income Tax payers, who had supported the late Government in the course they had adopted. The hon. Member's view was that the wealth and intelligence of the country were on the one side and the working men on the other. ["No, no!" *and laughter.*] Well, he would retract the word "intelligence," and would put it the wealth on one side and the working men on the other. But the point was not one he wished to press. It seemed to him that the hon. Member might have improved on his novel suggestion, and have argued that because the Conservative voter was guilty, still more guilty was every Conservative Member who voted for the policy of the Government, and the more Income Tax they should have to pay; that the Members of the Cabinet should be even yet more heavily taxed; and as for Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton, he did not see how they could possibly get off under a payment of 20*s.* in the pound. He did not know whether the hon. Member seriously meant to propose that as a new fiscal arrangement in the country. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had made reference to the accounts of the Afghan War, and had seemed to think this a fitting occasion on which to bring an accusation against the late Viceroy for the grave, and, as he must admit, most dreadful error made in the Afghan Accounts. He did not know whether the hon. Member was in his place ["No!"]—then he would leave that part of the question, which was not really of very great importance. The substantial argument they had to deal with was the question of justice. It had been alleged by hon. Members opposite—it was alleged by the Members of the present Government when in Opposition—that we were bound in justice to make this contribution towards the Indian Exchequer. But he was rather puzzled to make out why, if it was a matter of justice, our contribution was to stop at £5,000,000. If we were entirely responsible for the war; if it was our wickedness and folly that caused India to indulge in it—and that was the contention of hon. Gentlemen opposite—he wanted to know why it was that we were going to restrict our contribution to £5,000,000—why, when the whole burden amounted to £13,000,000, we came down here and made a great parade of justice and generosity, and said—"We will pay £5,000,000." That was an odd form of justice. We were either bound to pay £5,000,000 or not bound to pay it—if we were bound why should we not pay the whole sum? He had listened to a great many debates on this subject, and had always found that the argument as to justice was based on the single circumstance that the war was alleged to be an Imperial war. When, on the other side, the question was asked—"Why was it an Imperial war?" the answer was immediately—"Oh, Lord Beaconsfield said it was." Now, he never before heard of a measure being recommended to Parliament which would throw a burden on the English taxpayer of £5,000,000, and would subvert the whole of the financial arrangements between this country and India, which was founded on the casual phrase of a Minister detached from its context. He was ready to admit that in one sense the war was an Imperial war, for undoubtedly it had to do with the safety of the Empire. Nobody questioned that—[Mr. WILLIS: I question it.]—at any rate, he himself did not question it, being perfectly convinced that it was not an Imperial war. That, however, was not an argument for throwing the burden upon England. If England was to pay part of all the expenditure which would otherwise fall upon India when the action of the Indian Government was beneficial to the Empire, it was manifest that India ought to pay part of the expenditure when the action of the English Government was also beneficial to the Empire. He did not see how that conclusion was to be avoided. He admitted that the whole Empire had gained by the Afghan War; but, assuming that at some time we might, unfortunately, be driven to a war in the East of Europe with Russia, might it not possibly happen that India would benefit by its results? Would anybody, in that case, think of saying, therefore—"This is an Imperial war from which India has benefited, and she must pay part of its expense?" No responsible statesman would think of coming down and saying that. During the existence of abnormal relations between the Government of England and the Government of India, it was always possible for casuistry to raise a difficulty of some kind; but he apprehended that in the main the division rested on broad and intelligible principles, and he took these broad and intelligible principles to be that England should pay all the expenses of any war which she would have made, supposing her separated from India, and that India should, in the same way, pay the expenses of a war she would have entered into, supposing that she had no connection with England. They left out of account the indirect and ulterior benefits derived by other parts of the Empire, and considered that each part of the Empire was responsible for wars it would have had to undertake had it stood by itself. The relations between the Afghans and India were not dependent upon the relations between England and India, but would exist whether India was attached or unattached to England. Ever since there had been Rulers over the whole of India the relations between Afghanistan and India had always occupied the attention of those Rulers. It had never been admitted that Afghanistan stood in the same relation to India that one European State stood in regard to other European States. The relations between Afghanistan and India were not similar to the relations which existed between England and France; and it had always been felt by the Rulers of India, Native and Foreign, and by every Indian statesman of English extraction, that it was absolutely essential that Afghanistan should be friendly and independent. That was never felt by any English statesman more than by the late Lord Lawrence. This being so, he would point out that this war arose because the Indian Government believed that the relations between Afghanistan and India were not of a kind which every Indian Government said they ought to be in order that India might be safe and secure. Therefore it was that, strictly speaking, he looked upon the war as an Indian and not an English concern. It was not as though the war had been undertaken without the consent of the Indian Government. If it had been forced on by this country; if the Indian Government had been compelled, against their own judgment, to enter into a war, there would be, he admitted, a great deal to be said in favour of the position taken up by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Let them imagine a case. Let them assume that in consequence of their leaving Candahar, great expense and danger was incurred by the Indian Empire. It was perfectly well known—everyone knew—that we left Candahar in the teeth of the opinion of the Indian Government. The Indian Government might come and say, "You compelled us to leave Candahar, and, in consequence of our so doing, expenses have fallen on the Indian Exchequer. You are bound to assist us in paying those expenses." But no such argument could be advanced as to the Afghan War, because the Indian Government were as firmly convinced of its necessity and justice as the Home Government; and it was, therefore, only fair that they should bear part of the expense. So much for the question of justice. There now remained the question of generosity—and he fully granted that this country was always ready and proud to answer an appeal to their generosity. The hon. Member for Hackney, in one of his speeches during the late Parliament, had said that he should have no hesitation in urging this claim to the generosity of his constituents, being assured of their approval. [Mr. FAWCETT: Justice, I think it was.] No doubt, the hon. Member's appeal would have met with a response. He would point out, however, that they had in private life come to the conclusion that charity, however good in itself, might do harm if injudicious—and in Imperial matters, just as in private life, there was such a thing as indiscriminate and injudicious charity. He firmly believed that if they reversed the wise and ancient policy that governed the relations between the Exchequer of this country and India, ever since India had belonged to England, they would open the doors to endless appeals and abuses, they would check a great guarantee for economy, and render it easier for the Indian Government to enter into unnecessary wars. For these reasons he trusted the Committee would hesitate, and consider the matter very carefully, before it assented to the proposition of the Government. Before sitting down, he would make one appeal to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington). He did not know whether the noble Lord ever appealed to the Government of India on any subject whatever. Parliament had been presented with all the Correspondence with reference to Candahar that the noble Lord thought it desirable they should have. They knew that the Indian Government had given no opinion upon the subject, or, at any rate, no opinion that could be published. Here was a question of great importance as to our future relations with India, and yet we had not one tittle of information of any kind or description as to what the Indian Government thought on the subject. He did not know whether the noble Lord had ever appealed to the Indian Government; but he would point out that by the course he (the Marquess of Hartington) adopted in regard to the Indian Government, he laid himself under the suspicion of one of two faults in policy—either that he did not consult the Government; and in that case the Administration of India was only half an Administration; or that he had consulted that Government, and could not lay its opinion before the House. Which of these two alternatives was the correct one? Were they to enter into this novel course proposed by the Government without receiving the slightest information as to Lord Ripon's opinion, or the opinion of a single Member of his Council? If they were to consent to this, of course they must, if the majority so wished it; but he hoped that, at all events, they would not agree to it until they definitely knew all the facts and circumstances that ought to guide their judgment in the matter. Perhaps the noble Lord opposite would answer this one question as to the opinion of Lord Ripon and his Council.

Sir HARRY VERNEY reminded the Committee that the attention of the Committee at this moment should not be directed so much to Candahar as to Afghanistan and the late war. He hoped the country would carefully weigh the statements of hon. Members near him, who had spoken in the course of this debate as to the expense of that war. If the late Governor General of India did not know what those expenses were, he certainly ought to have obtained reliable information; and he showed by his ignorance in that, as in many other instances, how unfit he was for the appointment he held. In his opinion, in the late Government we had had two most unscrupulous Ministers—the most unscrupulous Minister that ever governed this country, and the most unscrupulous Governor General that ever went out to India. That had been his opinion from the beginning, and in that opinion, so far as the late Governor General was concerned, he was confirmed by all the accounts that reached this country of the conduct of the noble Lord in India. If it were true that there was a possibility of reducing the expenditure in India, his wish was to see so desirable a thing effected, because he was anxious to see remitted some of the heavy taxes that now fell on the people of India. As had been rightly said by the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing), our hold in India depended not only on force, but on the sense of the justice of our rule, and of the consideration for the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants with which it was administered, on the knowledge that they had that we desired to govern their country to their best interest, and not to the benefit of this country. Therefore, if the finances of India were in as prosperous a condition as had been stated, he sincerely hoped that we might be able to remit some of the taxes, particularly the salt tax. Reference had been made, in the course of this debate, to the revenue we derived in India from the production of opium. Well, he felt this to be a revenue that was scandalous and disgraceful to our country, because, whether in India or elsewhere, it was our duty to promote as far as we could the morality of Her Majesty's subjects. There was no part of the Revenue of India which did us less credit than that which was derived from opium; and, more than this, the duration of this source of revenue was very doubtful, and dependence on it unwise. The growth of the poppy prevented the growth of many articles of produce that would be most important to the people; and for this reason, as well as on account of the immorality of the trade, he sincerely trusted that it might be in the power of the Government to get rid of the tax. With regard to what his hon. Friend below him had said, he feared it was too true that the expense of the Afghan War would be found to be something very much greater than it was believed in this country to be. Let the people of England know the kind of expense we were involved in through the action of the Government who engaged in that war. They engaged in it, it must be remembered, in opposition to the views of the wisest and best Viceroys who had ever gone out to India, especially of that most excellent Governor General the late Lord Lawrence, who had given an opinion most strongly condemning it. He recollected Lord Lawrence saying to him on one occasion—"They do not know what they are talking about. They speak of £50,000 per annnum to guard an unscientific Frontier, and then they tell us that a scientific Frontier is to be guarded for £5,000." The noble Lord felt, and nearly all who had ever been connected with India felt, that the war was a most unwise proceeding, contrary to the welfare and best interests not only of India, but of this country. He should give his hearty support to his right hon.

Friend in the proposal he had made; and had he gone further, and proposed that they should have paid still more than £5,000,000, he should have supported him.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, the answer to which, I think, will be of great importance in the further consideration of this subject. It is, whether the Government of India have given any opinion upon this matter; and, if so, what that opinion is?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman has put a Question to me which has already been asked by the hon. Member for Hertford. The Government of India have certainly not been consulted, and have given no opinion officially, upon this question. I am aware—though I do not rely upon it as a consideration that ought to guide the opinion of the Committee—that both the Viceroy and the financial Members of the Council are favourable to the policy of Her Majesty's Government; but it appears to me that if the Indian Government are to be invited to offer an expression of opinion upon a matter of this sort, it ought to have been obtained before embarking in the war, and not now. If this is to be a matter of bargaining, then certainly the Indian Government ought to have the opportunity afforded to it of expressing its opinion as to how the expenses are to be divided between the two Governments, whatever they may be. The late Government did not think it necessary to take that course before they sanctioned the war; and I certainly should not now, at the conclusion of the war, think it a desirable or necessary policy, or one tending to the good relations between the two countries, or to the dignity of the Government of India, that they should be asked to place themselves in the position of making a demand upon the justice or generosity—or whatever you may like to call it—of this country, or to apply to this country, in the form of suppliants, for a grant. For these reasons, it seems to us that the policy which ought to be recommended to Parliament in this matter is one which ought to be initiated at home, and on which it was not necessary to formally consult the Government of India. Perhaps I may take this opportunity—though I desire to hear any further views that Members of the Committee may wish to express—to make a few observations on this discussion so far as it has proceeded The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) referred to some pledge which he understood I had given to the effect that I would call for a Report from the Government of India, as to a statement I made with regard to our contribution. I did not recollect at the time the hon. Member was speaking to what he referred; but he has been good enough to inform me since, that he referred to something I had said in my Financial Statement last year. In speaking of this matter, I find I said that it would not be desirable to make the contribution until the Viceroy and the Finance Minister had had time to consider in what form it should be given. That was my opinion at the time, and it is my opinion now; but I do not find in these words any pledge given by me, that I was going to call on the Government of India for any formal Report on this matter. The Government have had time to consider the form in which the proposal should be made to the House, and it has been made to-day. The Estimate has been laid on the Table; a Statement has been made by my right hon. Friend; and the mode in which the contribution will be applied by the Government of India will be stated very shortly by the Finance Minister in the Financial Statement. I do not consider that, when I made the speech which has been referred to, I pledged myself to obtain for ourselves or give to the House any further information than that which has been laid on the Table in the Paper that has been presented. The hon. Gentleman says that nothing has happened since the discussion last August to strengthen the case for making a contribution to India towards the cost of the war. On the contrary, he says, there is an improved condition of things. I do not know to what the hon. Gentleman can have referred. I stated in August last that the cost of the war, to the best of my impression, would be £15,000,000, or, deducting the sum for estimated profits due to the Revenue in consequence of the war, £14,000,000, and £4,000,000 for the Frontier railway; in all, £18,000,000. The Papers which have been presented to Parliament include a despatch dated November 24th, in which an Estimate was given which we have made the basis upon which to work. The Estimate for the war is brought to 15 crores 77 lacs of rupees, and for the railway to 5 crores 9 lacs, giving a total of 21½ crores, or, making the necessary deductions, 20 crores 997 lacs of rupees. In previous calculations which I laid before the House in August we, as usual, assumed the rupee, for the purpose of these Estimates, to be of its nominal value—2*s.*; therefore, the Estimate of November, as compared with the Estimate of the Government in August, was about £20,000,000 as compared with £18,000,000. There was no reason to think that the estimated cost of the war was at all less than was supposed, but considerably larger, than the figures I stated last August. As the House is aware, it is necessary, for the proper regulation of the transactions between the Indian and the Home Government, to take into account not the conventional value of the rupee, which is 2*s.*, but it actual value—1*s.* 8*d.* At that rate, the 21 crores to which I have referred as the latest Estimate of the total cost of the war represents £17,498,000, or, deducting the railway, £13,148,000. That is the sum which the Government have had before them, and that is the sum upon which they have resolved to recommend to the House the contribution of £5,000,000. The hon. Gentleman also stated that the whole of the cost of the war, there was reason to hope, in consequence of the improved condition of India, could be paid by the Indian Government without any addition to the Indian Debt. Considering that the Financial Statement must shortly be made, I do not think it would be desirable to enter into details which might possibly not be perfectly correct, and which would, therefore, have to be corrected by the full information which will be contained in that Financial Statement; but, no doubt, with the exception of the £2,000,000 which have been advanced by the Home Government to India, there is reason to hope that these expenses may be met without any considerable addition to the Debt of India. But, at the same time, the hon. Gentleman must remember that in arriving at this result, the whole of the provision made for insurance against Famine has disappeared, and that during three or four years the whole of the new taxes proposed for the purpose of providing against Famine have been devoted, not to the purpose for which they were intended, but for the purpose of carrying on a war. Well, the hon. Member also made some observation upon what had fallen from my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) in regard to the imperfect character of the Indian finance system as compared with the more highly organized and complete system which we have in this country. The hon. Member seems to think that my right hon. Friend somewhat underrated and disparaged the value of the Indian Financial Department which, as he said, occupies in India much the same position that the Treasury does at home. I do not in the least desire to undervalue the services of the Financial Department in India, or to disparage the great ability and great public spirit of the officers in that Department; but it would, I think, be a great mistake for the House to suppose that the Financial Department in India does or can possibly exercise functions at all analagous to or of so great an influence as those exercised by the Treasury at home. The Treasury at home derives its great influence over the spending Department of the country from the support it receives from Parliament. The Treasury has to defend its financial arrangements for the year, and the Representatives of the Treasury in this House have to be responsible for the proposals for the expenditure of Her Majesty's Government, which proposals, it is well known, are made the subject of close examination and criticism in this House, which, as a machinery, as a connecting link, enables the Treasury to exercise the beneficial influence that it does. Now, in India, it is unnecessary for me to point out that there is no Representative Government, and no support to the Financial Department at all corresponding with that which the Treasury receives in this country from Parliament. All that the Financial Department in India can do is to appeal to the Viceroy and his Government. No doubt it does exercise those functions, and does produce certain results in that way. The hon. Member further referred with satisfaction to what had fallen from my right hon. Friend as to the desire of the present Government to prosecute the economical reforms that were instituted by the late Government. The hon. Member seemed to think that, up to the present time, there had been some want of assurance given by the Government to the effect that they were properly impressed with the necessity of prosecuting that policy. I can give him the general assurance that the Viceroy and Council are not only engaged in minor Departmental reforms already instituted, but that they have taken seriously in hand the most important point of Indian Expenditure—that on which all Indian authorities are agreed all financial reforms and retrenchment must ultimately depend—namely, the Military expenditure. The Report of the Army Commission appointed by Lord Ripon is now being considered, and its various recommendations are being taken up in detail by the Viceroy; and I hope it may shortly be possible for the Government of India to make known to the Government at home, and through it to this House, the measures they propose to take with regard to this matter. But, coming back to the proposals before the House, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire described this proposal as practically a subsidy from this country to the Government of India; and he said, and said very truly, that it was a proposal that differed very considerably in its character from the proposal made by the late Government for a temporary advance, or loan, without interest. The hon. Member was perfectly right in saying that the proposal differed in its character; and the reasons which induced us to make this proposal differed, and differed favourably, from the reasons adduced by the hon. Gentleman for the proposal of the late Government. And I could not help thinking that there was a good deal of force and reason in the observations made by the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) with regard to the reason on which it was alleged by the Secretary of State for India that the proposals of the Government were made. I understood the hon. Member to say that the late Government had arrived at their opinion on account of the unfavourable state of the Exchanges, which made it impossible for the Government of India to remit the necessary sums in the course of the financial year. Now, it seems to me that this is an extremely dangerous and an extremely unsound basis upon which to rest any proposal of financial assistance from this country to India. If such assistance is given only on the ground on which we ask the House to give it—namely, on the ground of justice and fairness to the Indian people, I do not think there is any reason to fear or any risk of our being led to any dangerous lengths. But, putting aside altogether the grounds of justice and fairness between the taxpayers of the two countries, if, as explained by the hon. Member, we are to come forward and save India whenever the Exchange is favourable or unfavourable, or whenever the Indian Financial system is unsatisfactory, then, I agree with him, a dangerous system would be introduced. The hon. Member (Mr. Stanhope), speaking about our proposal, said it was one which would revolutionize the relations between England and India. Now, I do not wish to underrate the importance of the proposal that has been made. I do not think it is a proposal that need be characterized in any such strong terms. Although it is true it is a different proposal from the one made by the late Government, and although the Indian Government always refused to adopt this measure when it was pressed on them, still it was one which they never absolutely rejected. They always gave the House to understand that the proposal was one which, upon further information, they might be induced to make to the House. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said that this proposal never would have been made but for the change of Governments; but, if he had remembered some proposals that were made by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, he would not have been so certain that some such proposals would not have been made if the late Government had remained in Office. I could quote many speeches of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; but one extract from the right hon. Gentleman, I think, will be enough. Speaking on the 17th December, 1878, he said—

> "At the present moment, in our uncertainty as to the extent of the operations necessary to obtain the submission of the Ameer, it would be impossible for us to come forward and do what we have done in other cases—propose a definite Vote of Credit. If we are to give aid, it must not be by undertaking that we should bear the expense of the war, administered by others, set free from all considerations of economy, who might press it beyond the length which might be desirable, because they are exempt from all

> risk of having to pay for it; but what we may think it right to give should be in the shape of a Vote in aid of the expenditure of the Indian Government."

After that, I do not know how the hon. Member for Hertford can feel so convinced that if the late Government had remained in Office no proposal of this sort would have been made. On the 11th February, 1880, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire rejected, as he had done before, the Motion of the present Postmaster General. He said—

> "It was hard to blame the Government because in the absence of information they refused to come to any absolute conclusion. They knew that hostilities had been renewed, and that further expenses had been incurred; but the new facts in relation to that expenditure were not yet in their possession. He believed he was right in saying that before many weeks—he might almost say before many days—were over they would have the figures of the Indian Budget at hand. They certainly hoped before the end of the month to have an Estimate of all that had been spent, or was likely to be spent, up to the end of the financial year, on the war in Afghanistan, with a good Estimate of what the probable expenditure would be in the future. When they had obtained that information, the Government would thoroughly consider the whole question and see how they stood in that matter; and he hoped that there would be ample time to do so before the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the English Budget."

What was the meaning of that reference —"The Government would thoroughly consider the whole question and see how they stood in that matter?" Must not the hon. Member have had in his mind that it might be the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing in his Budget to take into consideration the expediency of making some grant in aid of India. The hon. Member concluded by saying—

> "Therefore, in now asking the House to reject the Amendment, he only desired to add that they did not by that course in any way prejudge the question, but only expressed the opinion that the Amendment was premature, and that they must postpone their decision on that subject until they had received further information."—[3 *Hansard*, ccl. 472-3.]

When I find language of this sort used, which, I must say, seems to me to point to the consideration of a proposal to be made by the late Government, I am somewhat surprised to find that hon. Members consider it necessary to characterize the proposition before the Committee as one which is about to revolutionize the relations existing between England and India. The hon. Member then went on to say that this was a proposal which would diminish the responsibility of the Indian Government; but I do not think it would necessarily have any such effect. It is not, in my opinion, a proposal which introduces any new principles at all into the relations between the two countries. As has been pointed out, there are questions on both sides. The Indian troops have been employed in wars which were distinctly not Indian wars, but which, nevertheless, have been carried on by the Indian Army. They were employed, for instance, in the Persian, the Abyssinian, and the Chinese Wars. The Indian Government has not been called upon to pay a farthing towards the cost of these wars, the whole cost having been defrayed by the English Government. There are other cases, such as the Persian War, where part of the expense has been defrayed by the Indian Government and part by the British Government; and there have, too, been great emergencies through which India has passed—for example, the great Famine, in which India had to bear the whole cost, and no contribution was asked for or offered. The principle has been, where the object was exclusively an Imperial one, then India was not asked to contribute; but where it was exclusively and clearly Indian, then the whole burden has fallen upon India. In this case, our contention is that the war—and I am not going to enter into a discusssion as to the necessity for or policy of the war—was not exclusively an Indian war, that it was not waged for Indian purposes; but was a portion of a larger policy—the policy of the late Government—the cost of which it is not fair to lay exclusively upon either India or England. That is the ground on which we make this proposal. I do not go the length of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, who said it was an unjust war, forced upon India by Conservative voters, and which, therefore, ought to be paid for entirely by Conservative voters. I cannot go that length; but, on the other hand, I cannot go the length of saying that this was a war which would have been made by the people of India in their own defence, if they had been consulted. Whether the war was right or wrong, there can be no doubt, I think, that it was one which was initiated, and the policy of which depended, on larger than merely Indian considerations, and one of which it is just that England should bear a part of the cost. In these circumstances, I cannot see that the proposal of Her Majesty's Government will in any way diminish the responsibility of the Indian Government. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite that it would not have been desirable, at the outset of the war, to have informed the Indian Government that a certain proportion of its cost would be borne by the British Exchequer. I think it would have diminished the responsibility of those who had the management of the war if they had had the opportunity of carrying it on at the expense of other people; but I do not think in the slightest degree that responsibility is diminished, if, on finding that the war has proved more costly than was anticipated, part of the burden should be borne by the Home Government. If it will not diminish the responsibility of the Indian Government, I think it will considerably increase the feeling of responsibility with which wars of this description, or wars of any description, will be initiated hereafter or sanctioned by the Home Government. I do not think it can be maintained that that war was not partly due to the policy of the Government at home. Without going into any discussion as to what may be said on the subject of Earl Beaconsfield's policy, it is a fact well known at the War Office, and which has never been denied, that the late Governor General of India left this country with instructions to place our relations on the North-West Frontier on a better and more satisfactory footing, and that policy led to the war. That war was part of the policy of the late Government, and it was thoroughly approved of and initiated by the Government, and I have always understood that they were perfectly willing to take their full share of the responsibility. I cannot help thinking that the Parliament which supported the initiation of this war would have thought more about the responsibility they were undertaking in sanctioning the proceedings of the late Government, if they had felt that part of the burden would fall upon their own shoulders. I think it is most desirable, in the interests of India and in the interests of the relations between this country and India, that the tax-payers should feel when they sanction a war, whether necessary or unnecessary, that they are sanctioning a policy which may add to their burdens. That will increase in the most salutary manner the responsibility of the Parliament which sanctions the proceedings and policy of the Government at home, and it will not unduly diminish the responsibility of the Government of India. There is only one more observation I wish to make. The hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. S. Leighton) said that this payment was made to India, not in relation to the war, but in relation to its ordinary Expenditure. But the proposal of the Indian Government for the disposal of this money will be fully explained in a few days. But I may explain that it is the intention of the Government at home and of the Government of India that this sum shall not be in any way applied to the diminution of the ordinary burdens of the Government of India, but that it shall be applied in some way entirely to the reduction of taxes, to the reduction of the heavy burden which rests upon the people of India. I do not, therefore, think the hon. Member need be under any apprehension that this proposal will be in the nature of a mere subsidy.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I must apologise to the noble Lord for having, by the Question that I put to him a short time ago, called upon him to address the House at an earlier period than he had intended. At the same time, I am convinced that the Committee will agree with me that it was absolutely impossible for us to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the proposals submitted by the Government without being made aware of the views of the Government of India. I am sure that many things which have been said by the noble Lord in the course of his address have greatly facilitated the settlement of this question, and have cleared up certain points which it was very desirable should be cleared up. I refer especially to the closing observations with regard to a subject upon which I felt considerable anxiety. It appeared to me that, according to the proposal made by the Prime Minister, India would be in the receipt for the next three years of an actual payment of £1,000,000 a-year.

Mr. GLADSTONE: £500,000 at the close of this financial year, and another £500,000 for the next.

Sir STAFFORD NOTHCOTE: I am afraid I do not clearly understand. I understand that a total sum of £5,000,000 is to be, in one shape or another, paid by this country to India; £2,000,000 of that in the form of a remission of a debt which India owes to this country—and that will involve the remission of between £250,000 and £300,000 a-year to India—and then there is to be a payment of £3,000,000, which is to be spread over, how many years?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Six financial years.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Therefore, the receipts of India from this country, directly or indirectly, will be somewhat less than £1,000,000 a-year. Directly, £500,000; and indirectly, between £200,000 and £300,000—£700,000 or £800,000 a-year—will have to be paid. It is important that we should understand that. Then the noble Lord said it might be extremely prejudicial to the financial administration of India that for three or six years the Indian Treasury should be in receipt of this payment, and then the payment should terminate. I understand now, and we all understand from the noble Lord, that that will be applied to the reduction of permanent Debt. That being so, I have also entirely to accept what the noble Lord has said with regard to the statements which I have made on behalf of the late Government as to the spirit in which we should be prepared at what we thought the proper time to approach the question of any contribution to India in respect of the late war. We had in no way committed ourselves upon that matter; but we had reserved it as a matter of most serious consequence, involving questions of the greatest anxiety and delicacy between the two counties, for full consideration when the proper time should arrive. We were convinced—I express that for myself—that nothing could be more injurious than that we should, while hostile operations were carried on at the direction of and under the control of the Indian Government, express our intention of bearing any share of the cost, because that, as we know by bitter experience, would have produced great relaxation in economy. Therefore I quite admit, so far as that goes, that the course taken by the Government in waiting for the conclusion of military operations, and then coming and proposing that a certain sum should be paid for the reduction of the permanent Debt, if that is to be done at all, is the proper course to be pursued; but, subject to these admissions, I wish to draw the very serious attention of the Committee to the position in which we stand, and in which we are going to place ourselves, towards the Government of India, and which I think the Committee ought to consider more seriously than it has yet done before it finally commits itself to the whole policy of the Government. I am very glad to hear that we shall have further opportunities for considering that policy as a whole; and I think it would be desirable that when those opportunities are given us, we should further pursue certain comments which, perhaps, now it is better we should only generally touch upon. But I warn the House that it will not be safe for us to go lightly into a matter of this sort because India is poor, or because hon. Gentlemen object to the conduct or initiation of this particular war, or for any reason of that kind, and to commit ourselves to a policy which, whatever the noble Lord may say, does most materially affect, if it does not revolutionize, the relations between the two countries. I asked the noble Lord to tell us whether the opinion of the Government of India had been taken upon this matter, and what that opinion was; and, if I rightly understood him, the opinion of the Indian Government had not been taken on the matter. If it has been taken, it has not been communicated to us. That is a most serious matter. Are we really going in cases of this kind to ignore the Indian Government, and to take the whole responsibility of matters upon the Imperial Government, acting under the direct influence and direct authority of Parliament? Because, if we are—it may be a good thing or it may not—it is a most entire and complete revolution in the relations between the two countries. The noble Lord thinks he settles the question by saying that the late Government ought to have consulted the Government of India before they began the war; but that is not an answer to the question at all. You have established deliberately, and after a good deal of consideration, certain relations between the Government at home and the Government of India—I am not going for one moment to say that the relations you have established are right relations; I am not going for a moment to say that they do not or may not require re-consideration and, perhaps, entire alteration—but so long as those relations are maintained, or supposed to be maintained, it is a very serious thing indeed to depart from them. The relations between the two countries do vary very much indeed in respect of questions of policy, and especially upon policy bearing upon peace and war, and in respect of financial policy. I apprehend, in respect of the policy which led to the unfortunate war in Afghanistan, that the policy was conducted entirely in accordance with the terms, and even with the spirit, of the law which regulated the relations between the two Governments. ["No, no!"] I hear an hon. Member say "No!" I should like to be informed in what respect it was not so. Questions bearing upon a policy of peace and war, under the present Constitution, are questions which have always been reserved, and properly reserved, I think, for what is called the Secret Department; and there is no question whatever that the opinion of the Government of India was taken and was acted upon in that Department in the manner contemplated by the law in respect to those operations which immediately led to the unfortunate events in Afghanistan. I do not ask hon. Gentlemen to say whether the policy pursued was right or not. I am quite prepared to hear—and I wish we could have it once for all—that everything that was wrong was due to the late Government, and everything that is right is due to the present Government. It would simplify matters if the Committee got to that point; and, undoubtedly, it would be convenient if you could shut out, not only what happened since the late Government took Office, but also a great deal of what happened before they did. And though it is convenient to say that these matters originated in what took place in 1878, if we were to go into the whole origin, we might put a different complexion on the question. But I do earnestly entreat hon. Members, not for the sake of avoiding chaff, or anything in the nature of recrimination with reference to the great importance of the question now at issue, to try for a moment or two to lay that matter aside. When we ultimately come to a decision—when we have determined to raise this money—then we can consider whether we will raise it by tax upon the readers of *The Daily Telegraph*, or in any other form. So far as the initiation of the proceedings took place, it took place not only with the thorough knowledge of the Government of India, but even to a very great extent on the representations of the Government of India, as to the position of affairs which in their opinion rendered it absolutely necessary for us in the interest of India herself, and in the interest of the Empire, to take a certain course which ultimately led to war. But with regard to the question of financial assistance to the Government of India, there, I think, you have very carefully to consider whether the Government of India approve of that course, and if they do approve of it, within what limit do they approve of it? Do they approve of it in case of war? If they do, a line must be drawn somewhere. An hon. Member said just now—"I draw it at Russophobia in England, and vain Viceroys in India." You cannot draw lines in that way. Is a line to be drawn arbitrarily or upon some principle, and if upon some principle, what is that principle? Because nothing can be more dangerous than to leave India to suppose that she is to receive aid from England under any circumstances. You altogether weaken the responsibility, which you ought to strengthen, on the part of those who are entrusted with the expenditure of the money. The noble Lord agreed just now that in the case of war it is important that their responsibility should not be weakened by the belief that England would come to their aid. Such is the case with regard to every class of expenditure, and nothing could be more mischievous than that the India Government should be allowed to carry on their financial operations with an understanding of an undefined character that in the event of their getting into difficulties they were to come and ask for aid from England. Are the Government of India really consulted at all, or are they entirely set aside? There is much in the language of the present Secretary of State for India that leads us to suspect that the Government of India are put aside altogether, and we might just as well be without them. I was reading the other day the old story of the burning of the Library of Alexandria by the Caliph Omar, and the ground upon which he put that action was this:—If what these books contained was in accordance with the Koran, then they were unnecessary; and if not, then they were mischievous. It seems to me to be the same view that the noble Lord takes of the Government of India. If the views of the Government of India are in accordance with the views of the Government at home, then the Government of India are superfluous; and if they are not, then the Government of India are mischievous. Therefore, it seems to me, you might just as well get rid of the Governor General and the Council of India, and govern the great Empire of India from Downing Street. It is perfectly possible to detach one or two Members of the Council of the Secretary of State—Sir Erskine Perry, or Sir Henry Norman, or anybody you please—to sit at Calcutta or Simla, and receive by telegraph directions from this country, and those directions would, no doubt, be given under a sense of direct responsibility to Parliament. It may be—and it is worthy of consideration—that that would be the best way of governing India. But do you think so? If you do, let us consider that question most seriously, for it is a question which would affect to its very roots the whole of the relations between this country and the great Indian Dependency. And, for Heaven's sake, do not let us, for mere minor objects, simply to gratify, perhaps, a sentiment—I will not say whether it is a generous, or just, or reasonable sentiment—jeopardize and change the whole relations between the two countries. I am bound to say that the spirit and tone in which the Prime Minister made his proposal were such as it was not in our power, even if we had desired, to object to; and I am prepared to say that in cases of this kind I shall not be desirous of looking too minutely into a question involving an appeal to English generosity, or to the general sense and spirit of the English people. But do not let us proceed on those principles to a radical alteration of the relations between the two countries. Now, when the noble Lord says that what they now propose is different from and better than the loan which was proposed by us a year or two ago, he must bear in mind that there are circumstances of which he has not taken notice. In the first place, that proposal did not originate with us, but came as a request from the Government of India. The Government of India have always been very chary indeed in regard to such matters. They have felt very strongly upon the question of advances; and when on some former occasions I, on the part of the British Government, intimated a willingness to look into the question of advances to India, I was always met by the answer that the Indian Government did not wish to, and indeed would prefer not to, raise the question. But upon this question, because of the extraordinarily low rate of exchange—1*s.* 6½*d.* per rupee—and the pressure of the war, they did ask us to aid them by a loan which, although it was of great assistance to them, did not at all injure their credit; on the contrary, put them on their mettle to repay, as they ought to repay, what was advanced. And they would have repaid without any doubt; and we were rather strengthening them by admitting them as, in our opinion, good debtors. Now, however, you are doing a different thing. You are proposing, on the ground that they cannot pay their way—[Mr. GLADSTONE intimated dissent.] No; the Prime Minister said it was not because the Indian Government could not pay their own way—and I think that by his observation he strengthens their position. Then, with regard to the views we have always expressed, I have more than once endeavoured to state in this House the view we have taken with regard to the proper distribution of the expenses of wars, as between the British Government and the Government of India. The general principle I have more than once tried to lay down is that India ought to be self-supporting, and that if she is self-supporting then she ought to be self-dependent, and if a war takes place within the Indian system, India ought to bear the expenses of that war. If, on the other hand, a war takes place into which India is drawn—out of what may be called the Indian system—for the defence of Imperial interests; or if a war, begun for purely Indian purposes, is enlarged in its scope by the introduction of some great Power outside what may be fairly called the purview of India's friends and foes, then it would be a matter of duty for the Empire to come forward and take its proper share of the expense. I have always maintained, and am prepared still to maintain, if necessary, that the events which led to the unfortunate war in Afghanistan properly came within the Indian system. There is a difference of opinion upon that subject; but I freely admit that the cost of that war was very large, and that there was a certain Imperial element which entered in the course of the proceedings into that matter, which may fairly be considered to furnish a case for exceptional action on the part of the British Government. I am not opposed to the particular proposals made with regard to a certain contribution to the finances of India up to the present system; but I do earnestly press the Government to be very cautious how they disturb the relations which ought to exist between the two countries. I hope we shall have this matter of the responsibility of the Indian Government much more clearly defined before we pass the Bill which I understand will be necessary for remitting the debt which India owes to us; and that we shall be in full possession of the views of the Indian Government, so that we may see whether all these considerations have been taken into account. So far as I am concerned, I desire it to be understood that, while assenting to this proposal of £500,000, I reserve my opinion of the scheme as a whole. I think the questions that are raised are much larger than we have yet been allowed to see, and I hope the House will be extremely careful before it takes steps which will be of the largest and most permanent consequence to our relations with India.

MR. FAWCETT: As I brought forward this question on no fewer than four occasions in the late Parliament, I hope I may be allowed to say a few words upon it. I think the Committee may well be congratulated on the tone of this afternoon's debate; for whether we listen to speeches from this side of the House, or from the other side of the House, I cannot help feeling that those speeches are, as a general rule, calculated to place the financial relations of India on a juster and more satisfactory basis. Not only on this side of the House, but on the other side of the House also, speeches have been made which, far from objecting to the proposals of the Government, have only produced one objection from this side—and that is, not that we throw too large a burden on the people of England, but that the English people might well make a greater contribution in discharge of a just obligation. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the speech he has just made, has again and again appealed to the importance of maintaining the financial independence of India. I think I can refer to speeches which I have made to this House under very different circumstances, when India, for instance, was in the direst hour of suffering and famine, to show that no one could place a higher value on the maintenance of the financial independence of India than I do; and if I thought that the proposal of the Prime Minister, however well-intentioned, would in the slightest degree weaken the financial independence of India, I should consider that it would fatally relax all the guarantees made for economy, and I should consider that it ought to be strongly and sternly opposed. But as I understand the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, they make this proposal not in the slightest degree to assist India as an act of generosity. If you begin acts of generosity, where are you to stop? But the proposal is the discharge of a legal and equitable and honourable obligation; and to show that it is a legal and equitable and honourable obligation, it would be necessary for me to do little else than to refer to the speech we have just listened to from the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. He distinctly laid it down as a principle, that if the war was purely an Indian war, India ought to bear the entire expense of it. But then he went on to say that if there was something Imperial about the war, if it was not solely a war undertaken for the defence of India and for her safety, we might come to England for a contribution. Now, I think I can show that this proposition can not only be maintained as a question of equity, but that it is in accordance with the law laid down in 1858; and that law we are bound to observe. The whole of this question turns upon the character of the war; and can anyone, for a moment, pretend to say, with the speeches we remember, and the declarations that were made, that this was purely an Indian war? I do not wish to lay undue stress upon a single word of the late Prime Minister delivered at a critical and momentous time, when he was anxious to obtain the approval of this country; but what he said in his place in Parliament was this—"I ask you to sanction this war"—remember, not to maintain and preserve India from danger; those were not his words, but his words were—"I ask you to sanction this war to maintain and uphold the influence and character of England in Europe." Therefore, it seems to me that it is conclusively shown that this war falls within the category of wars which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer has said is one the expenses of which ought to be jointly shared by England and India. Let me now quote a sentence from a speech by the late Viceroy. The late Viceroy stated that he was sent out to India, after having repeated conversations with the Marquess of Salisbury, with instructions to treat the Indian Frontier question—not from the Indian point of view, not from the point of view of the Frontier which would be best for India—but, he said—

> "I went to India instructed to treat the Indian Frontier question as one indissolubly connected with the general foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government, and mainly to be determined as an Imperial question."

If, after the admission of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and after these authoritative declarations, I were to occupy the time of the Committee for one moment longer to prove what was the character of that war, I should be wasting the time of the Committee. But the late Chancellor of the Exchequer has apparently rested his objections on the single circumstance that the noble Lord did not consult the Government of India and the Council as to this question of paying their portion of the expenses of the war. Well, remembering to what extent the Council was not consulted two or three years ago; remembering, for instance, that many things were done without the opinion of the Council; remembering, too, that an old Act of Parliament was rummaged forth to outvote the Council on the question of the repeal of the import duty on cotton goods, I think it augurs well for the future of India that we have discovered this new-born zeal to consult the Council of India; and I rejoice that the right hon. Gentleman has laid it down that it is most important that the Council of India should be consulted. But I cannot help feeling that the House of Commons, by the Act of 1858, is the body which ought to be consulted, and that the Secretary of State might be led into an awkward position if he personally consulted the Council of India as to whether they would like to receive a certain sum of money, and after having obtained their consent, he found that he had not the power of giving that which he had asked them to receive. Now, I think I can show that what has been done by the Government is exactly what is prescribed by the Act of 1858 with regard to this question of the proportion of the expenses of a war, as between India and England. Most of the precedents which have been referred to by the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) and the hon. Member for Kincardine (General Sir George Balfour), took place before the Act of 1858 was passed; but our conduct in this matter of apportioning the expenses is in accordance with the 55th section of the Act of 1858, to which, I believe, no reference has been made. That section of the Act was introduced in the House of Lords by the late Earl of Derby, and it was accepted by this House without one single word of objection to it. Now, I will quote the late Earl of Derby's words in introducing this section. He said the object of that section was to secure that the Indian troops should not be used for military purposes beyond the Indian Frontiers; and that if that was done, not only would it be disastrous to the finances of India, but the Constitutional consequences might be most serious; for if the English Government wished to carry on war, they could escape from the control of Parliament by employing Indian troops. Therefore, in order to prevent that, he introduced this section, and, in doing so, he used these memorable words—

> "The effect of the clause would be that Indian troops, except for the purpose of preventing anticipated invasion, or of repelling actual invasion, should not quit their own territory; or if they did, the expense should be defrayed out of the revenues of this country, and not out of the revenues of India."

And then he went on to say—

> "If the troops were employed out of India, it would be for Parliament to decide whether they were employed upon Indian or Imperial objects. The clause did not prevent the Crown from making use of the Indian troops, subject only to this—that as a general rule the expense of those

> troops must be defrayed by Parliament; and the same constitutional check, therefore, was imposed on the Crown with regard to troops serving in India which was imposed with respect to troops serving in every other part of the globe.—[3 *Hansard*, cli, 1697.]

This is what was the intention of the section of that Act; and this, I understand, is exactly the course which has been pursued by the Secretary of State for India and by the Government; and the House of Commons is asked by this Vote, which the Prime Minister has brought forward, to determine the character of the late war. The First Lord of the Treasury, I believe, would be the last to propose that any assistance whatever should be given to India if the war was an Indian war. He has said that it was in part an English war; and, therefore, he proposes that England should bear part of the expense. Now, there is only one part of the speech of the late Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stanhope) to which I should wish to refer. He said that there was great danger of India being able to carry on a war, and then to throw the expense on England. If the Indian Government were to carry on a war which we considered unjust and unnecessary, and if the English people bore the cost of that war for a single moment, they, as a representative people, could dismiss the Indian Government; and if they did not do so, they would righteously deserve the burden thrown upon them. That is a danger which ought not to be classed for a moment with the incomparably greater danger of allowing an ambitious Government, anxious for a spirited foreign policy, which has not the courage to ask the people to pay for it, to throw the cost of that spirited foreign policy, not upon the English people, but upon the impoverished and unrepresented people of India. That is, to my mind, a danger which infinitely outweighs the danger referred to by the late Under Secretary of State for India; and it is because I believe that the proposal now brought forward would do something to prevent this danger arising in future, that I think it ought to be supported alike in the interests of England and in the interests of the Indian people.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £3,560,250, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, viz.:—

CIVIL SERVICES.

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

Great Britain:—

	£
Royal Palaces	7,000
Marlborough House	600
Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens	20,000
Houses of Parliament	6,000
Public Buildings	26,000
Furniture of Public Offices	2,500
Revenue Department Buildings	35,000
County Court Buildings	8,000
Metropolitan Police Courts	2,500
Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland	2,000
New Courts of Justice, &c.	30,000
Surveys of the United Kingdom	40,000
Science and Art Department Buildings	4,000
British Museum Buildings	1,000
Natural History Museum	8,000
Edinburgh University Buildings	- -
Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade	2,500
Rates on Government Property (Great Britain and Ireland)	45,000
Metropolitan Fire Brigade	2,500

Ireland:—

Public Buildings	30,000
Science and Art Museum, Dublin	- -
Shannon Navigation	3,500

Abroad:—

Lighthouses Abroad	2,000
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings	5,000

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

England:—	£
House of Lords, Offices	6,000
House of Commons, Offices	6,000
Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel	12,000
Home Office and Subordinate Departments	15,000
Foreign Office	12,000
Colonial Office	7,000
Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments	4,000
Privy Seal Office	500
Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments	30,000
Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department	5,000
Civil Service Commission	6,000
Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission	2,500
Inclosure and Drainage Acts Expenses	1,500
Exchequer and Audit Department	9,000
Friendly Societies, Registry	1,200
Local Government Board	35,000
Lunacy Commission	2,500
Mint (including Coinage)	20,000
National Debt Office	3,000
Patent Office	4,500
Paymaster General's Office	4,500

Public Works Loan Commission	£1,500
Record Office	4,000
Registrar General's Office (including Census)	100,000
Stationery and Printing	85,000
Woods, Forests, &c., Office of	4,000
Works and Public Buildings, Office of	8,000
Secret Service	6,000

Scotland:—	
Exchequer and other Offices	500
Fishery Board	2,000
Lunacy Commission	1,000
Registrar General's Office (including Census)	20,000
Board of Supervision	2,000

Ireland:—	
Lord Lieutenant's Household	1,000
Chief Secretary's Office	6,000
Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	250
Local Government Board	10,000
Public Works Office	6,000
Record Office	1,000
Registrar General's Office (including Census)	20,000
Valuation and Boundary Survey	4,000

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

England:—	£
Law Charges	15,000
Public Prosecutor's Office	600
Criminal Prosecutions	35,000
Chancery Division, High Court of Justice	25,000
Central Office of the Supreme Court, &c.	20,000
Probate, &c. Registries, High Court of Justice	16,000
Admiralty Registry, High Court of Justice	2,000
Wreck Commission	2,500
Bankruptcy Court (London)	7,000
County Courts	20,000
Land Registry	1,000
Revising Barristers, England	- -
Police Courts (London and Sheerness)	2,000
Metropolitan Police	100,000
County and Borough Police, Great Britain	1,000
Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies	100,000
Prisons, England	70,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	70,000
Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	4,000

Scotland:—	
Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings	10,000
Courts of Law and Justice	15,000
Register House Departments	10,000
Prisons, Scotland	20,000

Ireland:—	
Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	15,000
Supreme Court of Judicature	15,000
Court of Bankruptcy	1,500
Admiralty Court Registry	200
Registry of Deeds	£3,000
Registry of Judgments	500
County Court Officers, &c.	10,000
Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts)	20,000
Constabulary	220,000
Prisons, Ireland	30,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools	25,000
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	1,500

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

England:—	£
Public Education	500,000
Science and Art Department	50,000
British Museum	25,000
National Gallery	1,000
National Portrait Gallery	600
Learned Societies, &c.	4,000
London University	2,000
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report)	1,000
Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions	2,000

Scotland:—	
Public Education	110,000
Universities, &c.	3,000
National Gallery	- -

Ireland:—	
Public Education	150,000
Teachers' Pension Office	500
Endowed Schools Commissioners	200
National Gallery	300
Queen's University	800
Royal University	500
Queen's Colleges	2,000
Royal Irish Academy	500

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

	£
Diplomatic Services	40,000
Consular Services	50,000
Suppression of the Slave Trade	1,500
Tonnage Bounties, &c.	1,500
Suez Canal (British Directors)	400
Colonies, Grants in Aid	5,000
Orange River Territory and St. Helena	600
Subsidies to Telegraph Companies	9,000

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

	£
Superannuation and Retired Allowances	120,000
Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.	1,000
Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad	8,000
Pauper Lunatics, England	- -
Pauper Lunatics, Scotland	- -
Pauper Lunatics, Ireland	65,000
Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland	4,500
Friendly Societies Deficiency	- -
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain	800
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland	500

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

	£
Temporary Commissions	7,500
Miscellaneous Expenses	1,200
Total for Civil Services	£2,810,250

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

	£
Customs	60,000
Inland Revenue	120,000
Post Office	270,000
Post Office Packet Service	100,000
Post Office Telegraphs	200,000
Total for Revenue Departments	£750,000
Grand Total ..	£3,560,250

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is this the reduced amount?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes; for two months.

MR. GORST wished again to ask, why the Government had not put down further Business in Supply, under circumstances which they had stated were urgent? He pointed out that by reason of that urgency, private Members were deprived of opportunities of bringing on their Business, and yet for the third time sufficient Business in Supply had not been placed on the Paper to occupy the whole Sitting.

MR. J. COWEN inquired what Business would be taken on Friday?

MR. GLADSTONE said, they proposed to take the Army Vote to-morrow, and on Friday to bring forward the Navy Estimates. As to the charge that more Votes were not put down, all he had to say was there was nothing the House would more justly resent than putting down from day to day a large number of Votes in Supply without reference to the very remote possibility that a fragment of time might be available for their consideration. How did the matter stand at that moment? There were three great subjects remaining. The one was the Army Statement and Vote, and the other the Navy Statement and Vote, and the third the Transvaal. He asked the House, would it have been judicious to have put down any of these on the chance that they might be reached? It was usually the case that more Business was put down than was gone through.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE pointed out to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that if the Government had adhered to their intention of asking for a Vote on Account for three months, the Sitting would not have been too long for the discussion of the Votes. The change they had made had given an extra hour or two, which the House, he thought, should not be sorry to get.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN BILL.

(*Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Thomasson.*)

[BILL 59.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hopwood.*)

MR. WARTON, in rising to oppose the Bill, observed that it was a Bill the object of which was to make the position of wives still better in regard to their husbands by compelling the latter, when a separation had taken place, to contribute to the support of the children who might be under the wife's control. He could not understand the motive of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) in bringing forward such a Bill. He could only suppose him the hero of a little knot of strong-minded women who were moving heaven and earth to change the relations of married people. The Bill appeared to him to be a meddling and muddling interference with all the domestic concerns of life; and everyone who knew what were the responsibilities of a married man must oppose it.

MR. LITTON said, he was so much impressed with the advantages of the Bill, that if it succeeded in passing the second reading it was his intention to move in Committee that the benefit of its provisions should be extended to Ireland. There was no provision by which a husband who chose to neglect his wife and children could be forced to contribute to their support, unless the wife broke up her home, and, with herself and children, became chargeable upon the Poor Rates. In such case, an order was made on the husband to pay at the instance of the Guardians; but, as the law stood, the wife could not herself obtain relief. This was a state of things he thought required a remedy.

Mr. GREGORY thought that, in considering the Bill, the House ought to take into account the Bill already in progress, which would make a wife's property absolutely independent of her husband. They were now asked to go further, and give the wife power to apply to Court as against her husband to maintain her children in any circumstances. He thought the House ought not to go further in the direction of disturbing domestic relations, and no necessity had been shown for such a measure.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, the Bill proposed to give deserving women who were neglected by their husbands the power of compelling their husbands to maintain and educate their children. At present, there was no remedy for the wife but to break up the home and go into the workhouse; and then, and not till then, the Guardians, and the Guardians only, could proceed against the husband to make him do his duty. There was, under the existing law, a better remedy for the mother of illegitimate offspring than there was for the most deserving and industrious of wives. By this Bill nothing was asked for the wife herself. Further, it was assumed that she must work to maintain herself. He wished to point out, moreover, that a father must be proved to have the means of maintaining and educating his children, and to have refused to do so, before a magistrate could make any order under the Bill.

Mr. LEWIS remarked that a wife had, at present, the right to pledge the credit of her husband for necessaries for herself and children. The Bill placed a dangerous power in the hands of a spiteful wife. It was one of a series of measures introduced into that House for the purpose of separating those whom God had joined together. He would like to know where this sort of legislation was to end. It meant that they were to create a distinction between the husband and wife in every part of their social, and he had almost said their religious, obligations. Feeling that some limit must be set to legislation of that kind, he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. COURTNEY said, the general principle that the law should not interfere with the marriage contract had been departed from again and again where necessary, and it was well that it should be so, otherwise a husband might commit any criminal act he chose towards his wife without fear of punishment. There was a time when that was so; but it was so no longer. The Divine will, according to the hon. and learned Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis), affirmed in this case that a husband should not be asked to contribute towards the maintenance of the children whom he had begotten. The hon. and learned Gentleman asked where they were to stop. He (Mr. Courtney) would say where common sense dictated. It was simply a matter of common sense to say that a Court of Summary Jurisdiction should have the power to make such an order as was provided for by this Bill. It was said that the Bill would give a dangerous power to married women. Every remedy provided by the law might be made a pretext for an unfounded charge, but that fact furnished no argument against establishing a legal remedy which justice demanded. The Government had no hesitatiou in approving the principle of the Bill.

Mr. GIBSON said, that, looking at the Bill in the light of common sense, he was not disposed, off-hand, to say, like the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Litton), that he desired to see it applied to Ireland. He was satisfied to have a doubtful experiment of this kind tried in England; and if it was found not to confuse all the social relations of the country, then possibly, in an amended form, it might be applied to Ireland. He did not think that the Lord Advocate would be very much annoyed at seeing Scotland excluded from the provisions of the Bill. From the enthusiasm with which the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Courtney) spoke in favour of the Bill, he should judge that the hon. Gentleman was not a married man. Having some acquaintance with the ordinary relations of married life, he (Mr. Gibson) regarded it as rather a startling proposal that a wife living in the same house as her husband could obtain an order against him for the maintenance of the children of the marriage. That was not only the construction of the Bill, but was its deliberate intention. Suppose that a husband, in the opinion of his wife and a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, was not of the same intellectual capacity as the wife, although he might be capable of earning money for the support of his family, an order might be obtained against him, under this Bill, compelling him to contribute to the maintenance of his children in any way his wife pleased to bring them up. Then, in the case of couples living apart, the machinery of the law was to be put in motion in the district where the wife happened to be, and the husband, who might be living at the other end of the Kingdom, was to receive no notice of the proceedings. [*Cries of* "No!"] At all events, if he did not receive notice, he would be required to attend the Court in the locality of which the wife was a resident. He was aware that they lived in a time when some people contended that the wife should have all the husband's rights, and the husband no rights at all; but he thought that what was sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander, and if a wife, having means of her own, left her husband and children, she should be compelled to contribute towards the support of her children. If that were common sense, why was it not in the Bill? In mercy to unfortunate English husbands and wives, he hoped that if the Bill were read a second, time it would only be on the clear understanding that it would be substantially changed in Committee.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS admitted the right of a deserted wife to obtain an order against her husband for the adequate support of their children; but he could not conceive that the House would sanction the application of the Bill to the case of husbands and wives who were living together. He could only assent to the second reading of the Bill, on the assurance of its promoter that no interference of that kind with conjugal relations was intended.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was a well-known principle of law that children should be supported by their father, and what the Bill aimed at was to carry out that principle without the unfortunate children having first to undergo the humiliation of receiving parish relief. He hoped the House would agree to the second reading of the Bill, on the understanding that the case of husbands and wives living together would be excluded from its operation. Of course, if a husband did not maintain his children, the wife could apply for a separation, and so obtain the benefit of this Bill.

MR. HOPWOOD remarked, that it was, of course, in the power of the House to amend the Bill as it pleased in Committee. He hoped, however, to be able to show at that stage very good reasons why the Bill should remain as it was.

MR. GIBSON wished to have from the hon. and learned Member for Stockport a distinct answer whether or not he would consent to the limitation of the Bill as suggested by the Attorney General?

MR. BRODRICK said, that unless the hon. and learned Gentleman could give them some assurance on the subject, he should move that the debate be now adjourned.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he could only answer, as he had answered before, that that was in the power of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 71; Noes 141: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 162.)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. HICKS said, that as the hon. and learned Member's answer to the appeal made to him was so unsatisfactory, he should state to the House the reasons why, in his opinion, this Bill ought not to be read a second time. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) had drawn a very distressing picture of the state of women who, living apart from their husbands, applied for parish relief. He spoke of their furniture and all they possessed being sold before relief was given. No doubt, that might be the case if the law was strictly carried out; but in 40 years' experience as a Justice of the Peace and Guardian, he (Mr. Hicks) never knew of such a case, nor did he believe that such a case had ever occurred, unless where the Guardians had reason to believe there was deception. The state of facts on which the hon. and learned Member rested his case was entirely imaginary. He now came to the Bill itself——

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WAUGH, Bill to amend the Copyhold Acts and to promote the gradual Enfranchisement of Lands of Copyhold and Customary Tenure, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WAUGH, Mr. GEORGE HOWARD, Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, Mr. AINSWORTH, and Mr. FERGUSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 117.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 17*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) * (51).

Committee — *Report* — Peace Preservation (Ireland) * (46).

Third Reading—Alkali, &c. Works Regulation * (49); Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention (44), and *passed.*

THE COMMITTEE ROOMS OF THIS HOUSE—THE JUDGES.

OBSERVATION.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) wished to call the attention of their Lordships to the fact that a second of the Committee Rooms of the House had recently been occupied by the Judges for the administration of the law. This had been done without the permission of the House, and he thought it desirable that their Lordships should receive some information on the matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he did not exactly know on what principle his noble Friend would act in a case of this kind; but he did know it was a matter of very great convenience to the public that the room in question, while not required for the Business of the House, should be used for the purpose of the administration of justice. He was himself so far, and so far only, responsible for what was done in this instance, that he had requested, in what he had understood to be the proper quarter and the proper manner, that this accommodation should be afforded at the present time, if any room not now required for the use of the House could be made available for the purpose. It had given him pleasure to find that what he asked had been done; and he had, till this moment, imagined that he might have been partly indebted for this favour to the good offices of his noble Friend. He regretted now to find that this was not the case, and that his noble Friend thought that there had been some irregularity in the matter. If it was so, he was unable to explain how it had happened; but, whoever might be held responsible, he was quite sure that it had been done without any wish whatever to encroach on the rights and privileges of their Lordships' House. For some time the use of a Committee Room had been given to the Court of Appeal, and, from the manner in which that concession had been permitted by the House, he had concluded that there was no reason for thinking that their Lordships would be unwilling to place another room at the service of the public for the administration of justice, so long as it was not required for the Business of their Lordships' House.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that on the ground floor of their Lordships' House there were only three Committee Rooms, so that if three Committees were appointed they would not have rooms to meet in. The room recently appropriated to the administration of justice had been given to the Judges without any previous consultation with the House.

STANDING ORDER, No. IV.—THE JUDICIAL BUSINESS OF THIS HOUSE.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR moved—

"That Standing Order, No. IV., applicable to Appeals, be amended by omitting all words from the word 'Respondent' in line 20, to the end of the Order, and inserting in lieu thereof the following words, viz.: 'Ordered, that in the event of the Clerk of the Parliaments requiring a justification of the sureties or substitute, the Appellant's Agent shall, within one week from the date of an official notice to him to that effect, lodge in the Parliament Office an affidavit or affidavits by the proposed sureties or substitute setting forth specifically the nature of the property in consideration of which they claim to be accepted as sureties in respect of the bond or as substitute in respect of the recognizance, and also declaring that the property in question is unincumbered: Ordered, that in the event of such sureties not being deemed satisfactory by the Clerk of the Parliaments, the Appellant or Appellants shall, within four weeks from the date of an official notice by the Clerk of the Parliaments to that effect, pay into the account of the Fee Fund of the House of Lords the sum of two hundred pounds, to be subject to the Order of the House with regard to the Costs of the Appeal; and, in the event of such substitute not being deemed satisfactory by the Clerk of the Parliaments, the Appellant or Appellants shall enter into the usual recognizance in person: Ordered, that the said bond and the recognizance (whether entered into by the Appellants or by a substitute) be returned to the Parliament Office duly executed within one week from the date of the issue thereof to the Solicitor or Agent of the Appellant or Appellants. On default by the Appellant or Appellants in complying with the above conditions, the Appeal to stand dismissed.' "

Motion *agreed to.*

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION BILL.—(No. 44.)

(*The Lord President.*)

Bill read 3ª (according to Order).

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN moved as an Amendment the omission of Clause 50, which, he said, violated the principle of the Bill. That principle was to include all lands in a greater or less degree, and to make all lands liable in a greater or less degree for the expense of carrying out the objects of the Bill. But this clause defeated that principle by exempting the lands of Government Departments. Boards of Conservancy could not interfere with those lands without the consent of the Departments, so that the latter would be enabled to defeat the objects of the Bill altogether, or to make agreements behind the scene.

The Duke of SOMERSET, in opposing the Amendment, observed that these Departments had no special private interest in the matter, and there was no good reason why the usual clause should not be inserted in this Bill.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that the clause would enable the Government Departments to withdraw the matter from the control of Parliament. He thought that was going too far. If the Conservancy Boards were permitted to make a Provisional Order in their case as well as in that of private owners, the Provisional Order would be laid before Parliament, and the Departments would be able to urge their objections in each particular case. Of course, the Departments acted in the public interest; but there was such a thing as a difference of opinion among engineers.

Earl SPENCER said, he could not agree to the Amendment to omit the clause, which, it was well to point out, had nothing whatever to do with rating. No doubt, there was force in what the noble Marquess had said; but the clause could not now be left out. Its omission would lead to inconvenience—it having been made imperative on the various Departments interested to come to an agreement with the authority under the Bill. If the clause were struck out, they would find one Department appearing, on an inquiry, in opposition to another; and the Admiralty would no longer have power over the outfall of rivers. A great responsibility was thrown on the Government Departments in matters such as would arise under the Bill. As had been pointed out by his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack on a previous evening, these matters might involve questions of national importance, such as defence, navigation, the lighting of coasts, &c.

The LORD CHANCELLOR observed, that if this clause were struck out of the Bill, there would not be in it any other clause mentioning any description of Crown property; and that, consequently, on the general principle of interpretation, estates or lands directly vested in the Crown — all which were comprehended in this clause as it now stood—would become entirely exempt from the scope of the Bill, and could not be brought within it, even by the consent of any of the Public Departments entrusted with their management.

The Earl of MALMESBURY observed, that the Crown ought in justice to contribute its share towards the drainage of the 50,000 or 60,000 acres which constituted the New Forest. That forest lay for 10 miles on the left side of the River Eden, which at its conflux with Christ Church River had formed a bar, which extended along the coast for a distance of two miles, causing a block in the current, and sending the water back upon the land. The riparian proprietors could not remove that obstruction without the assistance of the Admiralty.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN insisted that the representatives of the property of the Crown should be put on the same footing as the ordinary landowners.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE EARL OF SANDWICH expressed the hope that the Lord President would do all he could to expedite the passage of the Bill in "another place." If any question was urgent this was one was. Landowners had done all they could, but were powerless in the matter.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

TURKEY AND GREECE — THE FRONTIER QUESTION.

ADDRESS FOR PAPERS.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL, in rising to call attention to Correspondence on the Greek Frontier and to move an Address to the Crown for Copies of the remaining Despatches from the French Government on the differences between Greece and the Ottoman Empire, said: My Lords, the Notice I have given arises partly from some discussions which occurred in August last, when many of the House were naturally absent. It is two-fold, as it proposes to call attention to Correspondence on the Greek Frontier we possess, and to move for several Despatches of the French Government which are withheld from us. As regards the first portion of the Notice, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs having intimated to me a great reluctance to discuss it while negotiations are proceeding, I shall not touch upon it. But, as regards the Despatches of the French Government, without detaining the House at length, their position may be stated. They have been collected from the French Official Book in the *Mémorial Diplomatique* of the 29th of January. Three of them have been presented to the Legislature, while 13 are absent. [The noble Lord gave the dates of those which had appeared, and those which he thought the House ought to require the production of.] My Lords, the tendency of these Despatches as a whole is to give the true interpretation of the Conference at Berlin. They are an elaborate reply to current fallacies by which the peace of Europe is endangered. They point out, with a lucidity which ought to be acknowledged, and greater eloquence than seems to be required in compositions of the kind, or than is generally found in them, that the Conference was only framed for mediating purposes; that mediation and arbitration are not to be confounded with each other; that mediation implies free choice in the two States which differ as to whether they will act upon the counsel of the mediator. In exact proportion as the European body is familiarized with the arguments of M. St. Hilaire, war between Greece and the Porte is hindered and discouraged. The inconveniences of such a war will hardly be disputed by your Lordships. It must throw back Greece financially at least for a considerable period. It must occasion loss of treasure to the other and, perhaps, the more impoverished belligerent. It would be calculated to inflame the latent elements of discord between the Danube and the Bosphorus. It might re-establish in European Turkey the hostile occupation, which did not willingly or hastily abandon it. Now, there is not any technical objection to the complete production of these documents. The principle is granted. You may give all, if you give any. They cannot possibly impede negotiations. On the contrary, their influence in tranquillizing Greece must be augmented by the echo they receive and by the number of political societies through which they vibrate to its councils. Nor ought the course which I am taking to be embarrassing to the Government, since they may accede without debate, if they think proper, to the Motion. As far as I can judge, after devoting much attention to the whole of the French Despatches, there is nothing to place the three to which we are confined in a different and a safer category from those which I now move for.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies of the remaining despatches from the French Government on the differences between Greece and the Ottoman Empire."—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

EARL GRANVILLE thanked the noble Lord for having acceded to his suggestion as to the general question, and for the careful manner in which he had introduced his Motion. It would be impossible for him at this moment to enter into the policy of the Government, or into the subject on which the noble Lord had so very lightly touched. He would have been very happy to give the noble Lord what he asked for were it in his power to do so; but Her Majesty's Government had not received any additional despatches beyond those which had already been published. It was quite true that the French Government had sent two Circulars to their Repretatives here and elsewhere which were published in their Yellow Book; but Her Majesty's Government had not received those Circulars. The noble Lord would, however, find that the substance of them was included in two Despatches to be found in the Blue Book—one a despatch from Lord Lyons at Paris, and the other a despatch from Mr. Corbett at Athens.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock,
till to-morrow, a quarter
before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 17th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—ARMY ESTIMATES.

Resolutions [March 16] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*) — *Second Reading*— Exeter Tramways; Great Eastern Railway.

PUBLIC BILL — *Considered as amended* — Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) * [83].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

WEST HAM LOCAL BOARD BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. DODDS moved that the Amendments inserted in the Bill be agreed to.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he had given Notice of his intention to oppose the consideration of the Bill; but since he had put down his name an agreement had been come to between the promoters and the opponents. It was agreed that Clause 14 should be withdrawn, and that Amendments should be inserted in Clause 34. Under these circumstances, it was not his intention to press his opposition.

COLONEL MAKINS said, that his name was on the back of the Bill. The terms which had been arranged were satisfactory to his constituents, and therefore he did not object to them.

Clause *added;* Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. DODDS, in moving that this Bill be now read a second time, said, he understood that the clauses against which several hon. Members who had placed their names on the Paper and given Notice of opposition to on the second reading, were to be withdrawn from the Bill, and that the opposition would not, therefore, be pressed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, that was the case. On behalf of the Great Eastern Railway Company, he might state that the Company had undertaken to strike out all the clauses which had been objected to. He hoped, therefore, the Bill would be allowed to proceed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

VALUATION OF LAND (ENGLAND).

MR. RAMSAY asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, considering the general feeling in Scotland in favour of the Valuation Acts, under the provisions of which the value of all lands and hereditaments is annually ascertained with ease and accuracy in that Country, Her Majesty's Government would consider the expediency of introducing the same system into England, and appoint a Select Committee to inquire and report as to the means by which such a change in the Law of England might be best carried out, so as to secure a uniform valuation of all real estate throughout Great Britain?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, although I have no reason to doubt that, as the hon. Member states, the feeling in Scotland is in favour of the Valuation Acts in force in that country, I must remind him that in applying the system to England the feeling here has to be considered; and I am not aware of any desire whatever on the part of the ratepayers to have the system referred to applied to this country, where the local rates of all kinds have been always assessed upon rateable value as distinguished from the actual rental of the property. The effect of such a change would be to interfere most seriously with the whole incidence of rating; and I am not prepared to recommend the introduction of the Scotch system, or to institute any especial inquiry with that view. At the same time, I am sensible of the advantage of uniformity attending the Scotch system; and I am in hope that substantial uniformity may be secured in England in a manner adapted to the habits and circumstances of the country.

ASSESSMENT AND REDEMPTION OF TITHE — EXTRAORDINARY TITHE RENT CHARGES.

Mr. INDERWICK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire and report to the House as to the expediency of abolishing extraordinary tithe rent charges, and providing a scheme for their redemption upon equitable terms; also to inquire into the present mode of assessing ordinary tithe, and to report whether any and what improvements may be made in such assessment; and, also to inquire into and report upon the expediency of providing greater facilities for the redemption of ordinary tithes upon equitable terms?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, in answer to my hon. and learned Friend, I have to say that the Government are not unfavourable to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the subject of extraordinary tithe rent charges, and the assessment and redemption of ordinary tithe. Without pledging myself to the exact terms of the reference of the Committee, as suggested in the Question, I should like to consult my hon. and learned Friend before those terms are settled.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS — THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ACT, 1868, AND THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES ACTS, 1879 AND 1880—EVESHAM AND OXFORD ELECTIONS.

Mr. ONSLOW asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence given at Evesham, before the Election Judges, of the conduct of a certain Mr. Nuttall, member of a political association commonly called the Birmingham League, and who was brought from Birmingham for the purposes of the late election; also of the evidence given before the Oxford Election Commissioners by the Right Honourable Sir William Harcourt, reported in the daily newspapers, regarding the arrival in the borough of Oxford of a certain Mr. Schnadhorst (also a member of the Birmingham League) for election purposes; and, whether, should a Bill for the further prevention of bribery and corrupt practices at elections unfortunately not become Law this Session, he could devise some means to prevent the contaminating influence of members of the Birmingham League when introduced among constituencies during contested elections, nominally for the purpose of acting as agents?

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence given at Oxford, before the Election Judges, of the conduct of Colonel Talbot, member of a political association, commonly called the Carlton Club, and who sent down money belonging to that association to Oxford, for the purposes of the late election; and, whether, should a Bill for the further prevention of bribery and corrupt practices at elections unfortunately not become Law this Session, he could devise some means to prevent the contaminating influence of money from members of the aforesaid association being introduced among constituencies during contested elections?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I hope I may be excused for saying that it is somewhat to be regretted that Questions relating to electioneering matters should be asked in this House. I am asked whether my attention has been called to the evidence given at Evesham of a certain Mr. Nuttall. I have referred to the Report of the learned Judge, and I do not find that the Judge, either in the Report or in the Schedule, in any way refers to Mr. Nuttall as having been guilty of corrupt practices. My hon. Friend also asks me as to the case of Mr. Schnadhorst at Oxford. My information on this subject is derived entirely from the newspaper reports, which, of course, are open to the reading and criticism of any hon. Member; but, as the Question has been put to me, I must say that, judging from those reports, I find nothing in the conduct of Mr. Schnadhorst that in any way justifies the suggestion that he contaminated the constituency. Perhaps, however, my hon. Friend opposite has been led into some confusion in this matter by the fact, as far as my memory serves me, that a stranger did go to that constituency with a large sum of money received from a political organization which certainly tended to corrupt and contaminate the constituency. My memory is very indistinct on the subject; but I believe that the person referred to did not bear the name of Schnadhorst, while the organization which provided the money was to be found not in Birmingham, but in London. The hon. Members for Guildford and Northampton seem to concur in asking what I should do if the Corrupt Practices Bill was not passed into law this Session. I regret very much that I am unable to answer the Question, as that is a position I am unable to contemplate.

MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, with reference to his answer last Session on the question of a Minister of a State Department of Agriculture, and in view of the Vote passed on the subject by the House of Commons in 1879, any steps have yet been taken to arrange how those interests may be more directly represented in the Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I hope it will not be supposed that it is from any want of appreciation or exertion on our part that we have not made any progress on this subject. It would not be possible for us to do so without reference to the probability of getting Parliament to assent to the proposition. There is this difficulty attending all Votes of the kind. When a Vote of this kind is submitted to the House, the House votes upon it on the merits of the particular proposition in question, and not with reference to its comparative merits in regard to other questions. But, of course, it is the duty of the Government to take into consideration the comparative urgency of questions that are pressed upon their attention; and I am bound to say that we have not been able to give such attention to the subject, or to arrive at any such plan as would justify me in holding out any sanguine expectation with respect to it.

MUNICIPAL CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT —LIVERPOOL MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

MR. WILLIAMSON asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to decisions given by Mr. Commissioner Prentice during the present month with respect to the last municipal election in Liverpool, and to the wrong doing of the Constitutional Association and of certain leading citizens who, in a circular addressed to 700 Conservative electors possessing duplicate votes, incited them, in the words of the judge, "by a fraudulent device," to break the law by voting in more than one ward; and, whether, as it has been shown that by such means eight Conservative Aldermen were elected contrary to the voice of the ratepayers, adequate punishment can be made to follow, and a remedy for the wrong committed, can be found under the existing Law?

VISCOUNT SANDON begged also to ask Mr. Attorney General some Questions, of which he had given him Notice that day, as the Question just asked by the hon. Member for St. Andrew's was one which gravely reflected on the conduct of the Constitutional Association, and certain leading citizens of Liverpool. 1. Whether he is aware that the action of the Constitutional Association was taken under the advice of eminent counsel? 2. Whether he is aware that a circular was issued in 1879 by the then treasurer of the Liberal Nine Hundred of Liverpool stating that electors enrolled in more wards than one are entitled to vote at municipal elections in all the wards in which they are enrolled; and that another circular was issued in 1880, bearing the signature of the secretary of the Liverpool Liberal Association, giving his opinion to the same effect? 3. Whether it is not the fact that a considerable number of Town Councillors and leading members of the Liberal party in Liverpool, as well as many other well-known Liberal voters, did vote in more than one ward at the last municipal election; and whether, considering the assertions which have been made by the hon. Member for St. Andrew's as to the wrong committed in the recent election of eight aldermen, he would call for a nominal Return of all the duplicate voters at the last municipal election for Liverpool, and lay the same upon the Table of the House, so as to show whether the statement is correct? 4. Whether, considering that there are two Petitions still pending at Liverpool, when the question of duplicate voting which affects every city and borough in the country will again be raised he will consider himself justified in giving any opinion upon the important legal question at issue respecting which the action of both political parties in Liverpool has been practically identical in the recent municipal elections?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): My attention has been called to the decision of Mr. Commissioner Prentice, sitting under the Municipal Corrupt Practices Act. I have read the Report; but as there are still two more Petitions to be tried on which the same question has to be determined, I think that I ought not now to do more than say that I see no reason to express any opinion different from the decision of Mr. Prentice—that no elector having voted in one ward has any right to vote in a second. I am not aware that any counsel has given such an opinion as that referred to, and I should be very much surprised if such an opinion had been given, especially as the learned Commissioner, in giving judgment, said he could not find that counsel had given any opinion that persons who had several qualifications were entitled to vote in more than one ward. I think, therefore, there must be some misapprehension on that point. As to what has been said in regard to the issue of circulars, I have no knowledge of the fact stated; but I am aware that after the Constitutional Association had issued a circular asking persons to vote in more wards than one, a Member of the Liberal Party issued a similar circular, and that Liberal electors, stated by a local paper to have numbered 275, did so record their votes. Under these circumstances, I do not think it necessary to move for any Return of the duplicate voters, nor do I think it advisable that any legal proceedings should be taken in the matter. Publicity will, probably, prevent such occurrences in the future; and I would certainly suggest to all concerned never to do the like again.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE BALLINAKILL RELIEF EXPEDITION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to a statement in this day's "Times," from which it appears that an expedition has been sent out by the Orange Emergency Committee to Ballinakill, county Galway, each man armed with a rifle and a revolver, for which special licences were obtained from the Government, who have also arranged to convey the party by the war frigate "Valorous" from Galway to their destination; whether the expedition is sent to assist the Reverend Canon Fleming, Protestant rector of the place; whether it is true, as stated in the "Times," that the only hostility against him springs from a sectarian feeling; and, whether it is true that the reverend gentleman has provoked the hostility of the people by attacks on their religious belief?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, my attention has been drawn to the statement to which the hon. Member's Question refers, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the facts are as follow:—The rev. gentleman some time ago found he could not get anybody to work for him; and it appeared, subsequently, that the Land League had given orders preventing anyone from working for him. Friends in the North, however, sent some labourers to assist him, and the Government were applied to to give them protection, as it was their duty to do, in the circumstances stated. They thought that the best way of giving those men protection would be to convey them to their destination by steamer. That was accordingly done. I do not believe that the hostility to the rev. gentleman arose from religious causes. For 20 years past, I am informed, he has lived quietly in the locality, and it is only since the establishment of a branch of the Land League there that any difficulty has arisen between him and his workpeople.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE CONSTABULARY—PRIVATE WORK.

Mr. SEXTON (for Mr. Healy) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that members of the Royal Irish Constabulary Force have been sent from Dublin and elsewhere, at various times for the past four months, to shoe horses for private individuals throughout Ireland; whether the shoes are provided out of the Constabulary Depôt Store, Dublin; if, when a policeman is sent to shoe horses for private persons, his Railway fare and other expenses are paid by the Government; and, whether there exists a regulation under which constabulary policemen are compelled to shoe horses for the public?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, we were informed that certain persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the Land League had found it impossible to get their horses shod, and as that was a very serious inconvenience, we thought it right in that case to make an exception to the general rule that the constabulary should do nothing for private individuals. Two or three farriers were accordingly allowed to shoe horses for private individuals, receiving their material from the constabulary depôt, but charging current prices for it and for their work. No regulation exists under which the constabulary are compelled to shoe horses for the public.

STATE OF IRELAND—SHERIFF'S SALE FOR RENT.

The O'DONOGHUE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a sheriff's sale at the suit of Lord Kenmare for rent due, wherein the sheriff has declined to sell the stock and cattle of the tenant, Patrick Whetstone, at his request, although adequate to meet the execution and upon the premises, but has notified that he will sell the tenant's interest in the holding, whereby his family will be evicted; and, whether the Government approve the action of the sheriff?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, this is a matter that does not concern the Government; but by the courtesy of the sub-sheriff, I have been made acquainted with the facts of the case. The sub-sheriff had to execute a decree for rent against Patrick Whetstone. On his arriving at the farm, Patrick Whetstone said to him—"There are the cattle, do what you can with them." He did not, however, feel that it would be safe to impound the cattle, and in view of the state of the country he was afraid he would not be able to find a bidder for them. Accordingly, he intimated that he would sell the tenant's interest in the holding. That, however, is a matter with which the Government have nothing to do.

TREATY OF WASHINGTON—THE HALIFAX FISHERY COMMISSION — ALLEGED FRAUDS ON DR. HIND.

Mr. MACDONALD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government have had any further communication from the Government of the United States as to frauds which are alleged to have been perpetrated on Dr. Hind, and which have been under the notice of the American Congress several times of late; if he could, without injury to the public welfare, prepare and lay upon the Table of the House a brief and clear statement of what these charges really were or alleged to have been; and, if there be any Papers that can furnish the information, will he lay them upon the Table?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have not received any communication from the Government of the United States on this subject. No frauds are alleged to have been perpetrated on Dr. Hind. He was employed to make an index of certain papers for the Halifax Fishery Commission, and he has since stated that certain statistics presented to that

Commission were inaccurate, and has charged those who prepared them with fraud. All the Correspondence that has passed between the Foreign Office and Dr. Hind has been forwarded to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, by whom these statistics were furnished, and he has been requested to address any further representations he may have to make to that Government. I have already informed the House that Dr. Hind's allegations are unworthy of serious attention. Her Majesty's Government consider that no good purpose would be served by giving currency and importance to charges of fraud which are groundless and incredible.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—TREATMENT OF ARRESTED PERSONS.

Earl PERCY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that the prisoners who have been arrested under the Protection of Person and Property Act, and are now in Kilmainham Gaol, are allowed the following indulgences, viz.: to associate together in a common room for six hours during the day, when they are allowed to smoke and are supplied with hot meals cooked outside the prison, and with beer and wine, are allowed to take exercise in company with one another, and are not compelled to do any work or submit to the usual prison discipline, have beds supplied other than those usually allowed to prisoners of their class; and, if so, whether these indulgences, allowances, and exemptions from prison discipline are in excess of those allowed to first class misdemeanants; and, if Her Majesty's Government will state whether these indulgences, &c. are granted by any special orders of the Irish Executive, and on what funds their cost is borne; and whether the persons to whom those indulgences were extended had been described by the Chief Secretary himself as "dissolute ruffians?"

Mr. CALLAN wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman also, Whether these indulgences, allowances, and exemptions complained of by the noble Earl are not permitted in accordance with an undertaking given by the Chief Secretary in his place in that House during the passing of the Coercion Bill that special rules would be framed for the treatment of those prisoners detained under the Act and deprived of their liberty, charged on a reasonable suspicion with having committed offences under it?

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked, Whether the Tories in 1867 did not give the same privileges under the Westmeath Act, only that the hours of exercise were not so long?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether a broad distinction is not drawn in every country in Europe between ordinary and political prisoners; whether under the despotism of Napoleon III. political prisoners were permitted to converse with their friends during almost the entire day, and not merely for a quarter of an hour in the day; whether the new Czar has not relaxed the punishment of the Russian political prisoners; whether the men detained at Kilmainham Gaol under the Coercion Bill are only suspects, and not liable to be treated as prisoners, and whether they are not for the most part men of good moral character and of respectable social position?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I will first answer the Question of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). I do not know what has been done in foreign countries, and therefore cannot say. I do not admit that these persons—or a large proportion of them—are political prisoners. Whether they are men of good moral character is a question on which I think the House will not expect me to offer an opinion. It is quite true that I applied to persons who planned outrages the expression quoted by the noble Lord the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy), and all the information I have since obtained goes to prove the accuracy of it. But I wish the noble Lord and other hon. Members to understand that our duty under the Protection of Person and Property Act is to arrest those persons whom we think for the safety of the country ought to be arrested, and who are reasonably suspected to be either the planners or perpetrators of outrages. Persons, therefore, may possibly have been arrested without being "dissolute ruffians." The information which the noble Lord desires as to prison regulations will be found in a Paper circulated to-day. These regulations prescribe treatment of a special character, and have been framed in fulfilment of an undertaking given during the progress of the Protection to Person and Property Bill through this House. It is true that the treatment of the prisoners is more liberal than that of first-class misdemeanants; but it was understood when the Act was being passed, that, as they were to be arrested on suspicion, and were not to be tried, they were to be treated as untried prisoners. Like untried prisoners, they are not required to do any work or submit to the usual prison discipline; the beds supplied to them are the same as those supplied to all untried prisoners; like them, they can obtain others at their own cost. As under the Westmeath Act, prisoners are permitted to associate during exercise and for a further period not exceeding six hours a-day. They may provide their own food, hot or otherwise, from outside the prison; and they are allowed to receive or purchase, in the 24 hours, not more than a pint of beer, cider, or half-a-pint of wine. All these indulgences are, as is generally the case, at the cost of the prisoner.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether we are to infer from his answer that all persons detained in Kilmainham Prison under the Coercion Bill are there on reasonable suspicion of being the planners or perpetrators of outrages?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: They all come within the terms of the Act, which the hon. Member will perfectly well remember. The persons arrested were to be reasonably suspected to be guilty of treason, treason-felony, or treasonable practices, or in certain districts to have committed crimes punishable by law, being acts of violence, or intimidation, or inciting thereto. No one has been arrested who did not come within one or other of these categories.

ARMY—RECRUITING.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state why the General Order to the Army, No. 62, of 1871, by which recruiting for the Foot Guards and Infantry of the Line was restricted to short service only (except for musicians), has been omitted from the two papers C. 2791 and C. 2817, which he laid upon the table of the House on the 4th instant, in explanation of his speech of the previous evening; both of which papers purport to contain a complete reference to all orders issued to the Army between 1870 and 1879, bearing on the question of long service and short service enlistment?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I must point out to him that the two Papers, C. 2,791 and C. 2,817, are the Reports of Lord Airey's Committee and General Armstrong's Committee. I have no authority to introduce into those Reports matter which the distinguished persons who constituted the Committees thought fit to omit.

CANAL BOATS ACT, 1877.

MR. BROADHURST asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he can inform the House of the number of canal boats, barges, and flats that have been registered under "The Canal Boats Act, 1877;" whether the Government intends taking any steps this Session for enforcing those Clauses of the Act relating to overcrowding in the cabins of these boats; and, also, whether he can state to what extent the Educational Clauses of the Act have been successful?

MR. DODSON: Sir, there has been no Return of the number of boats registered since that of July, 1879, which showed that about 5,000 boats had been registered. The enforcement of the Act rests with the local authorities, and the Local Government Board have no power to compel them to discharge that duty, their power being limited to making regulations, which they have done. At present the Board have no information as to the extent to which the education clauses of the Act have been successful.

POST OFFICE — THE NEW POSTAL ORDERS.

MR. BUXTON asked the Postmaster General, If he would inform the House to what extent the new postal orders are being used?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I beg to state that the new postal orders were first issued at the commencement of the present year. During the first week the number issued was 14,201. This number has steadily increased, and during the week ending on Saturday last, the number issued was 55,154, for the amount of £25,134. To show the extent to which these orders meet a demand for the means to remit small sums of money, I may mention that at the present time the number of orders being issued for 1*s.* is at the rate of 260,676 a-year, for 2*s.* 6*d.* at the rate of 283,660 a-year, and for 5*s.* at the rate of 552,864 a-year. As fears were frequently expressed, when the Bill introducing these orders was under discussion last year, that they would lead to fraud, the House may be interested to hear that not a single complaint of fraud has reached the Post Office.

INDIA—EAST INDIA (ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT) ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS IN CEYLON.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR (for Mr. William M'Arthur) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether a communication has been addressed by the Colonial Office to the authorities in Ceylon sanctioning the gradual cessation of the grants to Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers in the Island; and, if so, whether he will lay such communication upon the Table of the House?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Yes, Sir, it has; and it will be laid on the Table when the Correspondence is complete.

POST OFFICE—WOOLWICH DISTRICT TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has received a Petition from the Third Class Metropolitan Clerks attached to the Woolwich District Telegraph Office claiming to be reinstated in the Metropolitan District, they having been transferred against their wish to the Provincial District with reduced pay; and, whether he will state what decision, if any, has been arrived at on this claim?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that the Petition to which the hon. Member referred was only received a few days ago, and it was now under his consideration, and as soon as he had come to a decision upon it he would communicate it to the telegraphists who had memorialized.

RULES OF DEBATE—OBSTRUCTION.

Colonel BARNE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he would approve of the principle of stopping obstruction by silencing a Member who had been twice pronounced by a three to one majority of the House, as guilty of obstruction, for one month for a first offence, and for the Session for a second offence, at the same time permitting him to vote?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am bound to say that at the present moment I am really reluctant to advert to the subject of Obstruction. Hon. Members in all quarters of the House apply themselves to the expeditious discharge of Public Business in such a way that, although I believe there was such a thing as Obstruction some time ago, I do not wish to believe in its survival. It seems to me like an evil dream, which I should rather be glad to dismiss. But this I may say. I think the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he asked the House to make Regulations on the subject of Obstruction, confined himself, and wisely, to asking for the provision of very moderate restrictions and penalties indeed. Probably, if this habit were growing upon us and beginning to show signs of becoming inveterate, it would be right to give greater stringency to the Regulations.

CENTRAL ASIA — THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE ON HERAT.

Sir WILLIAM PALLISER asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether they have any information showing what obstacle, if any, exists which might prevent the Russians from completing the Caspian and Askabad Railway, and from establishing themselves at Herat whenever it may suit their plans to go there; and, whether, in the event of Russian influence being established in Afghanistan, it would be necessary to augment the garrisons in the unhealthy Peshawur Valley and along the Valley of the Indus, unless Candahar were held, and our extended north-western frontier thereby reduced into a secondary line of defence?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, I am not sure whether the hon. Member refers in the first part of the Question to the material or the political obstacles which may exist to prevent the Russians from completing the railway. If the hon. Member refers to material obstacles, any information which may be in the possession of the Government would be in the Intelligence Department of the War Office, and the Question ought to be addressed to the Secretary of State for War. It would hardly be possible for me, in reply to a Question, to enter upon a discussion of the political obstacles which may exist to this object, if it be entertained by the Russian Government. The second part of the Question is of so hypothetical a character that really I hope the House will not expect me to answer it. I believe the object of Questions addressed to Ministers is to obtain, as shortly as possible, information on matters of fact which is not accessible to Members generally. I am always extremely anxious to give the House all the information I can as to matters of fact; but there is no object to be gained by my offering an opinion on the subject. If I thought the hon. Member would accept as conclusive a statement of my opinion, I should be glad to give it; but, otherwise, it would be useless for me to offer an expression of my opinion on a subject that may be more properly discussed in the debate on Candahar.

WEST LONDON EXTENSION RAILWAY —DANGEROUS CROSSING.

SIR **TREVOR LAWRENCE** asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been drawn to Colonel Yolland's Report on the closing of a level crossing, known as Poupart's Crossing, by the West London Extension Railway; whether Colonel Yolland does not state that the crossing was closed, not only without any authority, but after the Railway Company had stated to the Board of Trade that they could not close it without Parliamentary authority; and that such closing was a "high-handed proceeding;" whether Colonel Yolland does not further state that the foot-bridge, by which the crossing has been replaced, is "totally inadequate to the wants of the public," having regard to the numbers reported to make daily use of it, and so dangerous that it has already caused, as he is informed, numerous accidents; and, whether the Board of Trade has any power to interfere for the protection of the rights of the public under such circumstances; and, if not, what remedy the public have?

MR. **CHAMBERLAIN**, in reply, said, the attention of the Board of Trade had been called on several occasions to the dangerous level crossing referred to in the Question of the hon. Baronet. It was originally a crossing from a market garden to land on the other side of the railway. The attention of the Railway Company was called to the dangerous state of the crossing, and they undertook to build a foot-bridge over the line, intimating that they could not close the crossing without Parliamentary powers. Afterwards, a foot-bridge being built, they closed the crossing without coming to Parliament for power. Complaints being made on the subject, he directed Colonel Yolland to make inquiry. He had expressed the opinion that the foot-bridge was altogether inadequate to the public requirements, and that to close the crossing in the way the Company did was a high-handed proceeding. The Board of Trade had no authority to interfere in such cases as this; but he hoped that the public convenience would be promoted by the fact that attention had been called to the matter.

AFGHANISTAN—RETENTION OF CANDAHAR.

MR. **SHIELD** asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether he can inform the House what number of British forces are at present in the city or province of Kandahar, and on the line of communications; what is the extent of territory in that province, and on the line of communications, at present actually subject to Military occupation by British forces; what proportion of the food and forage required for the subsistence of the occupying forces is obtained from Afghanistan, and what proportion is sent from India; and, the estimated cost during a given time, say January and February 1881, of maintaining the British forces now in Kandahar?

THE MARQUESS OF **HARTINGTON**: Sir, from the latest Returns it appeared that the British force at Candahar consisted of nine batteries of Royal Artillery, and one battery mountain of Native Artillery, numbering in all 1,193 men and 56 guns; one regiment of British Cavalry of 400 men; six regiments of Native Cavalry of 2,437 men; five regiments of British Infantry of 3,055 men;

15 regiments of Native Infantry of 8,743 men; three companies of Sappers and Miners of 277 men; or, in the aggregate, 4,430 British and 11,674 Natives. There are no hard-and-fast limits actually subject to military occupation. At present—since Brigadier General Wilkinson's brigade has returned from Maiwand—Candahar and its immediate neighbourhood, to Kokeran only is in strict military occupation. The country to the south-west to the Argandab may be considered in military occupation. The whole line of communication, Pishin, Quetta, Kelat, and downwards, is also in actual military occupation. There is no information on record to enable me to give a categorical reply to the third part of my hon. Friend's Question. It is understood, however, that Candahar and its neighbourhood furnish the supplies for that garrison, except sugar, tea, rum, salt, provisions, hospital stores, biscuits, and some breadstuffs. The posts on the line of communication are to a greater extent dependent on India; but they still draw largely on the country. The accounts have not been rendered with sufficient accuracy to enable me to lay them upon the Table of the House.

ARMY—QUARTERMASTERS.

Mr. ROSS asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state what were the proposals formulated in the War Office for the improvement of the Quartermasters' position in regard to Pay-rank and Retiring Pension, and submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury for approval; and also, with regard to the proposed new Rule, whereby the tenure of Good Service Pension is to terminate on retirement, whether the hardships such new Rule would inflict on many old and deserving Quartermasters, whose names have been on the Commander-in-Chief's list for years, will be considered, and the new Rule made applicable only after the present list of candidates is provided for?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, the hon. Member will find our proposals about the pay and pensions of quartermasters at page 6 of the Memorandum I recently laid on the Table. I have no idea what the hon. Member means by the composite word "pay-rank;" but we propose to give to quartermasters after 10 years' service as such the rank of captain, and on retirement on £200 a-year that of major. In reply to the second Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that the rule forbidding good-service rewards to be taken into retirement is not intended to apply to quartermasters.

ARMY—PURCHASE—OFFICERS KILLED IN ACTION.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the purchase money proposed to be given to the relatives of purchase officers killed in action, without regard to "wealthy circumstances," and with retrospective effect from 1871, is a clear addition to the national burdens in favour of this class of officers, and a payment beyond the whole of the regulation and non-regulation prices which could have been obtained before the abolition of purchase; if he will consent, as regards the past, to limit the grant to necessitous cases of widows and children, and, as regards the future, to assess all purchase payments towards this provision for families so that the Country may not be called on to pay more than the former legal and illegal prices to which Parliament is already pledged; and, whether any sum for this object is to be included in the Votes to be submitted to this House in the present financial year?

Mr. CHILDERS: It would be quite impossible to reply fully to my hon. Friend in the compass of an answer to a Question where no debate is allowed. But if on Vote 20, he will raise the question, I shall be happy to give him the fullest information. Perhaps I may add that this question has several times been fully debated in the House, especially last Session; but that I cannot find that my hon. Friend ever gave us the benefit of his assistance in solving it.

ARMY ORGANIZATION—THE NEW TERRITORIAL SYSTEM.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for War, Upon what principle it is proposed, under the new territorial system, that regiments of Infantry shall take precedence among themselves for the post of honour on the right of a line, and at the head of a column?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to inform him that this point has not been lost sight of, and that a General Order is in preparation for issue at the proper time, under which it will be seen that the precedence of the new Territorial Regiments will follow the present precedents of their senior line battalions.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION ACT—MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN IN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS — RECOVERY OF COST.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it be not possible for the parent or parents of a child sent to an industrial school to avoid, and without risk of punishment, the responsibility of maintaining such a child, and to impose this duty on the ratepayers, mainly owing to the Summary Jurisdiction Act; and, whether, if this be the case, any hope may be held out that the Law will be amended, in order to bring such persons within the liability of punishment?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that under the 35th section of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, the contribution ordered to be paid was a civil debt, and was not, therefore, one in respect of which a warrant of apprehension could be issued, unless the Court was satisfied that the defendant had means to pay and refused to pay. The question of the amendment of the law was under consideration.

THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT—TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION.

MR. BOURKE asked the Postmaster General, Whether it would be feasible to establish telephonic communication between the Houses of Parliament and the clubs and private houses of Members; if so, whether he can state the expense of each telephone per annum?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that the Post Office would be very glad to supply the telephonic communication suggested by the Question of the hon. Member if suitable rooms could be found for the purpose. The House was aware that there was considerable difficulty in providing such rooms; but his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works had assured him that he would do all he could to provide them. When that was done, communication would be afforded at the following rates:—For distances of half-a-mile £15 per annum; for distances of one mile, £19 per annum; and for each half-mile beyond a mile, £4 per annum extra.

VACCINATION—SUPPLY OF LYMPH.

DR. CAMERON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether any steps have been taken to give effect to his promise, made on the 11th of June last, that the Vaccination Department should supply calf lymph as "stock" for vaccination to such medical practitioners as preferred it to ordinary humanized lymph; and, whether, in view of the alarming spread of small-pox in London, the Department would consider the propriety of taking measures to secure a sufficient supply of vaccine lymph for the purpose of re-vaccination?

MR. DODSON: Sir, steps have been taken to give effect to the promise referred to. Careful inquiries have been made by the Medical Officer of the Board, who has visited Holland and Belgium, and inspected the arrangements there for the supply of calf lymph, and for some time past we have been endeavouring to secure suitable premises for the necessary establishment in the Metropolis. This has proved a matter of some difficulty. I am glad to add that the matter has now proceeded so far as to enable me to appoint the Medical Director of the establishment, and arrange with the Treasury as to his staff. I am afraid the Department could not undertake to furnish a sufficient supply of lymph for re-vaccination, the object for which the national Vaccine Establishment was set up, having only been to furnish stock lymph for a limited number of primary vaccinations.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked who was appointed Medical Director?

MR. DODSON: Dr. Cory.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT, 1880—ELECTION CHARGES.

MR. HINDE PALMER asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the number of cases, in the Return of "Election Charges" of the last General Election just laid before this House, in which no Returns of the expenses have been made to the returning officers as required by Law; and, whether any steps have been or are intended to be taken in consequence of such defaults?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, his attention had been called to this omission. He found in relation to Scotland every Member had made a Return of his expenses. In England, there was no Return in respect of four counties, and in Wales there was no Return in respect of one county. In two of the cases a fire had broken out in the office of the Sheriff whereby the accounts were burned. In reference to contested elections in English and Welsh boroughs, there were only two boroughs in which Returns had not been made; but as to one, the candidate died shortly after the election, and in the other case the candidate had paid, but had received no receipts, and although he had paid the sum a second time, the accounts had not been presented to him. Turning to Ireland, he found that there were 74 candidates who had not made Returns. He trusted they had been returned free of expense, for, if not, they must have thought that the statute did not apply to them. He regretted, however, to state that every one of these 74 candidates had incurred a penalty of £5 a-day since the last day for sending in the Returns.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA—NIHILISTS IN LONDON.

MR. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Criminal Investigation Department of the Home Office have given or can give any information if there is any foundation for a statement which appears in Tuesday's "Manchester Guardian," a usually well-informed journal, to the effect that—

> "At the head-quarters of the Nihilistic fraternity in London, there was on Saturday evening an unusually large attendance, the fact of news of a great event being awaited, proving that the plot," to assassinate the Czar of Russia, "was perfectly well known in London;"

and, if the statement is correct, whether Her Majesty's Government will not consider it their duty to take prompt and effectual measures, if the existing Laws do not suffice, by immediate legislation, to strike terror into the Foreign conspirators who have made London their head-quarters?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I have received no information to the effect referred to in the Question of the hon. Member.

LOBBY OF THIS HOUSE—MEMBERS' REFRESHMENT BAR.

MR. CAINE asked the First Commissioner of Works, If arrangements can be made to retain the refreshment bar within the Lobby for Members and officers of this House?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, he had received many complaints on the subject referred to by the hon. Member. It was necessary, in his opinion, that a remedy should be applied, and he proposed to provide a refreshment bar for strangers in the lower waiting-hall at the foot of the great staircase. When that was done, the refreshment-bar within the Lobby might be retained for the exclusive use of Members and officers of the House.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT—PROSECUTION AT DUMFRIES.

MR. MACDONALD asked the Lord Advocate, if his attention has been called to the account of a meeting of the Dumfries Quarter Sessions, which appeared in the "North British Daily Mail," Glasgow, on the 7th instant, and at which meeting it was stated that the Chief of the Police had taken money at Langholm in name of fines for offences against the Weights and Measures Act without any court being held; whether, considering the grave nature of the charges, he will direct an inquiry to be made into the whole circumstances of the case with the view of satisfying the public mind on the subject; and, further, when the Report is made, if he will lay it upon the Table of the House to be printed and circulated among the Members?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN): Sir, I beg to say that I have inquired into the case referred to by my hon. Friend. It is not the case that the Chief Constable of Dumfriesshire levied money on the parties accused without the intervention of a Court. The fact was that, in consequence of only one Justice being present in the Court, it was necessary to adjourn the trial, and the Chief Constable, who was prosecutor in the case, agreed, if his costs were paid, that he would abandon the prosecution. That was, of course, quite irregular, and the money was repaid. I have caused a letter to be written expressing my sense of the irregularity of the course.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

Mr. MACLIVER asked the Postmaster General, If his attention has been called to the reports in various newspapers, to the effect that the telegraph clerks are dissatisfied with the interview which their delegates have had with him; and, whether, after hearing their grievances, he is prepared to remedy them, in accordance with the recommendations of influential memorialists from all parts of the United Kingdom?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, I think the best way for me to answer the Question which has been addressed to me is to ask the permission of the House to state exactly what occurred at the interview referred to. Being very anxious to hear the telegraphists themselves, and the accounts of their alleged grievances, I asked them to select 12 representatives—seven males and five females—to come and see me on Tuesday last at the Post Office. When they came, I expressly asked them to speak to me without reservation, and they spoke to me without reservation. I gained much useful information; and at the end of that interview, which lasted more than five hours, they thanked me for the manner in which they had been received. Considering that on more than seven occasions during the present Session it has been necessary for me to trouble the House, by stating and re-stating that I would spare no effort to arrive at a fair conclusion, with the least delay possible, as to the complaints of the telegraphists, I cannot help expressing my surprise that the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver), within less than 48 hours after the interview has taken place to which I have referred, and before it was possible for me to read the voluminous shorthand notes which have been taken of it, should have thought proper to ask me the conclusions at which I have arrived.

THE INDIAN ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for India, When the Despatches regarding the reorganisation of the Indian Army Medical Department promised by him will be placed upon the Table of the House; and, when the Royal Warrant fixing the new scale of retiring allowances for Indian Medical Officers will be published?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the Papers are in preparation for presentation to Parliament; but in order that the House may be placed in possession of the whole case in its complete and final form, it is proposed to include among the Papers the despatch to the Government of India authorizing a new and favourable scale of pensions. This, it is hoped, will be sent out in a fortnight at latest. Immediately its provisions are approved by the Indian Council they will be notified in England.

METROPOLIS—ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP THE MANSION HOUSE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, Whether he can give to the House any information with regard to the suspicious discovery of explosive materials at the Mansion House?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I have received a report that an abominable attempt was made last night to commit an outrage by an explosion of gunpowder at the Mansion House. The matter is now, I need hardly say, undergoing careful investigation; but I do not think it desirable that I should give further details at present.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL— THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government can give to the House any information as to what has taken place or may be taking place in the way of negotiation between the Boers and Sir Evelyn Wood? There are reports on this subject which I think require explanation or confirmation.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I quite agree that the Question put by my right hon. Friend is extremely seasonable. The report which has appeared in some of the newspapers that an arrangement has been made with the Boers is premature. Communications with a view to such an arrangement are proceeding between Sir Evelyn Wood and the leaders of the Boers. I do not think, however, that it is for me at the present moment, in the interest of the Public Service, to express an opinion as to the probable issue of such communications.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. TREVELYAN appealed to the hon. and gallant Member for East Suffolk (Colonel Barne) not to proceed on Friday with his Motion respecting foreign fishermen cutting the nets of English fishermen in the North Sea. If the hon. and gallant Member would waive his right, and if the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Errington) would take a similar course, a full night might be devoted to the Navy Estimates in Committee of Supply.

Colonel BARNE, in reply to the hon. Gentleman, might say he was informed that the fishermen on the East Coast were arming themselves to protect their property against the depredations of foreign fishermen. As loss of life was likely to take place, if he withdrew his Motion for to-morrow, would the hon. Gentleman be kind enough to give him a day on some future occasion?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had given him credit for greater power than he possessed. He regretted he could not make a promise of a day; but undertook to give all the Departmental assistance in his power to the hon. and gallant Gentleman.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Before the Orders of the Day are read, perhaps I may make an appeal which has been accepted by the kindness of Members for many successive days. It would be greatly for the convenience of the House and the Gentlemen specially interested, as well as for the advantage of the Public Service, if we were permitted to go into Supply at once this day in order that my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War may make the regular annual Statement on the Army.

PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ANDERSON wished to ask the Speaker a Question with reference to a Notice of Motion of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), and to inquire whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called to the terms of that Motion? He asked whether it was expedient or respectful to the House whether a Notice of Motion calling in question the conduct of the Chairman of Committees should be allowed to remain on the Paper postponed indefinitely from day to day; and whether it ought not to be either immediately proceeded with or taken off the Paper?

Mr. CALLAN, in the absence of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), reminded the House that the Motion had been postponed solely in order to facilitate the conduct of Public Business.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the Motion, which, as had been said, was on one occasion postponed by the hon. Member for Dungarvan in order that Public Business might be expedited, was one of a nature that made it important to dispose of it as early as possible; but the responsibility for so doing rested entirely with the hon. Member who had given Notice of it.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY—ARMY ACCOUTREMENTS.

RESOLUTION.

Colonel BARNE, in rising to move—

> "That the present conspicuous and tight-fitting dress and accoutrements of the British Army places it at a serious disadvantage when opposed to troops armed with weapons of accuracy, and causes the unnecessary loss of many valuable lives,"

said, he was so satisfied of the substantial truth of the statement contained in his Resolution that he could not refrain from bringing it under the notice of the House; but, after the appeal from the Prime Minister, he should do so very briefly. Since the Crimean War this country had, happily, not had to carry on war with any European army supplied with arms of precision. In Abyssinia, in Ashantee, in Afghanistan, and in Zululand we had had to contend against men of another colour, and not armed with weapons of accuracy. The case was different with the Boers, and he maintained that had the troops we had sent against them been clad in a dress which did not make them so conspicuous in the field, instead of the defeat we had suffered in the Transvaal, we should have had a very different tale to tell. The late Emperor Napoleon directed some experiments with regard to the distance at which different colours could be seen. White was found to be the most conspicuous colour, black the next, and gamboge the third, and red the fourth. A particular light grey was the least conspicuous. The British Army was clothed, therefore, in the most conspicuous colours. The 60th Rifles, the Artillery, and the Hussars were clothed in uniforms so dark as to be practically black, and the Line and Dragoon regiments were in scarlet with either white or brass helmets. In the battle on the Ingogo, the 60th Rifles were picked out by the Boers in consequence of the distinctive character of their dress. One argument he had heard in favour of the conspicuous colour of the dress of our soldiers was that scarlet was such a good colour in the dark. To that argument he confessed it was very difficult to give an answer. Another argument was that if they wanted men to enter the Army they must dress them well, and with many men a showy dress was indispensable, as without it it would be hopeless to attempt to get the housemaids to fall in love with them. He was sure, however, that the question would not be decided on that principle. But, even if they were dressed gaudily at home, they ought not, at all events, to be sent abroad on active service in uniforms which placed them at an immense disadvantage. With regard to the tightness of the dress, it was reported that the 58th, on arriving at Laing's Nek, were "blown." This was because the tunic was so tight that when men were called upon to exert themselves strongly their lungs were unable to get full play. For his own part, he should like to see the men clothed in Norfolk jackets, loose round the chest and tight round the waist, with breeches which would allow plenty of play for the knees, and a pair of gaiters. The hon. and gallant Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Sir HARRY VERNEY, in seconding the Amendment, expressed his opinion that the Army would be much indebted to the hon. and gallant Member for having brought forward this question. Our men wore a more visible dress than was adopted by any other Army. The custom of dressing the officers in a manner even more conspicuous than the men was particularly objectionable; and he sincerely hoped that his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War would consider whether it might be desirable to make some change with regard to these matters. He also desired to direct his right hon. Friend's notice to the expensive character of the dress of the officers in many regiments. Doubtless, many a wounded and helpless officer had been murdered by camp followers and other ruffians for the sake of the expensive dress he was wearing.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the present conspicuous and tight-fitting dress and accoutrements of the British Army places it at a serious disadvantage when opposed to troops armed with weapons of accuracy, and causes the unnecessary loss of many valuable lives,"—(*Colonel Barne,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Lord ELCHO said, that although he sympathized with much that had fallen from his hon. and gallant Friend, he could not help thinking that it would be better for hon. Members to reserve their remarks on this subject until the Vote for the Clothing Department came on for consideration in Committee of Supply.

Mr. CHILDERS said, the noble Lord had anticipated the answer he was about to give to the hon. and gallant Gentleman. It was thought that the House would resolve itself at once into Committee of Supply. The hon. and gallant Gentleman proposed that the whole Army should be clothed in Norfolk jackets, breeches, and gaiters. This was a very sweeping proposal; but, nevertheless, it should be taken into consideration. The inconvenience arising from the present tight dress of the Army was already recognized, and he admitted that some change ought to be made in this respect. The question of colour was one on which no two persons were agreed. He would ask the hon. and gallant Member to withdraw his Motion, and bring the subject forward again when the House was in Supply on the Clothing Department Vote. He did so, because the discussion would take up much time if it were gone into, and it was most necessary that they should proceed with Supply.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

ARMY—PROMOTION BY SELECTION.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLAN said, the next Amendment stood in his name, and was to this effect—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the time has now arrived when the promises made to the Country in 1871, at the abolition of Purchase in the Army should be fulfilled, and that the principle of selection in the promotion of all officers to secure which this House has during the last nine years voted twenty millions of money, should now be practically introduced into any coming measure for the administrative reform of the Army."

He did not intend, however, to proceed with the discussion of this Amendment, because the principle for which he was contending had already received considerable recognition in the statement made by the Secretary of State for War. That recognition did not go so far as he desired; but on certain material points concessions had been made in the Memorandum, issued on Wednesday, of the changes which were to take effect on the 1st of July.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 134,060, Number of Land Forces.

MR. CHILDERS: I rise to move that the total number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those serving in India, for the financial year 1881-2, be 134,060. That number differs from the number shown on the Estimate by 850, the total number shown on the Estimate being 850 less than the number now asked for. But I have to explain, in reference to that additional number, that we have thought it right to follow the Report of the Controller and Auditor General in respect to the principle on which the numbers are voted, he having laid down in the last Report that the number to be voted should be the number anticipated in any given month in the year, the previous practice having been to vote practically what had been the normal number on the Establishment for the year. That rule has been in force for some time. I do not take on myself at this moment to say which is the better of the two rules. I think it would require more time for consideration than I have yet been able to give to the matter. The Report of the Controller has been before us for a very short time; and I should not like to ask the Members of the Committee, who take a great interest in the question, to tie themselves by either of the two rules. But in deference to the Report of the Controller General, and until the matter has been discussed by the House, we thought it better to err on the safe side; and therefore I have included the 850 additional men whom, we anticipate, will be employed in the month of April, and possibly of May, in South Africa. They consisted of a Cavalry regiment, which we are, for the time being, adding to the British Establishment in India. We have also strengthened the depots to the extent of 350 men. This is a Vote only in connection with the number of men; and I would ask the Committee to postpone the questions raised by the Controller General until after we have had the Report of the Committee of Public Accounts. There is no other question connected with the men which I need mention now; but I would ask the Committee, if they have no objection, not to take any discussion upon Army Organization, or upon our general proposals, on the Vote for men, but to take it on the Votes for money, which will follow. I may take this opportunity of saying that I cordially concur in what fell from my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury yesterday, who, in my absence, told the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) that, although we are discussing Vote 1 to-night, we shall be anxious indeed to solicit the opinion of the general Committee on the Main Question embodied in the Estimates, and in the Memorandum I laid upon the Table a few days ago. But I propose to connect that printed Memorandum which has been laid on the Table, and what I then said, with the special Financial Business of the Committee. I hope that it will be understood, even after the discussion of to-day, though I trust I may be able to elicit from the Committee a favourable view of the general question, that still there will be, undoubtedly, further opportunities afforded for discussing in detail the several recommendations we have made to the House. The new recommendations would not take effect until the 1st June next; but, of course, if they were favourably received on the whole in the discussion that is about to take place, the preliminary steps would be taken to bring them into operation on the 1st July. There is no intention, however, of standing in the way of the House in having still further discussion on all these details. Perhaps I may say that the recommendations we make in regard to Army Organization, and in other respects, hardly require legislation at all, as the points upon which they require legislation are most unimportant, because all the changes can be effected in the usual way under a Royal Warrant. But this does not in the least restrain me from asking the House to give us their advice in this matter; and every recommendation we receive from the Committee, I need hardly say, will be received with great gratitude by us. No doubt, we propose large and considerable changes, and I hope that those changes may be criticized — indeed, I know they will be criticized—in a friendly spirit, and I hope they will be fully criticized. I can only say, for my own part, that I shall attach the greatest importance to the criticisms I receive on them, both in this House and elsewhere. I trust that, after this explanation, I shall be allowed to take the Vote for men without a debate upon the general question of Army Organization. After that Vote is disposed of, the Vote for money will be proposed; and I have no doubt that that will give rise to an interesting debate, which will occupy a considerable portion of the time of the Committee. I beg to move that the Land Forces of the Crown at Home and Abroad for the financial year 1881-2, consist of 134,060 men.

COLONEL STANLEY: I do not rise for the purpose of attempting, in the slightest degree, to raise any debate; but merely, as far as I can, to clear the ground from that which is now encumbering it. The important discussion will, I presume, be taken on the Vote for the payment of the men. I wish to take the earliest opportunity of saying that with respect to the matter that has just been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman opposite—namely, the remarks which the Auditor General thought it his duty to make last year, and again in the Report which was placed in our hands this morning, I intend to take an opportunity, at the convenience of the Government on going into Supply, of calling attention to the subject; because, although not large in itself, it involves grave Constitutional questions on which no judgment has yet been pronounced by the House. Circumstances have been brought to light by the Reserve Act, and especially by the Army Discipline Act of 1879, which, I think, render it desirable that these questions should be determined by authority; but I do not want to encumber the ground with them now, and I do not intend to make any reference to them in the course of my remarks, except cursorily. I cannot, however, allow the matter to stand altogether one side; and I therefore would give Notice that, on the earliest occasion, I shall call attention to the question.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that some time ago he had given Notice that he would move a reduction in the number of men. But after the appeal which had been made by the Secretary of State for War, he was perfectly willing to postpone the remarks he wished to make until they arrived at the Money Votes.

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY said, he had been anxious, before the Speaker left the Chair, to make some remarks in reference to the formation of a Corps of Mounted Infantry; and he believed that the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly prepared to hear the remarks which he had intended to make. The proper opportunity for raising the discussion would, undoubtedly, be on the Vote for men; but he presumed he must yield to the appeal which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that he would be unable to raise the matter upon the ordinary Estimates as the question entirely related to the men, and not to the pay. He was, however, quite willing to waive the subject, in order that the right hon. Gentleman might proceed with the Votes.

Mr. CHILDERS said, he should not object to the hon. Gentleman raising the question later on, upon the Motion for going into Committee of Supply. There might be opportunities for raising it even in Committee of Supply.

Lord ELCHO said, the right hon. Gentleman would correct him if he was wrong; but he thought they would be able to raise a general question of that character upon the Vote for the payment for salaries.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. CHILDERS: I have now to move—

> "That a sum, not exceeding £4,436,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of the Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad (exclusive of India), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882."

On this Vote perhaps I may be allowed to repeat again what I said just now, so as to connect with this Vote the Statement which I made to the House the other day. In that speech, and in the Memorandum which has been printed and circulated, I have embodied full details of all the proposals which have been made, in addition to some further details, which I did not explain to the House in moving that Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair. What I should like to add to what I then said, so that the matter may be fully before the Committee, is a remark or two upon the purely financial questions which I very carefully avoided bringing before the House on the previous occasion. I stated to the House the general effect of the proposals which we make as to Army Organization, both in respect of officers and men; and I summed up the financial results to India and this country, comparing, of course, the normal state of things under previous Warrants, and the normal state of things under the Warrant which is to give effect to the policy of the Government. But I think I ought now to give a little more detail in respect to the financial changes which we propose, showing the difference of financial charge which will follow upon our proposal. I shall first give to the Committee the effect of the changes and transfers from one Vote to another as far as they relate to Vote 1. The Committee will see that the Vote is considerably less —less, I think, by a sum of £143,000— than the Vote for last year; and it might at first sight be imagined that we were reducing the charge for the pay of the Army by £143,000. That is not the case. The principal item of that charge is a transfer from Vote 1 to other Votes of the charge for the honorary colonels of regiments. The honorary colonels of regiments have been considered hitherto to be on the establishment of their regiments; and I put it very clearly the other day. At any rate, it is very clearly expressed in the Memorandum I have laid on the Table how in future we propose to deal with general officers, both in respect to what is equivalent to half-pay and their retired pay. But I ought now to say that, as far as the Estimates are concerned, the effect is this— We have transferred from Vote 1 the entire charge for this purpose, which is £185,000 gross, or £135,000 net, after deducting what falls upon the Revenues of India; and the result of the change from a system of paying general officers £450 a-year, with £100 a-year, in some cases, good-service reward, and then suddenly raising them to £1,000 a-year—the change from that would in the end effect a very considerable economy in consequence of a great reduction in the total number of established generals, though, in the first instance, it would lead to an increase of charge. That increase of charge I think I mentioned the other day; it would amount to about £20,000 a-year. If you take the items in Vote 1, Vote 18, half-pay, and Vote 19, retired pay, it will be found that the sum for those three charges last year was £315,000, and this year it is about £335,000; so that we have estimated for an increase of charge of about £20,000, and that originates in this way. At present, all the major generals and lieutenant generals almost at the top of the list are in the receipt of only £450 a-year coming in from those Votes, and they rise suddenly to £1,000 a-year. Of course, if you give to all these officers, as we propose to give, the option of the present system, or the revised system, all who elect to take the present system would remain for a time at the lower rate— namely, £450 a-year; whereas those who elect the new system would at once receive the better rate of half-pay, and if they retired, of retired pay; but they would lose that pay which they would otherwise get if they were patient enough to remain on the list as at present. We have to take an account of all that, and, therefore, for the moment, there would be an increase of charge. That increase, to the extent of £20,000, we have provided for in the present Estimates; and we have also provided for a similar increase with respect to colonels and other officers to the extent of £15,000. This comes later in the Estimates; but as these Votes are so intimately connected with Vote 1, I have thought it more convenient to make this statement to the Committee now. The immediate effect would be an additional charge of £35,000. I may say that the increased charge for non-commissioned officers in Vote 1, as to which I have given the fullest details extending over a page and a-half, is about £45,000. The increased charge for the additional men is also about £45,000, the two amounting together to £90,000. On the other hand, there is an economy, under several small Votes, of £16,000 from reduction of supernumerary officers, £12,000 for fewer number of senior lieutenants, £10,000 for extra hospital and prison stoppages, and £35,000 from a reduced number of horses. But, on that point, I ought to say that this Estimate was prepared before the additional Cavalry was sent to South Africa, and, undoubtedly, in that respect, it would be necessary, in all probability, to have later a Supplementary Estimate; but that is not certain, because there would be, in other respects, a large saving. These sums added together, with the reduction upon the Vote of the charge of the honorary colonels, is a net decrease on the Vote of £142,000. There is another point which I think it may be convenient for the Committee to understand. It is purely a question of figures, as to which I was asked a question after my Statement the other evening. The question asked was, whether any additional Vote would be necessary in consequence of the altered regimental establishments of officers, which I explained then, and which were enumerated in the Memorandum? No, Sir; it will not be necessary. The greatly reduced numbers of which I then gave the figures will give, in spite of the additional number of higher ranks, an economy amounting altogether to £64,500 a-year; and that, we estimated, will be quite sufficient for the necessary transfer of a larger number of mounted officers, and also of a larger number of supernumerary officers, and will, undoubtedly, exist for some two or three years. Therefore, if hon. Members will refer to the substituted sheet delivered to-day, which is in the Vote Office, they will find on each page, or under each head provided in the substituted sheet, that there is a margin between the Vote as originally proposed and the Vote as necessary now for a fixed Establishment, and that that margin will be sufficient to cover the charge for the number of supernumerary officers. Perhaps I may be allowed to say, upon that point, that I am taking the greatest care to provide, with respect to that margin, that all reasonable claims and vested interests shall be carefully preserved. To reduce suddenly the number of entries into the Army by the entire amount of the reduction of officers would be a harsh proceeding; and, therefore, we make the reduction gradually, with full regard to the promises and reasonable expectations that have been held out. I am not aware that there is any other point in connection with Vote 1, or any other financial question, which I need explain at the present time. Of course, I shall be prepared, later on in the evening, to answer whatever questions may arise. There is one single question, which I know is a matter of some interest, to which I may refer. My right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) hoped to complete a very necessary change before he left Office; but it has fallen to my lot to effect it. At any rate, I obtained much useful information from him upon the subject. I mean the final abolition of the "Stock Purse" in the Guards, having regard to their reasonable expectations and their vested interest in the Stock Purse. I am happy to say that the information collected by previous Secretaries of State for War has enabled me to propose definitely and finally to abolish the Stock Purse system, and to take care that both the commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers should have what is reasonable as regards their interest in the Stock Purse. In respect to the disbursements and payments from the Stock Purse, I am happy to say that we shall be able to be not only just, but even generous, to the subalterns in the Guards, who, under the former system, were kept starving for a considerable time, until they reached the very considerable advantage of a share in the Stock Purse. What these advantages are is shown in the Memorandum. I think I have now given the Committee sufficient material to enable them to discuss the Vote in connection with what I said the other day; and I beg now to move the Vote for the Pay and Allowances.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,436,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of the Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad (exclusive of India), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882."

Colonel STANLEY : I do not intend, on the present occasion, to dwell upon all the points of interest which have been enumerated by the right hon. Gentleman in the remarks to which we have just listened, and in his Statement the other night. I hope he will do me the justice to believe that I abstain from doing so, not from any want of respect either to himself or to the importance of the measures which he is advocating, but in the public interest, in order to save a loss of time, and to make most of the short time that is left for us on the present occasion. I am only sorry that my right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) has not been present, so that he could have stated what is his opinion of the economical tendency of the financial proposals of Her Majesty's Government, compared with those of the late Government. Except in a very humble way, I never, for my own part, aspired to the reputation of a financier, although it has been my lot at various times to be connected with all three great classes of the Estimates of the country. If I were disposed to take any credit to myself it would be when I found, as on the present occasion, that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, with his great reputation as a financier, and the desire which Her Majesty's Government naturally have to keep down all unnecessary expenditure, has not been able to bring the Estimates down to the level of those formed by an Administration which it has been the habit of some persons to denounce as extravagant and expensive. Putting that on one side, I will merely say that I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has thought it consistent with his duty boldly to ask the House for the sum which he thinks necessary in order to keep the Army in a state of efficiency. I think I am only stating that to which I think the Committee will, for the most part, agree when I venture once more to say that I think the right hon. Gentleman, pleased, as he may have been, by the congratulations he received the other evening, when he first explained the nature of his proposals, must still feel even more satisfied with the general approval which these proposals have met with during the period which has elapsed since.

I had intended, if I had had an early opportunity, to have brought before the House the important point which has been raised by the Auditor General's Reports in respect of the number of men voted; but as this is to be dealt with on a future occasion, perhaps the Committee will allow me to pass it by, and to review, very briefly, those points on which I think it desirable or right I should offer a few remarks. If I seem, perhaps a little unduly, to go back to that which has passed in former years, probably the Committee will be kind enough to extend to me their forbearance, on the ground that there was no discussion upon any Army question last year after my right hon. Friend acceded to Office. This is the first occasion in which it has been fitting or right that I should point out what was the position of the late Government in respect to certain of these Army changes, and show how, in their judgment, the then condition of affairs had to be met; what steps they intended to take, and in what condition they left the matter for my right hon. Friend. It is not necessary to go back to matters which happened in 1870 and 1871. Many of those who took prominent parts in those debates are still, happily, Members of this House.

Speaking in general terms, and following the division into which the right hon. Gentleman has separated the two questions, I may say that Lord Cardwell dealt with matters of Army Reform, for the most part, in two distinct branches. First, that which related to service; and, secondly, that which related to what was called, under a somewhat ambiguous phrase, the localization of troops. In 1871 and 1872 the question fully occupied the attention of this House. The matter was discussed fully and amply; and there was a general feeling on the part of the House, and I believe also on the part of the country, in favour of some such system as that proposed by Lord Cardwell. That scheme was ratified by a majority of this House, and so far became a part of the established military system of the country; but it is very well known that it was a system that was far from complete when my right hon. Friend, now Lord Cranbrook, acceded to Office in 1874. My noble Friend had then to consider what course he should take — whether we should proceed on the lines laid down by Lord Cardwell, or whether it was desirable to adopt any other scheme for the welfare of the Army. Happily, we were not, in the year 1874, hampered by pledges of repudiation, given when in Opposition; and, therefore, it was not thought necessary, immediately on our accession to Office, to upset that which had been done by our Predecessors. We thought it fair and right to endeavour, as far as possible, to work loyally the system which had been laid down, which the country and Parliament had accepted, and to see whether that system could not be worked out in all its details to a successful result; but, in saying that my noble Friend only proceeded on the lines laid down by Lord Cardwell, I do not wish it to be understood for a moment that, during the years he held the Seals of the War Office, there was any one year in which important questions connected with the Army remained undealt with. On the contrary, the great questions of deferred pay for the men, of improvements in the recruiting regulations and in armaments, in works, and the great questions of promotion and retirement as affecting the officers of the Army, the localization arrangements, and many other questions, fully occupied my noble Friend during the period he held the Seals of the War Office. But it was felt all along that one of the principal matters which affected the Army throughout was the relations between the various officers in the country, and their connection with the localization scheme as laid down by Lord Cardwell. The brigade depôts which had been established in various parts of the country, and of which, at that time, some 60 or 65 had been commenced, were intended to be centres of instruction and places where the forces were to be brought together. On every hand questions of recruiting, the reserve of stores, of arms, and other difficulties connected with the brigade depôts met my noble Friend face to face, and had to be dealt with in some way, at an early period of my noble Friend's administration. It became his duty to consider whether these depôts were not too numerous and needlessly expensive, and whether they should not be consolidated, and some part of the expense in capital and maintenance saved to the country. At the time Mr. Gathorne Hardy, now Lord Cranbrook, came into Office, it was found that, for the most part, all the contracts for work at those depôts had been entered into, and that it would only be throwing money away to abandon them. But my noble Friend, wherever opportunity occurred, thought it would be well to avoid, as far as possible, the capital expense involved in entering upon buildings and other works in connection with subordinate depôts. That was the condition of affairs up to 1876. At that time the Committee was appointed which has gone by the name of the Militia Committee. It was appointed to consider various subjects connected with the Militia and the brigade depôts, and, indirectly, it touched upon all those questions which had been left undecided. I need not refer now, except upon some small points, to the Report of that Committee, because I think it is one of the Papers which my right hon. Friend has laid upon the Table, having caused it to be re-printed. But I may say on behalf of that Committee, over which I had the honour to preside, that the Report, important as it is in many respects, carried additional weight from the fact that it was the unanimous Report of a very large Committee. Every shade of opinion was represented on that Committee. Perhaps I may be allowed to state who the Committee were. It consisted of the Duke of Buccleuch — who certainly cannot be accused of revolutionary tendencies—Lord Exeter, Lord Limerick, Colonel Corbet—well-known to us in this House for many years as a man of great ability and indefatigable energy — my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for

Sunderland (Sir Henry Havelock-Allan), General Herbert, General Taylor, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Colonel Bulwer—who at that time held a subordinate place at the Horse Guards, but who is now Inspector General of Recruiting—Colonel Greaves—now Adjutant General in India—and myself. That Committee, reflecting as it did every shade of opinion, produced a Report which was practically unanimous; and I am bound to say that it is even now a pleasure to look back upon the unanimity the Committee displayed in all the steps they took, and the earnestness of their desire to arrive at a satisfactory Report. They had to consider, among other things, Lord Cardwell's arrangements in 1873—in the General Order issued by Lord Cardwell, I think, in April, 1873, with reference to the establishment of linked battalions. These linked battalions were to be constructed by forming two single battalion regiments of the Line into one. In every district throughout England they were linked together; and under that General Order officers and men were appointed or enlisted into a regiment that was to form part of a brigade, and they were absolutely interchangeable between the linked battalions as much as if they had been a single regiment. Of course, as is well known, in the double battalion regiments the transfer of men and officers from one regiment to another already existed. With these linked battalions were coupled two Militia regiments, and the whole had their centre of instruction at one of the depôts—the depôts consisting normally of four companies, two from each battalion, and the two linked battalions. We felt this was not a system which ought to be continued. There was, I am afraid, a good deal of friction between the battalions of which each of these brigades was composed; and we came, as it will be found in page 77 of the Papers now laid before Parliament, to the conclusion that the only way to deal with this subject was either to separate them, or else to amalgamate them completely into one regiment. It was pointed out that the word "brigade," which occurred instead of the term "service," was wholly inapplicable. We inquired into the subject very carefully, and found that most regiments—there were some exceptions—attached importance to the designations by which they were known—that is to say, their title and special designation, far more than to the actual number of the regiment. In paragraph 15 of the Report, it will be seen that many regiments in times past have changed their numbers; and the Committee, in commenting upon that fact, said—

> "We consider that the number assigned to a regiment signifies comparatively little, and there is reason to believe that if battalions were allowed to retain their own distinctions, *esprit de corps* would be preserved, even when they formed part of one 'territorial' regiment—and we think it might confidently be expected that if the territorial designation were judiciously chosen, so that, as far as possible, the several nominal distinctions should be comprised within it, after a time an enlarged *esprit de corps* would grow up, and that the men of the 'territorial' regiment would look back to the traditions of former campaigns with no less pride than their predecessors."

I am glad the right hon. Gentleman now proposes to carry that into effect, and cannot help feeling gratified that even after this lapse of time the recommendations of that Committee have been found to be those most practicable and the best under the circumstances; and I hope I have enough public spirit, even though it has not fallen to my lot to carry out these changes, to be glad that they are to be carried out by one whom I respect so much as the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Still, with regard to these territorial regiments, great as are the changes proposed, they are not all that we recommended in our Report, and there is a point with regard to the depôts upon which I shall have to touch hereafter. Perhaps I may be allowed to state now, in a few words, why these arrangements were not carried out in the time of the late Government. This Committee, which assembled in 1876, reported in the autumn of that year, and its recommendations were considered in the spring of that year. So far as my recollection serves me, the details were under discussion during the whole of the early part of the year 1877. As to what happened in the latter part of the year I am not so able to speak personally, for at that time I was absent from the War Office, and when I returned a new position of affairs had arisen. We were then in a state of warlike preparation; indeed, very nearly approaching a state of actual war. The Reserves had been called out, and we felt that the time was not one for dealing with so great an organic change in the Army as the recommendation of the Committee undoubtedly involved. We thought it was better to wait for the experience which the calling out of the Reserve would afford us, and did not wish hurriedly or rashly to do anything which might in the slightest degree affect the status—always difficult to be determined—of the Reserve men when called out. But, in the autumn of 1878, these questions were further considered, and, to a certain extent, progress was made; but, as the Committee are undoubtedly too well aware, in the spring of the following year the Zulu War broke out, and it was my duty, in presenting the Estimates on the 3rd of March, at once to comment upon the grave disaster which had necessitated an increased expenditure for sending out troops to Zululand. I ask the Committee to consider that up to that time we had had nothing but hypothetical and conjectural experience as to what the working of Lord Cardwell's system would be. It was always objected to the plans of Lord Cardwell that they were wanting in elasticity, and that there was not, perhaps, sufficient margin left in some cases to provide against those very evils which had occurred in the Crimean War—namely, the denudation of battalions at home by battalions in the field. On the 3rd of March, 1879, I found it my duty to call attention to the working of the system in Committee of Supply, and upon that subject I said—

> "I think it right to speak with frankness about a fact which has been brought before the eyes of most men within the last few days—namely, that the short service system and the localization system have not removed the difficulty of which we have always complained, and still experience, of having to transfer men from one regiment to another. Almost all the commanding officers, although, comparatively speaking, they are used to see their men pass from them, feel the loss very much; and both commanding officers and regiments suffer unduly when those men are taken from them and transferred to other regiments. I do not wish to complain, or say that these matters could have been foreseen."

I then went on to say—

> "I shall, in a great degree, rely upon the assistance of a Commission or Committee, which I am prepared to appoint, consisting of officers high in the Service, by whose practical experience I shall endeavour to be guided, and by which, without departing from the general lines of the scheme which the country has adopted, we may, perhaps, be able to supplement it, and to supply, in some small details, the deficiencies which now exist."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxliv. 44-5.]

Upon that, as soon as instructions could be prepared, the Committee known as Lord Airey's Committee was appointed; and, in referring to that Committee, I cannot speak in too high terms, both of the industry with which they prosecuted their investigations, and the unremitting zeal with which they followed up the defects to which they were asked to address themselves. Some exceptions have been taken to that Committee having gone beyond their instructions, with regard to which fact I am bound to take the whole responsibility upon myself. My wish was to find out the whole truth, and I felt it my duty to impress upon the Committee the necessity of ascertaining the defects existing in the system, and of endeavouring, as far as possible, to point out the manner in which they could be remedied. Another reason for the postponement of the carrying out of the territorial system was its undoubted unpopularity with many persons in the Service. I have sometimes found that officers used to the existing rules of the Service have apprehended difficulties with regard to changes which, when carried out, have not involved the terrible consequences at first anticipated. But in this matter there was a sufficient general feeling to make me hesitate; and I therefore asked Lord Airey and his Colleagues to consider if they, from a military point of view, could suggest some scheme by which the defects, that we were only too well aware of, could be removed, and by which better arrangements could be made for the future. But the Report of the Committee was unfortunately delayed from time to time, and only reached me after the General Election had become a certainty, and when I felt that the large questions involved should await the incoming of the new Parliament. Anyone who has read the Report of Lord Airey's Committee will see that it raises questions of great importance, and certainly not such as could be decided offhand by an out-going Minister. To have decided them would clearly have hampered his successors; and, that being my view of the case, I thought it advisable to take no action upon the subject, but to leave the question to the right hon. Gentleman who would succeed me. I must ask pardon of the Committee for addressing them at such length upon this point; but they will understand that I am anxious to show the position not only of myself, but of my Colleagues, in relation to this great matter of Army Organization. I have endeavoured to make clear to the Committee our position last year; and I wish now to make one reference to the Report of the Militia Committee; and, in calling the attention of the Committee to the question of depôts, I may be, perhaps, allowed to exclude from discussion one part of the subject—namely, that relating to the question of the number of men at the depôts being larger than that voted by the House. Setting apart for a moment that Constitutional question, I wish to call attention to one of the most important recommendations of the Militia Committee, and to ask my right hon. Friend opposite whether he has considered that question; and, if so, in what mode he proposes to deal with it, or whether we are to understand that the proposal with respect to the depôts represents his temporary ideas only? By Lord Cardwell's plan it was intended that while one battalion of a regiment should be abroad the other should be kept at home. There was a complicated scheme laid down to provide for events which might happen during what was called a great war. The Militia battalions of the brigade were to act as feeders to the two Line battalions. In that case it was assumed that both battalions would be abroad at the same time, and that the Militia battalions were to take their place; the depôt was to be brought up to its full strength of 800, and other large changes of the kind were to remain in sequence. All these changes it was easy to recommend; but they involved large questions affecting the policy of the Government; and it is perfectly obvious that the logical sequence to the proposition made by General MacDougall's Committee would have been that, even in a small war, if we found ourselves obliged to detach an extra battalion from England, we should be obliged to call up an extra Militia battalion to take its place. That, however, could not be done; and it was pointed out in the 37th paragraph of the Report of the Militia Committee that—

> "It seemed desirable to add to the existing regulations some means by which the depôt could be expanded, so to speak, automatically whenever both line battalions of one brigade are abroad at the same time and are both likely to be absent for any period from the country."

It was observed that there had been eight or nine wars of various dimensions during only two of which had the Militia been embodied; and the Committee then went on to suggest that—

> "When two battalions were ordered abroad, it should be within the competence of the Secretary of State at once to raise the depôt to the strength of 600 men from 100, with the view that the depôt should be of sufficient strength to feed both Line battalions without calling for volunteers outside the brigade."

Now, I suppose that if there is one thing which is heart-breaking to all concerned, it is that of making up the strength of a regiment by volunteers from other regiments. It is naturally heart-breaking to the officers who have devoted their time and experience to the careful training of men to see them taken away from them, while it tends to destroy that *esprit de corps*, which it is, to a greater or less extent, the desire of all of us to see preserved in the Army. Accordingly we thought that if the depôts were to be increased the emergency should be met by other arrangements. Now, I do not trace in the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman anything approaching to the recommendation of the Committee with regard to the carrying out these regulations. I believe he proposes merely to increase the depôts of certain regiments upon which he thinks the largest demands will be made. Now, I want to point out the essential difficulty which there is in this matter. Under present arrangements you cannot, in the case of a depôt of 100 men, get 400 or 500 men to fill up a draft. The question of increasing the depôts is, therefore, by no means so small or technical a matter as at first sight it appears to be, and the difficulty is due to that want of elasticity which weighed down a great deal of the good in Lord Cardwell's system, and under which we have been labouring for many years. If, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman is able, by adding to his proposal, to do away with the present difficulties in respect of the depôts, I feel sure that, whatever difficulties he may have to overcome, he will find the result must compensate him for his labour and toil. The other great division of Lord Cardwell's reforms was that of the length of service of the men. I think, with regard to that matter, the decision must rest with the Executive. We know it is entirely within the competency of the right hon. Gentleman to make the proposed regulations if he thinks fit; and although I have no disposition to quarrel with the terms which he, no doubt upon the best advice, has fixed for the extension of service, I should certainly be quite ready to go to the limits he has proposed, if not to go a little beyond them. I suppose that no one wants to go back to long service or anything like life service; and I have found, as a rule, that there is no desire to keep the private soldier—I am not speaking of non-commissioned officers—longer in the ranks than 17 or 18 years. If you keep him longer he is of comparatively little use, and you bring yourself face to face with the question of pensions. The matter, however, is one which rests with the Executive; and I think my right hon. Friend will find, although, perhaps, I should have preferred nine years' service with the colours and six in the Reserve, that his proposal inasmuch as it extends the period of service, will meet with a very general approval. But, above all things, it is, in my opinion, advisable that the Executive should be as little as possible hampered by Acts of Parliament in matters of this kind. And it was with the idea of the desirability of changes being made from time to time as vacancies took place, and as recruiting flagged or prospered, that we took powers, in the Army Discipline Act of 1879, that the hands of the Secretary of State should be left as free as possible, either in enlisting a recruit for long service or sending him to the Reserve, always, of course, within the 12 years' service. With regard to enlistments, I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in practice, the various changes made in 1879 have been found to work well or not? The Committee will remember that the main object of the Act, under the enlistment section, was to make enlistment a matter of perfectly free contract between the man and the State; that the recruit was also to have the opportunity of getting out of this bargain within a reasonable time on the mere repayment of the expenses incurred by the State, and that that provision was introduced with the view of getting rid of the otherwise formidable number of deserters, of whom it was said that many left the Service by desertion because they could not get out of it in any other way, having taken a dislike to it during the first two months of their service. I should like some reference to be made to this point by my right hon. Friend. Although, of course, we cannot expect finality, I hope the system introduced in 1879 is working fairly and widely. My right hon. Friend has made also an important change in deciding not to enlist men under the age of 19. I wish I could be sanguine with regard to the result of this proposal. It is all very well to speak of an equivalent where the age can be determined, which will mean a certain chest measurement and so forth; but I am afraid there will always be an extraordinary coincidence in the current age at which recruits present themselves and the minimum age at which they are taken. I hope, however, the right hon. Gentleman will take care to get the article of the quality and description that he wants. I will endeavour to pass very briefly over certain other points in the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. There is one of them relating to the promotion of officers, which, however much I desire to approve the scheme of the Executive in respect to Army matters, I cannot altogether agree to. In this matter I cannot help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman has been misled by a desire for symmetry, as well as the natural desire to cut down what at first sight appears to be an extravagant and exorbitant list of generals; but that, perhaps, he may not secure the full result anticipated. This question was fully considered some time ago, and the point was raised whether the Establishment of generals should be cut down to the number actually required under the regulation for filling up posts occupied by officers of that rank. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman will be able to lay upon the Table of the House any actuarial calculation showing what is the expectancy of a general officer, both under his proposal and the former state of things. But I am bound to say that I have received from many quarters representations from general officers, who all seem, upon the principle, I suppose, that "hope springs eternal in the human breast," to think they will be chosen as colonels of regiments, and who nearly all include the pay attaching to that rank amongst their possible emoluments, and to whom the state of things proposed does not appear to be as favourable as that under which they are supposed by the right hon. Gentleman to have languished in times past. The position seems to me to be analogous to that which sometimes occurs in the Navy, for where you have a small list of officers the task of selection for command is rendered doubly invidious. If you have 100 men, and want to employ 10, the 90 cannot reasonably feel that they have been overlooked; but if you have a list of 15 from which to select 10 the five men who are not selected will take it to heart and linger under a sense of grievance or wrong. That is a difficulty which has occurred in the sister Service; and I hope, as far as possible, in the application of these warrants, every consideration will be given to the reasonable expectations of general officers. May I also say that I look with some apprehension, particularly in a Service constituted as ours, upon the diminution in the number of regimental subalterns. It is, perhaps, unavoidable; but, at the same time, it seems to me undesirable that this should take place at a time when we have daily complaints of the difficulty of finding good non-commissioned officers, and especially when we remember that the young subalterns of the present day work hard, and do their utmost to perform the work that was formerly done by older officers. This point is one which I think should not be overlooked. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman may be necessary for the purpose of promotion; but I think it well that we should be quite clear as to whether this promotion will remedy all the difficulties which the right hon. Gentleman anticipates. It is extremely difficult, however carefully actuarial calculations may be prepared, to adjust them to the actual affairs of life, and it may be proved that the expectations of the officers with regard to their chances may not be realized; nevertheless, it is desirable that we should know that in this matter of promotion the right hon. Gentleman has convinced himself by careful study and accurate information that its effect will be such as he was led to ascribe to it when he introduced his Statement to the House, and that there will be that diminution in the number of compulsory retirements, which will be, for the most part, a matter of satisfaction to all concerned. But if the right hon. Gentleman means that the officers whom it is intended to keep in the Army are only to be upon the unattached list, I am afraid he will not find that he has produced in fact that satisfaction which he has been led to anticipate; and I therefore ask him to furnish us with information upon this matter, and to give us an assurance that he has closely examined the point. There is another point to which I will briefly refer in connection with the subject of the diminution of officers. I believe the measure which was the work of the late Government for the establishment of a reserve of officers has added a very valuable class to the Service, which will be available in time of war. Already some advantage has been taken of it, and I believe one of the officers who fell in action recently had been an officer who, owing to family circumstances and position, had left the Service, but whom a love of honour and adventure attracted back, through the "reserve of officers," to the ranks which he had quitted. He is, perhaps, the first one of the reserve of officers who has fallen in action; and I think the present no unfitting occasion to pay a tribute to the devoted spirit which characterizes British officers even after they have left the Army, and to their willingness for service. It was thought that under the operation of Lord Cardwell's plans the first captains of Artillery and Engineers, when promoted, would, on reaching their position, retire and make way for others; but it was found in practice to be the case that these officers having succeeded to a better position, naturally did not look on the Service with disfavour, but remained in it. As it is quite possible that Line officers may be similarly actuated under the present scheme, I hope the right hon. Gentleman has made himself sufficiently acquainted with this matter. As I am aware that many hon. Members are prepared to speak on the subject of the position of quartermasters and riding-masters, I will only add the expression of my opinion in favour of this excellent class of officers. It is satisfactory to him that my right hon. Friend has made some improvement in the position of quartermasters; whether the plan will work out advantageously, however, is, perhaps, a matter of doubt in my mind. But I am bound to say it would, in my opinion, be better not to touch the question at all, than do so in a manner that would not be satisfactory to the officers affected by the change. I had hoped to hear that the quartermasters were to have a substantial increase of pay and improvement of their position, and probably the riding-masters also. All I will say, however, on that point is, that if the right hon. Gentleman finds his proposals are not so liberal and generous as he, no doubt, imagines they are, he will not be precluded from extending them. There are many other questions which might be pursued with advantage; but the detailed consideration of which I will now postpone. For instance, that relating to the Army Medical Department, about which the Committee would wish to know that the arrangements made have resulted in a sufficient supply of officers. I will, however, enter upon this question in detail upon the Vote. I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has been able to give effect to the labours of my hon. and gallant Friend the late Financial Secretary, and those who preceded him in clearing up the very difficult matter of the Stock Purse, and placing it on a fair and equitable footing. I will ask the right hon. Gentleman to give us the assurance that when the Vote for Ordnance Stores is reached he will not discourage full discussion upon that important question. Again, I am particularly anxious that the question of breech-loading, into which we went last year, and to which a great deal of attention has been directed, should be dealt with. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give the assurance that this has not been lost sight of, and that the question is being worked out in practice, as well as considered by the Ordnance Committee which has been appointed. Above all, I hope it will be bound in mind that while the Committee are sitting time is going on, and that other nations are not arming their ships with the class of guns made a few years ago. I trust, therefore, when we reach the discussion of these matters, the right hon. Gentleman will be able to state what progress has been made. Again, the subject of magazine arms is being followed up in other countries with great assiduity, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to say that it is receiving his best attention. There is another point upon which I wish to ask a question, and perhaps I can more conveniently ask it now, putting it in the form of a separate query. It is as to the assimilation of uniforms between the Line and the Militia. As many officers, it is well known, are now joining the Militia for the purpose of passing into the Line, it suggests itself whether it would not be well, in order to save expense, to young officers, to allow them, in anticipation of what was to take place in July, to get the clothing, whatever it might be, in which they would hereafter have to appear. I ask pardon of the right hon. Gentleman and of the Committee for having so long intervened between the Government and the Vote; but the right hon. Gentleman and other hon. Members will see that this is the first occasion on which I have been able to explain in detail the position of the late Government in respect to many of the important changes which are now proposed, and for that reason I hope I shall be excused by the Committee. The changes which the right hon. Gentleman suggests are changes the importance of which no one can deny, and I am not disposed to underrate them, or to under-estimate the difficulty the right hon. Gentleman must meet with in regard to the formation of his territorial regiments, and the many other changes connected therewith; but what I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us to understand is that those changes, important as they are, are not to be looked upon as final measures, but rather as a means to other measures which are to follow hereafter. I am quite aware that, although the Service does not lightly adopt every new idea, and although an instinctive common sense —rough if you please, but not on that account the less genuine—shows us where foreign ideas cannot be grafted into the working of the military institutions of this country, those persons have much misrepresented the Service who have said that it is opposed to progress or advancement in military science. I am quite sure that all who approach these questions in an earnest and single-hearted spirit will find that spirit responded to on behalf of the Service itself. I believe that the officers of our Service, yielding as they do to no officers in gallantry, will yield to the officers of few Services in devotion to that which they believe to be for the good of the Army and of their country. I believe there is no demand which the right hon. Gentleman can make which will be otherwise than thoroughly well responded to by the bulk of the officers; and, although it may have been at times the fashion to leave out of sight and look down upon the earnest work done by regimental officers, I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman, as he finds occasion to go more closely into matters relating to the Army, will not withhold from them that tribute and meed of approbation which undoubtedly for many years their exertions have well merited. Credit is due to the officers of Her Majesty's Service for the cordial manner in which, whenever they hear it pronounced by the firm lips of authority that certain changes have become necessary, they have accepted those changes and worked them in with all the best traditions of the Service, and endeavoured honestly and loyally to give effect to them. I trust that this will continue to be the case, and that the right hon. Gentleman will find his efforts for the benefit of the Army responded to in that spirit; and it is with an earnest desire to see those great reforms—great as they are in themselves, yet proving only the forerunners of other reforms to come—carried out to their logical conclusion, that I again tender to the right hon. Gentleman my earnest congratulations on the able statement which we have heard.

Colonel **COLTHURST** said, that to him it was a matter of great regret that the right hon. Gentleman had omitted an important matter from the proposed reforms. No one felt the value of the changes which the Secretary of State for War was about to introduce more than he (Colonel Colthurst). Inducements had been given to non-commissioned officers to re-engage themselves for pensions, and, so far, he had sought to remove the canker that was eating into the Service; but the right hon. Gentleman had disregarded the recommendations of Lord Airey's Committee, and also, he might almost say, the consensus of military opinion, by declining to allow even so small a percentage as 25 per cent of soldiers, not non-commissioned officers, to re-engage for pensions. Lord Airey's Committee had submitted to 124 officers commanding battalions and depôt brigades this question of the re-engagement of private soldiers, and 90 out of that number had expressed themselves in favour of allowing 20 per cent of the men to re-enlist for pensions. Some of the most distinguished generals were in favour of the retention of a certain proportion of private soldiers in the Army. Lord Napier of Magdala, for instance, spoke most favourably of the plan. Sir Patrick MacDougall, who might be considered the most earnest advocate of the new system, was in favour of 20 per cent, including officers, being allowed to re-engage. He was aware there were others, and amongst them some distinguished men—Sir Garnet Wolseley, for instance—who took a different view of the relative value of old and young soldiers. Sir Garnet had declared his readiness to go into a campaign with regiments entirely composed of young soldiers; but he ventured to think that, distinguished as Sir Garnet Wolseley's services had been, they had not been of a nature to warrant his opinion in this matter being looked upon as infallible. The campaigns that officer had been engaged in, owing, no doubt, to his own talents, but also to circumstances, had been short, and had not afforded that experience which was necessary to obtain acceptance for his opinion on such a point. On the other hand, Sir Frederick Roberts, who had had the experience of a severe campaign in Afghanistan, where the endurance of our soldiers had been tested beyond anything that had happened of late years, had distinctly stated that regiments composed of young soldiers were worth very little indeed, old soldiers being so much better fitted for difficult and arduous service than young ones. Anyone who had had the honour of commanding a regiment must be aware that there were a large number of men in it who did not possess the educational abilities which were now required for promotion, and who, therefore, could never rise from the ranks. These men might be most valuable, and their presence in the regiment after long service, in time either of peace or war, would be a most valuable factor in the stability and efficiency of the regiment. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would re-consider the matter. He had said that this question of pensions was one for the consideration of the Executive Government; but he (Colonel Colthurst) would put it to him that there was no better inducement they could offer to men to join the Army than fair pensions, and that no money could be better spent in the country than that spent in giving those pensions to a certain number of old soldiers, whether they were non-commissioned officers or privates. He would not further trespass on the time of the Committee, but would commend this matter to the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government. There was a question, again, of the quartermasters. These men had a grievance which had not been quite met; but the matter would be brought before the Committee by others better than he could bring it before them, consequently he would not say much about it. He trusted, however, that the grievance would be redressed. When the warrant officers were appointed there were a certain number of quartermasters in the Army Service Corps; and the warrant officers, therefore, had reasonable hope of becoming quartermasters in a certain number of years. The establishment of quartermasters, however, had been suddenly reduced, there being now, in fact, 35 in excess of the requirements. The position of the warrant officers was worse than it used to be. It was anomalous; they did the duty of officers, and yet they had to live with the men, and had no right to married quarters; they had to travel with the men and billet with the men, and had even to sleep in the same beds with the privates; they had not a sufficient allowance for servants, and could not get servants, owing to the duties the privates had to perform. He trusted that their case would be taken into consideration, if not at present, at any rate on some future occasion.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT was certain there was no one who had listened to the Statement of the Secretary of State for War a fortnight ago but must have felt that in it were contained measures of the greatest importance to the Army, and also measures deserving the most serious consideration of the Committee and the country. He ventured to say—and in that he differed a little from the right hon. and gallant Gentleman who had spoken from the Front Opposition Bench (Colonel Stanley)—that changes should not be made so rapidly and so often, because they were perfectly aware that unless the men knew exactly what were the duties they had to perform they would not so readily enlist. When people thought that changes were coming about, recruits came in but slowly; the recruits liked to be fully aware of the conditions on which they were entering the Service. They had to thank his right hon. Friend for the statement he had placed on the Table, and which every hon. Member had received, and which showed the changes which he proposed to carry out. Those changes were, first with regard to the short service, secondly with regard to localization, and lastly with regard to retirement and the promotion of officers consequent upon the abolition of Purchase. But, before he went into either of those changes, he would thank the right hon. Gentleman for the kind expressions he had used towards the Auxiliary and Reserve Forces, and for those honours which Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to intimate she would confer upon them for services rendered. These honours would be fully and gratefully accepted by the officers on whom they were to be conferred. There was one point with regard to the Volunteers, and only one point, which he wished to allude to, and that was as to their going into the Reserve. Now, he, for one, entirely disagreed with that proposal, and would point out that the Volunteer Force was formed for the defence of this country, and for that alone. The training of men in the Volunteers, worked as it had been by the greatest spirit, was yet not a training which would fit the men for the work of the Reserve which they might be called on any day to perform. More than that, these men were engaged in performing certain duties and employments in their different occupations, which duties they were thoroughly acquainted with, and if they were to be liable to be called out at any time by going into the Reserves, what would their employers say, and would they not look on the Service in a very different light to that in which they looked upon it at present? Let the Volunteers remain as they were now for a great, a good, and, he hoped, a most useful purpose. Do not attempt to alter them from what they were. It would be found that, in cases of great emergency, we had a body of over 200,000, men who had endeavoured, and were endeavouring, to learn their duty thoroughly, who were exceedingly good shots, and who in time of need might be of great service to the country. Turning to the system of short service, that system, no doubt, had been approved of by some and condemned by others; and, while he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had done wisely in dealing with the short service, yet he did not think he had dealt with it quite in a satisfactory way. They all knew perfectly well that it took a considerable time to make a good, useful, and efficient soldier; and if anything was needed to prove that, it was these small campaigns which had recently taken place in which our soldiers had been engaged. These small campaigns had clearly shown how lamentably deficient we were in good shots, and what a long time it took young soldiers to get properly and efficiently used to the Martini-Henry rifle. Another point was the necessity of training officers in connection with full complements of men, because, under the present system, they did duty with only a handful of men; and the result was that when they were in campaign they felt the want of experience, and were unused to the conditions in which they had to operate. He would venture to say that, looking at the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to increase the time for service in the Colonies and in India to seven years, with a possibility of its being raised to eight, he believed that the right hon. Gentleman would get an equal number of men if he were to say he would take them for eight years for foreign service. If the right hon. Gentleman were bold enough to say that men should be enlisted for foreign service for eight years—and he was going to say for eight years in the Reserve, but then there was the question of pensions—and he believed there were men who would enlist under the colours for eight years, and eight years in the Reserve—he ventured to say that the right hon. Gentleman would have a better class of men to deal with than he had at the present moment. [Mr. CHILDERS said, the period would be eight years in the Indian Service.] That was so; but the facts were not clearly enough shown in the Statement. He understood by the scheme a man might go to the Colonies and then to India, and then there might be a difficulty as to his knowing the exact time he had to serve; and if there was one thing a man hated more than another it was uncertainty upon that point. He considered it would be much better for a regiment to go out 1,000 strong for eight years instead of going for 16 years, as proposed, which must be very hard upon the Staff and other individuals, as they could not be classed as proposed by the right hon. Gentleman; in fact, he did not see how the battalions were to be relieved. When such wars as the Zulu War, or the war now going on in the Transvaal, occurred, they had to get more men; and they would find they had not enough battalions at home under the system they were now asked to pronounce to be the best system going. He should like to know that in future there would not be such a break down of the system as there had been lately. They knew what had been stated with regard to the short service; and what was the effect in the country of a speech delivered at the Mansion House by a distinguished officer; they also knew what had been the effect of the article in *The Nineteenth Century*, written by another gallant officer. The officers of the Army felt that the gallant officer who had written in *The Nineteenth Century* had made a great mistake when he condemned them wholesale for not wishing to do their duty. ["No, no!"] Well, anybody who read the article would see that he was only stating the fact. He had in his pocket at that moment a pile of letters complaining of that article; and he was firmly convinced that the hon. and gallant General would never have written the article if he had known the pain that he was creating by so doing. He differed entirely from the hon. and gallant General, who showed in his article that he had never had experience as a regimental officer in command of a regiment. If he had had that experience it would have taught him the value of regimental officers, and the anxiety of those officers to learn their duty. It was this that created the *esprit de corps* which distinguished the Service, and which enabled an officer to depend upon his troops—for an officer knew what his men would do when he had thorough confidence in the regiment, and the regiment in their officers. The top stone of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme, and the best thing in the whole of his proposals, was that relating to the non-commissioned officers. That would recommend itself to the Committee and to the country, because the right hon. Gentleman had clearly shown that he knew what was the backbone of the British Army. Nothing could be more important to the men, or give better results, than that a non-commissioned officer should have the opportunity of saying whether he would serve for 21 years or not. If the men knew that they might rise to the rank of serjeant, and receive a pension after 21 years' service, we should have more prospect of getting the better class of recruits the country was anxious to obtain. Experience had shown that we had now in the Reserve many men who would have availed themselves of the opportunity of serving for 21 years if the system had allowed them. We had seen the men of the Reserves tramping the country; and he would put it to the Committee whether that was a creditable thing for an Empire like ours? By improving the prospect of obtaining a pension they would get a better class of men; and the men they wanted to get were those who would be able to return to some good occupation when they left the Service. These men who were now tramping the country were the men who would have been willing to serve in the Army for a far longer time than that for which they were enlisted. When they became strong and well-trained, they made really good soldiers; but when we turned them away after three years, not only did we injure the Army, but did the men a great injustice. With regard to the localization scheme, he was not going to discuss it at that moment. He knew there were many heart-burnings about doing away with the title of the old regiments. It had, by anticipation, annoyed, and he had been going to say disgusted, a large number of people; and he did not think the territorial titles would be used very long. When commanding officers came to send home their statements, the numbers alone would, in a short time, be given. The right hon. Gentleman, he thought, had made a mistake when he had increased the number of kilted regiments; for the greatest difficulty was at present experienced in getting men to fill up the vacancies in the Highland regiments. His own county regiment, the 35th, at the depôt at Chichester, with the 107th, had enrolled a large number of recruits. They had more recruits than they wanted; and what happened? Why, these men who had enlisted into the Royal Sussex Regiment were, because men were wanted elsewhere, sent to Scotland and put into kilts. The Lowlanders from his county, accustomed to the furze bushes of their own district, were sent up and put into kilts, perhaps the very last thing they desired when they enlisted. Did the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that the depôt centres were to furnish all the recruits for the two battalions of the Line and the two battalions of Militia? because if he did not the whole system again would break down. In many counties there was only one regiment of Militia, and he wished to know whither he was going to raise the other regiment? The question was an important one, and one which ought not to be passed by lightly, because it must be borne in mind that this scheme would be on its trial. Another consideration was that of the Reserve, especially the Militia Reserve, which was, no doubt, very valuable, but which he held should be entirely and absolutely distinct from the Militia regiments. And he also considered that, in case of war, both the Army and the Militia Reserves should be absolutely made use of. At present, they were no use; and the Government would have to beg, borrow, or steal from other regiments to make up a battalion. But they ought to make the Reserve at each depôt so complete that it would fill up the battalions; and whenever they drew from the Militia Reserve they should enlist a sufficient number of new men into that Reserve at once. Those were points well deserving of the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman. Then there was another important point, and that was the question of the First Army Corps. We had had a First Army Corps before; but, when wanted, it had never been found to be in an efficient or complete state. What the country required was an Army Corps fit to embark at any moment, with commissariat, transport, ammunition, &c., all complete, and that was what he understood that the right hon. Gentleman intended to provide. But if occasion occurred, would some of the regiments be sent abroad? [Mr. CHILDERS: No.] He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was glad to find that the Corps was to remain intact; but, if so, the Government, he feared, would have to take men away from other regiments, and he would like to know where they were to come from. He did not see that we were going to benefit by a single additional man; and what he wanted the right hon. Gentleman to explain was how he would keep up the flow of numbers in the regiments, and how he would secure that we should always have regiments fit and in good order ready to embark at a moment's notice. He urged that we ought to have a *Corps d'Armée* always complete, and that there should be a Commander of that *Corps d'Armée* with other generals under him, so that we might feel that we had some men who were capable of taking command. There were many men who had not yet had an opportunity or chance of taking command, but who might be sent abroad to-morrow to take command in the field. This was one of the first considerations the Secretary of State for War ought to take into account. Then there was the question of the commissariat and transport. Unless the Army Corps was complete in every respect it would not be ready for service. What was wanted was an Army Corps complete at every point. There were one or two more important points, especially with regard to the officers. He most deeply regretted that the right hon. Gentleman was going to curtail the number of officers. It might be taken as a broad fact and a general rule that there should be three officers to every 100 men; and when we saw in the Franco-German War the effect of the loss of officers, and when we remembered the shortness of officers in our own campaigns, even in the last Afghan campaign, and when we considered the differences of climate which our officers had to undergo, was it wise to curtail the number of officers simply to reduce the expenditure? The Army was the great insurance for the country. Let us pay for it manfully and honestly, without any waste, but not cut down one of the most important things in the Army—the number of the officers. Then there was the question of the two lieutenant-colonels and four majors for an Infantry regiment; and he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what the second lieutenant-colonel was to do, and what the four majors were to do. There was something which, he hoped, was a visionary flash, about double companies; but he hoped nothing of the sort was contemplated. If men were to be made majors they should still command their companies, as captains and lieutenant-colonels did in the Guards. It was important that each man should command his own company, the great consideration in the Army being to make each officer responsible for the part he commanded. If they gave officers the credit of keeping their companies in order they would do much to strengthen the *esprit de corps* of the regiment. Then, why were Cavalry regiments to have only one colonel? Had the right hon. Gentleman considered what would be the effect upon Cavalry colonels; or, having two in the Infantry and only one in the Cavalry, how unfair it would be to Cavalry officers with regard to promotion? As to the two Infantry colonels, he must point out that no man would command a regiment more than two and a-half years; because, after five years, each colonel would be put on the shelf, and if a major got his promotion to lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of which a colonel had had command for two and a-half years, he would have to wait two and a-half years before he got command of the regiment; and then he could only retain the command for another two and a-half years. He would venture to say that the most mischievous thing ever done was the introduction of the five years' service for colonels. He believed it had done more mischief than anything else that could be imagined. It had been good for promotion; but if a man had a regiment put into his command on its return, say, from India, for five years, he had barely time to get it into good order, when he had to leave, and his successor got all the credit. More than that, it seemed to be thought that if a man had command of a regiment for five years he had learnt all he could learn. He thought that was not the case; and if they put a man on one side, in what position was he when they called upon him to do duty again? The right hon. Gentleman had been but a short time at the War Office, and he had tried to make himself acquainted with Army matters; but there were so many details that he would defy any man who had not been there for a number of years, and who had not had considerable experience, to master all the details of those matters. It was only by free discussion of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal that the subject could be brought before the Committee or the country. He wished to give the right hon. Gentleman credit for what he was going to do for quartermasters and riding-masters; but with regard to the general officers he must point out one consideration. Major-generals might be retired, after a certain number of years, on £700 a-year, though they might be receiving good-conduct pay, and believed that they would in future get commands of regiments. It was deserving of consideration that every man was now to be put on precisely the same level, whatever he might have done, or however deserving an officer he might be. He made these remarks with no carping spirit, but with a desire to assist the right hon. Gentleman, and he must press strongly upon him the importance of eight years' service, and as long a time in the Reserve as possible, and in the case of war another year's service, because the longer we could secure men who had been inured to a soldier's life the better it would be for the country. He wished the right hon. Gentleman every success; but he urged him fairly to consider the matters he had mentioned, believing that in making the scheme as perfect as possible he would have done more than he first thought of doing for the benefit of the Service and the interest of the country.

Sir **HARRY VERNEY** also wished to make a few suggestions to the Secretary of State for War. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would agree that whatever was necessary to enable a soldier to do his duty ought to be given him by the State, and that it was hard upon soldiers that when they went to sea they should have to pay for their own sea kits. They ought to have their sea kits supplied to them. Of course that would involve considerable expense; but we must recollect that our Army and Navy were the cheapest insurances of the objects most precious in the world. Then, as to the men's gloves, why should the soldiers have to pay for them? If they were necessary for the proper performance of their duty they ought to be supplied to the soldiers. Events of the last few months had put our country in a much worse position in the eyes of Europe than it was ever before. He ventured to say that the defeats we had suffered had lowered our military estimation, and that made it all the more important that our Army should be rendered as efficient as possible. Higher requirements of capacity in all branches of the Service would render the Army more interesting to the officers and to the men, and we should get a better class of men into it in consequence. Then, with regard to the officers in the Intelligence Department. In other armies they had the opportunity of seeing large masses of men together, and the greatest possible care was taken in giving them opportunities of studying for their Department; but in our "Intelligence Department" we had only eight officers. At Berlin he had found more than 40 in the *Ober Stat.* And what was the reason of Sir Garnet Wolseley's successes in the Red River Expedition? The fact that we were acquainted with the country. That war cost something under £100,000, and the reason why the Abyssinian War cost so much more was our ignorance of the country. The Intelligence Department was one of the most important Departments for the welfare of the Army; and, although the officers engaged in that Department were admirable officers, it was certainly one which was of a very limited description compared with what it ought to be. In our defeat at Isandlana the General in command did not know where the enemy were; but if he had had a perfectly organized and efficient Intelligence Staff, he would have been aware that the enemy were near him, and he would not have sustained that lamentable defeat—the first of our South African disasters. Then, with regard to shooting. At present we had only one shooting station—Shorncliffe. At one time we had also Fleetwood. We ought to have several ranges where the men ought to be taught accurate shooting, and encouragement given to the best shots. There was hardly any respect in which our men were so defective as in accurate shooting. We had, no doubt, suffered very much from that in past wars; and in the Transvaal our enemies were much better marksmen than our men. As to the non-commissioned officers and privates, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would allow some of our old soldiers pensions. There were many duties in the Army which young men could not perform nearly so well as old ones; and he thought it would be desirable to allow some of the old soldiers to complete their 21 years' service, and so insure a pension. Also there were many small offices under Government which old soldiers and old sailors could perfectly well fill; and he thought Members of Parliament ought to be willing to distribute such little bits of patronage as fell to them among men who had served their country, and who could perform the duties required as well as civilians. Another point he wished to mention was the uniforms of officers, which he thought ought to be plainer than they were. When the French and German Armies met at Sedan, the French officers were covered with Orders and lace, while the German officers were very simply dressed; and when the French Emperor surrendered his sword, the contrast between the highly-ornamented officers of the French Staff and the plainly-dressed officers of the German Staff was most remarkable. He approved of the principle of selection for promotion, believing that above a certain rank there ought certainly to be selection. That would throw a great responsibility on the Commander-in-Chief; but the Commander-in-Chief ought to be willing to take that responsibility in this matter. He was largely dependent upon the Adjutant General and Quartermaster General and the Military Secretary; and he thought that five years' service in those offices was not sufficient for those three officers. They could not learn their duties, making themselves acquainted with the capacity and qualifications of every officer above a certain rank, in less than three years; and that left them only two years in which to be able to inform and guide the Commander-in-Chief in his selection of officers for important commands. He had a strong opinion that great injustice was done to the Guards in not sending them upon foreign service, and urged that they should have an opportunity of learning their duties under fire, which was the only way in which they could become really efficient soldiers.

General BURNABY said, the matters they had now under consideration were the numerical force of the Army and its cost. In order to appreciate whether the numbers included in the Estimates were the relative proportions which the country should possess, it was desirable to review the forces that each Continental nation was capable of bringing into the field. The Estimate of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, in Schedule A, asked for a total number of 624,972 men, the present effectives, according to the last Returns, being 575,262; but the European Armies, including our own, were capable of bringing into the field 9,500,000. Consequently this country was only prepared to bring about 500,000 men into the field, as against the 9,000,000 supplied by the other European nations. Foremost among the Armies of the Continent was that of Russia, which, according to statistics supplied to him not long ago by the Military Intelligence Department of the State, numbered 2,500,000. The Austrian Army numbered, in round numbers, 1,300,000; the German Army, 1,700,000; and the French Army 1,080,000. Many hon. Members would be surprised to hear of the organization by which Italy was able to bring into the field, if an emergency should require it, no less an Army than 1,800,000 men. He had now named the principal and the largest Armies of the Continent; but it might be interesting at this moment to state what the numerical organization of the Turkish Army was compared with that of Greece. Turkey was prepared to bring into the field some 365,000 men, whereas Greece was not prepared to place in the field more than 24,000 men. Any force above that number that might be brought to bear at the present moment in the emergency which appeared to be threatening would be undrilled levies. He therefore thought, under all the circumstances, that England might congratulate herself upon not abstracting from the labour power of the country, and thereby fettering the industry of the country, for military purposes than absolutely seemed necessary. It now behoved him to enter into the consideration whether, under the modern appliances of warfare, and bearing in mind the vast possessions of the Empire, its extensive Frontiers, and their great distance from the Home basis of operations, the present strength of the British Army was sufficient. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War considered it unnecessary to make any material increase in the establishment of the force; and with this preface, he (General Burnaby) would now make a few remarks upon the Papers which the right hon. Gentleman had placed in their hands. In the first place, he begged to thank the right hon. Gentleman for the clearness with which the Papers had been prepared by him and placed before the House. They made the whole matter perfectly intelligible; and he thought the clearness with which everything was now explained overcame, in a great measure, if not entirely, the complaints in regard to the delay of the want of adequate Reports. The Memorandum prepared by the right hon. Gentleman was distributed a few days ago. Looking at it categorically, he found the first portion of it concerned the stamina of the men. He thought himself that with regard to the stature of the men the chest measurement had not been sufficiently considered. He had always thought, and he thought so still, that it was advisable to apply the minimum of 34 inch chest measurement which was required in the Guards to a minimum stature of 5 feet 7 inches. No men, he thought, should be enlisted who were less than 34 inches in chest measurement. He believed it was now the practice, when a man under 5 feet 8 inches was enlisted, if he had a chest measurement of 33 inches to accept him. [An hon. Member: No; 34 inches.] He thought it would be found, by reference to the General Order, that what he stated was really the case; if not, he was glad to hear of the improvement. He came next to the obliteration of the facings of some of the regiments. It was proposed that the facings of the English regiments should be of one colour, and of the Welsh regiments of another, and this would avoid a great deal of trouble to those who had to deal out the facings which had hitherto distinguished the various regiments. His friend, Colonel Hudson, who had had a great deal to say in regard to the organization of the clothing of the Army, once complained that there were no less than 17 different shades of green cloth, and the colonels of regiments were particular about having them of the proper shade. Personally, he was sorry to see that the facings were to be obliterated, and for this reason—the difference in the facings was of very great importance when several regiments, on some particular occasion, found themselves intermixed with each other, and had to rally. The distinction between the different facings, under such circumstances, enabled the men to rally upon each other more readily, and enabled their captains and section commanders to bring them together with much greater facility. He remembered a particular instance of this when he was commanding seven or eight battalions at Chobham at one of the Autumn Manœuvres. The men were in several lines of entrenchments on which an attack was made; and on that occasion, when these seven or eight battalions had to retire, and of necessity to do so, in an intermixed state, and rally preparatory to re-forming, the distinctive colours of the facings aided them materially in doing so. He might mention that in the Army of the United States they found it an advantage to have outside their great coats and outside their uniform, when on active service, a distinctive piece of cloth of particular shapes and colours — sometimes a diamond, sometimes a square, sometimes a trefoil which designated the particular brigade, division, and *Corps d'Armée* to which the men belonged. He sincerely trusted that the obliteration of the facings would not have a prejudicial effect; but he was very much inclined to believe that it might have. With regard to the colours and the carrying of them into action, he knew that there was a difference of opinion on the subject. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had received confidential Reports from the various commanding officers of regiments; but it was a subject in which the public also took great interest. Under the new system of drill, half-battalions had been brought prominently forward; and according to the new arrangement the Queen's colours were to take their place with the right half-battalion when it was separated from the other half-battalion, and the regimental colours would accompany the left half-battalion. This arrangement threw a great anxiety and responsibility on the commanders of battalions, by doubling the responsibility. Under the old system the two colours were kept together.

He was of opinion that only one colour should be taken into action and the other left at home, and whether the colour so left should be the Queen's or the regimental colour was only a matter of Departmental detail. Personally, he should be sorry to see our regiments not taking one colour into action. With regard to the supply of small arms, it would be found that the number of revolvers dealt out to the English Army was very much less than that supplied to foreign Armies. If our officers attached to the United States Ministry had reported to the authorities of the Intelligence Department properly it would be found that a very large number of pistols had been sent both to the Russian and German Armies; that, in short, every officer and non-commissioned officer, and the entire Cavalry of those Armies were armed with revolvers of a very superior make. The hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer) had raised the question of magazine guns. He (General Burnaby) knew that, as a matter of fact Russia of late had been buying magazine guns of superior make very largely, both for their naval and territorial service. These guns loaded from the feed fired 21 shot without reloading, and were of a very different description to those hitherto used. It was very necessary for our military authorities to take into serious consideration the advisability of enlarging the number of revolvers issued to British troops, and likewise to consider whether a certain number of them should not be supplied with magazine guns. He now proposed to make a few remarks with regard to the pay proposed to be given to non-commissioned officers. He, in common with every Member of the Committee, was led to consider whether that pay was conducive to the retention of the non-commissioned officers, and whether the inducements held out to these men in the shape of pay and pension was just and proper. When the Reserves were called out in 1878 he held the distinguished command of the Grenadier Guards, with an establishment of 5,950 men of all ranks. He was very particular, in making a record of the men who rejoined the regiment from the Reserves, to know what occupation they had when called out, and how much they were earning. He found that the average they were earning, irrespective of the 4*d.* a-day reserve pay, was precisely £1 1*s.* $5\frac{3}{7}$*d.* a-week. He also made it his duty to ascertain whether the men were able to resume the employment from whence they came, and he learned that in the great majority of cases they were able to do so. Allowance must be made for the time of the year the Reserves were disbanded, inasmuch as those who did not obtain their old employment were engaged in the harvest then going on, and on this account the average weekly earnings were slightly increased to £1 2*s.* $7\frac{1}{10}$*d.* Now, if they wished to obtain the services of good non-commissioned officers for the Army the men must be properly compensated. The Return from which he had thus quoted he would gladly place in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman and his Staff, inasmuch as it would assist the Department in arriving at what should be the pay of the non-commissioned officers of the Army. That was an important point, for the non-commissioned officers, and especially those in the Cavalry, were indispensable in carrying on the *régime* of our Army,—our small and useful Army as it had been termed—and this particularly with a short service system. He was disposed to think that the right hon. Gentleman had proposed a step in the right direction in respect to the length of service. Whether the step was as big as it might be was a matter of doubt even amongst his own comrades. Some years ago the country awoke, in its wonted spasmodic way, to the fact that her national defences were inadequate. At that time we had one of the little Cape wars on our hands—wars which were at once distressing and inglorious. In *The Life of the Prince Consort* it was said it must not be forgotten that it was for attack that England always had used her forces, and most probably would always continue to use them, on the principle that the best parry is a vigorous attack, and that, for the purposes of attack, it is not well that our regiments should be drained of their oldest soldiers; and the late Duke of Wellington wrote to the Prince Consort that the life and soul of a regiment, company, or squad, was the old soldier who had served for 10 years and had attained 27 or 28 years of age. He (General Burnaby) had had some experience in these matters, and he thought it very indispensable to have a certain proportion of old soldiers in a regiment to leaven the young men. The example of old soldiers, whether at home or on active service, was most beneficial, and it was always made a point in the Brigade of Guards that a certain number of old soldiers should be quartered at the recruit depôt, so that by their example and demeanour they might lead the young soldiers in the right way. It was felt that they had not got that sufficiency of old soldiers which they believed was essential. He now came to the establishments of the regiments, and would venture to compare them with those existing at the time of the Crimean War—no doubt a more favourable time than the present. At that time the Brigade of Guards were sent out; but what happened? They went out 1,200 strong; but during the war they had to send out drafts amounting to another 1,200 to replace those previously sent. It was interesting to remember what they were able to do in 1878—only a few years ago—when the Brigade of Guards prepared a brigade for the emergency which was then on the tapis, and which threatened war. The 2nd battalion of the Grenadier Guards was ordered to get ready and place itself upon a war footing. It searched for its Army Reserve men, and found it had 54. It then applied to the first battalion for 212 men, and to the third battalion for 211; 477 men, therefore, were required to bring the battalion up to its war establishment. The total number of inefficients then serving in that single battalion was 259. A certain number of these were pronounced disqualified from youth, and likewise from age. He and those officers of the Guards whom he had consulted, and with whom he was in daily relation, believed their system was not the most economical system, or one conducive to having a body of men ready to take the field upon any emergency. The system tended to the retention of useless men for pension. The Committee knew full well how tenaciously a man who had served, say 16 years, would persevere in the Service when he knew that after 21 years' service he was entitled to a pension. He was afraid that not only in the Brigade of Guards, but throughout the Army, there were a great many useless men. It would, however, considering their length of service, be a most ungracious thing to cause them to retire unless they were given something to satisfy them. Nothing did so much harm to our recruiting system—and it must be borne in mind that that system was purely voluntary—than to send dissatisfied men, or men with a grievance, back to their native villages. Of this he might be permitted to give an illustration. which he thought would not be uninteresting. It so happened that a desire was expressed in his native county—Leicestershire—that, upon a certain occasion, all the men in the county having medals should assemble and dine together. He ascertained that there were about 500 of such men, and of this number 450 assembled. They represented the actions of England from Corunna and Coomassie, and from this fact alone it can be easily conceived how interesting the gathering was. There were some villages which sent several men, and he was anxious to ascertain why these villages with so many veterans had not contributed more recruits to the present Army. He learned that it was in consequence of some grievance these veterans had that no men belonging to their villages would enlist. From the experiences of the old soldiers the young men of the place thought the Army was shabbily treated. That was why it was important that proper attention should be paid to the claims of the retiring men. It ought to be remembered that the very proper reforms proposed by the right hon. Gentleman were to be carried out at the expense of a great reduction of officers. The reforms were important and beneficial; but the nation ought to contribute to them, and not merely the officers. He had already shown that the number of men in the Brigade of Guards, found inefficient when an emergency arose, was large. It was not only large when the emergency of 1878 took place, but it was likewise large when they had to send two battalions to Canada in 1861. In the time of the Crimea the country was unable to supply the regiment with proper drafts, and recourse was had to foreign mercenaries. For the purposes of defence we no longer required foreigners; but it must be carefully considered whether the price paid to our Army was such that upon an emergency we need not take alarm. He had instanced that 1,200 Grenadier Guards were sent to the Crimea, and what happened in their case he was confident occurred in the case of many regiments. Reinforcements were required to the extent of 1,258. They went out in February, and the Home battalions were unable to make the supplies demanded of them as many other battalions were. It was in the spring of that year the Emperor of the French came over to this country; he forgot now at what station his Imperial Highness arrived in London; but the Brigade of Guards were desired to furnish a complimentary guard of honour. Such was the number to which the Guards were reduced that two or three omnibuses had to convey them by a roundabout route from Charing Cross—supposing that was the station at which the Emperor arrived—to the second point at which the Guards were required to present arms. It was not desirable the Guards should be reduced to such straits, and he wished to avoid it in the future. It was, however, upon other grounds he suggested the Brigade of Guards should be made into three regiments of nine battalions in all, three in each—namely, Grenadiers, Coldstreams, and Scots Guards; so that there should always be one division stationed at Aldershot, undergoing training, to which he attached considerable importance. In that case there would be one division always ready for service, another in support, and one into which the young men unable to take the field would be transferred. He was quite aware the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) would say this would be expensive in the shape of a few more officers; but they had their recruiting establishment at Caterham, and they had sufficient non-commissioned officers who should be able to carry on the Staff duties without any increase in their number. They would then be able to feed the service battalions. He hardly liked to suggest it; but there was one Highland regiment which had been left out in the cold. He did not know how it would like to be included in the arrangement he suggested by forming the 3rd battalion to the Scots Guards; but he might mention that the 3rd battalion of the Grenadier Guards emanated from a battalion of Marines; and he, who had had the proud distinction of commanding the 3rd battalion of Guards appreciated that fact. There was another point to which he wished to direct the attention of the Secretary of State for War, and that was that the Guards felt they had no opportunities of taking part in those Border or Frontier wars in which England was often engaged. Officers might volunteer and be accepted; but non-commissioned officers and privates in the Guards had volunteered; but they were unable to obtain foreign service, and that was a matter of very grave consideration. It was only last week a deserving old non-commissioned officer of the Grenadier Guards—his name was Mallender—sought to obtain that which otherwise he would have had a pretty good chance of getting, it was the post of one of the Yeomen of the Guard. "Have you any medals," he was asked. "No," he replied. "Well," he was told, "we only want men with medals, so that they may appear with them in the corridors." He (General Burnaby) assured the Committee the officers of the Guards felt they had not had an opportunity, for the last quarter of a century, of taking part in any campaign. The only other subject upon which he would now speak was that of the quartermasters. He considered the quartermasters had been well dealt with; but they had a grievance. They felt, as he had previously mentioned, that the right hon. Gentleman was taking out of the four corners of the Estimate a big corner from them. Whether they were right or wrong he would not say; but they argued that the difference of service at which they should retire—namely, from 48 to 55 years of age, would give the right hon. Gentleman £290,000 to devote to other purposes. They might be wrong, but that was what they maintained; and if the Secretary of State for War could clear up the point it would be extremely wise for him to do so. They believed that to their detriment the right hon. Gentleman had enriched himself, and enabled himself to do those things upon which he so justly prided himself. Then the quartermasters of Artillery said that the good-service pensions were taken away in 1865, and transferred to the Coast Brigade. Whether that was intended to be only temporary, inasmuch as it was an innovation, had never appeared in the explanatory official notes. If the pensions were to revert to the quartermasters of the Royal Artillery he believed they would be satisfied. On the other hand, if they were taken away altogether, it would be felt as a great hardship by men who believed they performed duties more onerous than their brethren of the Coastguard Brigade.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that he had a few remarks to make on the proposals of the Secretary of State for War, as to Army Organization, short service, and compulsory retirement. He regretted that the Memorandum on organization issued on the previous day had not been forthcoming at the commencement of the Session. He could see no reason why that had not been done. It was so intricate that hon. Members had really no opportunity of duly considering its details. It was proposed, in the first place, that four *aides-de-camp* to the Queen should be appointed from officers of the Volunteers. Nobody could object to that. But it was further proposed that four Knight Commanderships and 25 Companionships of the Civil Order of the Bath were to be "reserved for officers of the Militia Forces." He would like some explanation of this proposal. He should like to know what, in future, would be the Militia Forces, because, as the Militia was to be amalgamated with the regiments of the Line, and these were to form one regiment, he could hardly suppose that in future they would be called Auxiliary Forces. Did the expression used mean that these honours were to be "reserved" from others, or that they were to be created in addition? If these honours were to be given to the Militia, why should they be of the Civil Division of the Order? If the Militia were to be amalgamated with the Army, what an anomaly it would be to have part of the regiment receiving the rewards of the Military Division of the Bath, and the other part the rewards of the Civil Division. If that were intended the separation which had hitherto existed as between the Line and the Militia would still be maintained; and he could see nothing in the proposed arrangement that would tend to the benefit of the Militia or of the Line. Again, he saw that after 15 years' service non-commissioned officers of the Line were to be liable to be transferred to the permanent Staff of the Militia battalions. He trusted the Secretary of State for War would reconsider this step, because, in his opinion, there could be no greater error than to transfer the non-commissioned officers of the Army to the Militia, where they would be relegated to work to which they were totally unaccustomed. If they were good soldiers he should think it better for them to remain in the Army and receive a pension. He trusted that some means would be found to allow the old soldiers to extend their service beyond 12 years, notwithstanding that the Memorandum restricted this to artificers and musicians, because he was of opinion that a leavening of old soldiers was most valuable to a regiment. Again, he was utterly at a loss to understand the arrangement with regard to the maintenance of the strength of the battalions for Home and Colonial service. The regiments sent out on relief would be reduced by 150 rank and file, and he desired to know how these men were to be disposed of. In referring to the statement on page 7, which related to the command of regiments, he should confine his remarks to the Infantry, which, although the other branches of the Service were, of course, most important and necessary, constituted the backbone of the Army. He found there were to be two lieutenant-colonels and four majors added to each regiment. Now, he wished the right hon. Gentleman would state on what principle that addition was to be made? He assumed that the Infantry of the Line was formed in that mode which was most suitable for attacking and defeating the enemy. It was with that object they were maintained by the country. A few years ago the method of attack had been altered, and it was then arranged to place each half of the battalion under the command of one major; both attacking and working as different bodies under the general control of the commanding officer of the regiment. That was now the general system of attack, and it was, as he believed, a good one. How, then, was that system to be carried out when the regiments had four majors instead of two, as he presumed, under the two lieutenant-colonels? Formerly there were two majors under one lieutenant-colonel; but now there were to be four majors under two lieutenant-colonels. He would also like to know what were to be the duties of the two lieutenant-colonels and the four majors. In what way, again, were the old captains of the companies to be employed? The work to be cast upon the majors of the regiment, in addition to their other duties, and of which explanation was given, appeared to him to be more than any one man could perform with efficiency. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would afford an explanation upon that point, and would point out to him that the officers of the Army were looking forward with intense interest to the explanation that would be given. They wanted to know if they were to be relegated to inferior duty, and if so, what that duty would be. Again, on page 5 of the Memorandum he found that in future the regiments going to India and other places abroad were to remain out of the country for 16 years. That was a point of the greatest importance, and he could hardly think the right hon. Gentleman had considered it in all its bearings. It was said that the officers and men were to return after eight years; but, if that was to be the case, he asked how could there be any saving of expense? He certainly could not see that the new system would effect a saving of expense. As a friend had remarked to him, all that would be saved would be the expense of sending backward and forward the regimental plate chest. He could not think the system a good one under which a regiment would be in India practically for 32 years, during which time it would be shut off from the Colonial service of the country. The right hon. Gentleman said he did not like the local corps in India; but he (Sir Alexander Gordon) must point out to him that the system of sending regiments to India for 32 years meant really local service in its most objectionable form. If the right hon. Gentleman would prepare a roster of foreign service for a regiment during the next 50 years, he would see how the system would work. For his own part, he had grave doubts that it would work satisfactorily. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would have the roster which he suggested prepared. The next subject he would refer to was that of compulsory retirement, concerning which he thought the proposals of the Secretary of State for War were of the most alarming character. At the time when Mr. Gathorne Hardy was Secretary of State for War, the system of compulsory retirement now in force was first proposed. He had given that system his opposition in Committee, and had endeavoured to point out how fatal a system of retirement it would be. The country now had only an experience of four years of the system, and it was found to be intolerable. It was, as the officers in the Service said, most unjust for the officer and unwise for the State. Under it the very officers whom the State ought to retain were sent away to make room for young gentlemen fresh from the nursery. Therefore, he trusted that compulsory retirement would be abolished. The right hon. Gentleman had, however, said he would not reduce the number of captains; he only intended to reduce the number of majors, colonels, and generals. It appeared to him that the remedy was worse than the disease, for it was much worse for a man to be forced to retire a major than as captain. The captain might engage in commerce or take up any other occupation; but, as a rule, the major could not do so. Turning to another subject, he entirely concurred with the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) about Scotch regiments. He thought at one time that he might live to see the day when kilted regiments would be done away with, as unsuitable for a soldier's dress. But he never expected to live to see the day when four additional kilt regiments would be added to the English Army, and he was quite amazed to see it. He would tell the Committee how it stood with the Gordon Highlanders. The 75th regiment was allotted to be joined with the Gordon Highlanders. It would be found, from a Parliamentary Paper laid before the House in 1878, that the 75th Regiment then had one Scotch officer and 38 Scotch non-commissioned officers and men, and the 750 other men were all Englishmen and Irishmen, and yet they were going to put these men into kilts and make them fight our battles. Was that a practical system? He had worn the kilt, and he knew its advantages; but if he had to sleep in a ploughed field, which soldiers had sometimes to do, give him anything else but the kilt. Some hon. Members, perhaps, had seen the Aberdeenshire Militia at the Salisbury Review, on which occasion they were probably the finest regiment in the field. They were then in trousers, and their smartness was much admired. Subsequently, however, the officers developed an ambition to appear at a ball in kilts, and ultimately they got the whole regiment into the kilt. What was the consequence? The regiment had not been able to raise a second battalion. How, then, could the Aberdeenshire Militia find, as it was proposed, recruits for the 97th and 75th Regiments? Nobody ever saw a Highlander wearing a kilt for his own pleasure; nor following the plough dressed in a kilt. One never saw a Highlander wearing a kilt unless he had put it on to please an Englishman in whose service he was. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman would make it necessary in time of war, when calling for volunteers to replace losses, to give an entirely new kind of dress to men who had been accustomed to wear trousers; and, therefore, he trusted it would not be carried out. Coming next to the question of the length of service, he was an advocate for a service of seven or eight years. His objection to the present system was not that it was one of short service, but that men were induced to go into the Reserve after three years. For his own part, he thought a man should not enter the Reserve before he had served six years. After he had gained that amount of experience he might be called a soldier; which certainly could not be said of the man who had only served three years. The right hon. Gentleman had told the House, on a former occasion, that the average age of soldiers was greater now than it was in 1871; and he stated that in 1871 there were in the Service 190 men per 1,000 under the age of 20, whereas, now, there were only 106 per 1,000 under that age. He therefore concluded he had, on the whole, men of a more suitable age for the Service. But this was arrived at by including the men who went in for three years' service. Under the present system, then, we had young men fighting the battles of the country, and old soldiers quietly serving in the Reserve. For this reason he thought the right hon. Gentleman, upon examination, would find his argument a little fallacious. He had, he thought, been carried away, to some extent, by the theory which prevailed in the War Office, where there was one idea, and one only, that short enlistment was everything, and they were cramming that down the throats of the people of England at all hazards. The right hon. Gentleman told them it had been found that a long service system and a short service system would not work together, because men would not enlist for long service if they could enter the Army for a shorter period. But he had forgotten to mention that, in 1871, Lord Cardwell gave this Order—

> "General Order, No. 62. Until further orders enlistments for the Foot Guards and Infantry of the Line are to be short service enlistments—namely, for six years' Army service, and six years' service in the Reserve."

No wonder, then, that short enlistments prevailed, because men were not allowed to enlist for long service. Short service enlistment went on until 1874, and in 1875 another General Order was issued, that—

> "The proportions in which enlistments for long and short service respectively are in future to be made in the several branches of the Service, under Clause 67 of the Army Circular of 1874, are as follows: . . . . . Infantry, 25 per cent long service, and 75 per cent short service."

That showed how completely the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken in what he said. He held in his hand a tabular record from the year 1870 to the present time, from which it appeared that in 1870 there had been 14,000 men enlisted for long service, and 8,000 for short service. In the next year, 1871 (the Order was issued in May), the numbers were 5,000 long and 8,000 short service. In the following year, when men could not enlist for long service, there were only 522 elistments for long service, and 9,000 for short service. The number of enlistments for long service continued to diminish until 1874, when long service was open to recruits, and it then jumped up to 1,444, which showed the anxiety of the men to enlist for long service. In the next year the number was 2,043. So it went on in 1875, 1877, and 1878; butt strange to say, in the last-mentioned year, though the Inspector General of Recruiting wrote that he had great satisfaction in being able to report so favourably of recruiting, the number of recruits having been more than sufficient to fill the vacancies in the ranks, in spite of the satisfactory report as to the results of recruiting with the long and short service joined together, an order was actually given out to the effect that the long service in the Infantry was to cease altogether, and from that time nothing but the short service was to be allowed. He thought, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman had been a little in error when he led the House to imagine that the short service was so popular that men would not enlist for the long service, because, really, recruits were prohibited from enlisting for the long service. As to compulsory retirement, the subject was a very important one. It was stated in page 7 of the Memorandum that majors after three years, lieutenant-colonels after five years, and general officers after five years, if unemployed, were to retire—retire completely, and to be no longer considered as belonging to the active Army. Let him point out a few reasons why this was objectionable. There were no less than 272 field officers in the Army, 54 of whom must retire every year. How were they to be employed, where were the employents? And yet, if they were not employed, they would cease to belong to the Army. He had gone into this matter very hurriedly, the Papers having been given so recently; but he had, nevertheless, ascertained that there were 60 field officers holding Staff appointments. Out of those 60 Staff appointments no less than 29 were now filled by officers belonging to the Artillery, Engineers, Cavalry, and Guards, which left only 31 appointments for Infantry officers, or about half the total number. Out of 21 colonels of the Staff—a most important post below that of a general officer—according to the official *Army List*, 17 were held by officers of the Artillery, Engineers, and the Guards, the remaining situations, four in number, being all that were available for officers of the Infantry of the Line. How were these officers to be employed when there was no opportunity for them to obtain employment? and yet they were told that if they were not employed they were to be considered officers not worth keeping in the Army, and were to be sent about their business. Then, it was constantly being found necessary by the commanding officers to keep the men employed on these Staff appointments beyond the legitimate period of such employment; and that was necessarily detrimental to the few Infantry officers waiting to get appointments, who, if they did not get those appointments, were turned out of the active Army. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would consider and work out all these matters himself, and would not trust to others to supply him with information. There were 33 brigade majors in the Army, and out of these appointments no less than 16 belonged to the Engineers, Guards, and Artillery, and only half the whole number were left for the Infantry of the Line. He trusted he was not wearying the Committee; but there was just one point more to which he wished to allude. He had asked some time ago whether the right hon. Gentleman would give them the revised Estimates dealing with the Infantry of the Line. They had been given; but he had only received a copy of them since he had been in the House, and consequently had only been able to make a cursory examination of them; still, he had investigated enough to discover one of the most remarkable financial operations he had ever known. He had believed that the new system would be more expensive than the old system; but the right hon. Gentleman had assured them that it would be cheaper. He had doubted it, and had found from the revised Estimates that it was expected that the Infantry of the Line, under the new system, would cost £2,188,082, as against £2,134,827 under the old system. That was an excess for the new system of £53,250; but, to his astonishment, he found, on looking at the total sum in the revised Estimate, that it was the same to a single shilling as that of the old Estimate. He should like to know how this result was obtained. The "extras," that was to say, "additional pay," "deferred pay," to officers of brevet rank, which, in the old Estimates, was put down at £213,643, was put down only at £173,916, and by that curious manipulation of accounts the total sum under the old and the new Estimates were the same to a shilling. He hoped the Financial Secretary would explain this remarkable financial problem in the course of the evening.

Colonel ALEXANDER: While I gratefully acknowledge the generous concessions which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War has made to the quartermasters in the way of progressive promotion, I must express the great disappointment which I and others feel at the very inadequate nature of his proposals in other respects, more especially as regards the pay of those officers. Many hon. and gallant Gentlemen who have served in the Army or in the Militia are doubtless aware of the onerous and multifarious duties devolving on regimental quartermasters. Without going too much into detail, I shall not be far from the truth in asserting that those duties comprehend everything relating to the clothing, equipment, provisioning, sanitary condition, and transport of the troops. One witness told the Militia Committee that—

> "It was impossible to get on and have things done as they ought to be done without an efficient quartermaster;"

while another witness stated before the same Committee that—

> "To enable him to move his regiment to Aldershot at 24 hours' notice he would require a first-rate quartermaster."

A third expressed an opinion that the quartermaster was more indispensable even than the adjutant. But perhaps the most valuable testimony to the great importance of the quartermaster's duties is to be found in the Report of the Militia Committee over which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the late Secretary of State for War (Colonel Stanley) so ably presided, in which it is stated that—

> "The qualifications for a quartermaster are special, that combatant officers able and willing to act as quartermasters are not easily found;"

and that—

> "The Director of Clothing in his evidence has shown that deficiencies of stores are not unlikely to occur when an acting and irresponsible officer has suddenly to take or to give over a large number of stores."

It is, therefore, somewhat strange that some of the most hard-worked and most responsible should be, at the same time, the most underpaid officers of the Army. More than one quartermaster has said that he was much better off as a non-commissioned officer than when obliged to maintain the position of an officer. But, even so, till within a very recent period the quartermaster had some prospect of bettering his position. He could, and not infrequently did, attain the position of paymaster, and there are now in the Pay Department officers, with the rank of major or captain, still serving, who began their commissioned career as quartermasters. But in 1877 the Pay Department was re-constituted, mainly, as I understand, with the view of providing for the combatant ranks an adequate flow of promotion, and the quartermasters were prospectively excluded from the Pay Department. As if this was not enough, insult was added to injury when, in February, 1880, a Warrant was issued re-constituting the Ordnance Store and Commissariat Departments, by the provisions of which the officers of those Departments, who had previously been included in a general list, were divided into two sections, termed respectively "superior" and "subordinate," the unfortunate quartermasters being relegated to the latter. To be ignominiously branded in this way the quartermasters, naturally, resent as an unmerited stigma and affront. To give the Committee some idea of the miserable pay received by quartermasters, I will contrast it with the rate of pay given in the Pay Department. A is a Paymaster; B an Infantry quartermaster. A receives on appointment 15*s.* a-day; B 8*s.* 2*d.* After 10 years' service A receives £1 a-day; B 13*s.* 6*d.* quartermasters, too, are liable for contributions to the mess, from which paymasters are entirely exempt. Well, Sir, that being so, how does the right hon. Gentleman propose to remedy these admitted grievances? He says he has taken up the case of the quartermasters, and is going to make "substantial additions" to their pay; but I venture to think that on examination these "substantial additions" will be found very unsubstantial and unreal. The right hon. Gentleman gives, it is true, on appointment an increase over the present rate of 10*d.* a-day; but the ultimate increment to be reached on the completion of 15, instead of 12 years' service, as at present, will amount to the magnificent sum of 4*d.* a-day! An increase of pay which might, perhaps, be given to a private soldier, but which it is absurd to offer to an officer. There is a slight improvement in the pension, which is to be £200, instead of £184 10*s.*, as at present; but it should not be forgotten that combatant officers, who have not a tenth part of their labours and responsibilities, may claim the same pension as quartermasters after a service of only 20 instead of 30 years. It has been said that the duties of Paymasters are more important and more responsible than those of quartermasters; but to this statement I have no hesitation in giving an unqualified denial, for whereas the duties of a paymaster are comparatively light and intermittent, the greater portion being performed by the Paymasters' clerk, those of a quartermaster are constant and laborious; while, as far as responsibility is concerned, the stores which a quartermaster has in his keeping represent a much larger sum of money than a paymaster, who pays by cheque, usually has in his possession. It is sometimes asserted that quartermasters do not succeed as paymasters; if that is the case, why are quartermasters of the Army, transferred to the Militia, required to perform pay duties without remuneration? There is only one other point in connection with this subject to which I desire to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman—I mean the position of Army quartermasters transferred from brigade depôts to the Militia, to whom are assigned many extra duties, including pay duties, although without extra pay. Those quartermasters of Militia, also, whose regiments are at head-quarters, are deprived of lodging money, as well as allowance for servant, because they are expected to avail themselves of the miserable accommodation usually to be found at a brigade depôt, and to employ as servant an untrained recruit. I now leave the case of the quartermasters in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman, feeling sure that, having done so much to improve the position of the non-commissioned ranks, he will not turn a deaf ear to the respectful remonstrances of officers who, be it remembered, have sprung from those ranks, and who are among the most meritorious in Her Majesty's Service. One word on brigade depôts, many of which are not yet formed. These brigade depôts, on which you have lavished £3,000,000, are failures, costly failures, and are universally condemned. General Willis, commanding the Northern District, giving evidence before Lord Airey's Committee, said that—

> "Brigade depôts, as at present constituted, afford the worst possible school of instruction for young officers, and that the difficulty of getting battalion drill causes officers and non-commissioned officers to deteriorate in this respect."

And he added—"These brigade depôts are not very happy—are, in fact, very dull—places." The tie between brigade depôts and the Militia is often extremely slender, for Colonel Walker, commanding the Borderer's Militia, being asked to define it, said—"We occasionally send them some grouse." The right hon. Gentleman proposes to foster a sentiment of connection between the Line and the Militia by converting silver lace into gold, and by giving territorial titles. In connection with this subject, I may mention that I have a copy of a letter dated 31st August, 1782—99 years ago—conveying to all Infantry regiments His Majesty's pleasure that county titles should be given to them—

> "In order that a connection between the corps and the counties should be cultivated, which might be useful in furthering the success of the recruiting service."

I trust that the attempt of the right hon. Gentleman to establish territorial regiments may be more successful; but I fear, with Sir Lintorn Simmons, that it will not add a single man to the Service. Some of the territorial titles, too, are very cumbrous and unwieldy. How is the "Royal Cumberland and Westmoreland Regiment," for instance, to be addressed on parade? Sir Garnet Wolseley asked a witness before the Militia Committee whether the 4th Regiment did not like to be addressed on parade as "King's Own;" but I have heard of a General Officer who became so impatient at hearing every word of command prefaced by the words "King's Own," that he exclaimed—"Never mind, Sir, who owns the regiment; but go on." I think, with the hon. and gallant General the Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon), that the right hon. Gentleman may experience some difficulty in filling the ranks of the new kilted regiments, for there is a Memorandum, dated "Horse Guards, April 7th, 1809," directing five regiments to discontinue the use of the kilt—

> "As the population of the Highlands of Scotland is found to be insufficient to supply recruits for the whole of the Highland corps on the establishment of His Majesty's Army, and as some of these corps laying aside their distinguishing dress, which is objectionable to the natives of South Britain, would in a great measure tend to the completing of their establishment, as it would be an inducement to the men of the English Militia to extend their services in greater numbers to those regiments."

Sir, I fear that it is not only the men of the English Militia who dislike the kilt, for Lord Charles Kerr stated before the Militia Committee that the Perthshire Rifles did not volunteer freely for their affiliated Line battalions, because those battalions wore the kilt.

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK-ALLAN observed, that the relations which had been established by the changes of the last few years had culminated in the alterations now being made by the Chief Secretary for War between the Line and the Militia. The proposals of the right hon. Gentleman were an historical continuation of the suggestions made in the first instance by the Localization Committee in 1872, by Lord Cardwell's Committees in 1871-2, by the Committee presided over by the late Secretary of State for War in 1876, and by the alterations made by the Committee in 1878. With respect to the general drift of the improvements introduced, he thought, as they had been judged by the country, they were in the main improvements upon what had gone before. There could be no doubt, for instance, that the increase of service which had taken place, whether from six to seven years with the Colours and seven with the Reserve, or seven with the Colours and five with the Reserve, must tend to the improvement of the Service. During the last few years, from a desire to increase or bring the Reserve up to its proper strength, the strength of the Army had been sacrificed almost entirely. Sir Frederick Roberts had recently related some of his own experiences with regard to one regiment. He could not follow that General in all his strictures on short service, because it must be recollected that in the case of regiments which went to India in 1874 and 1875 there were special reasons for those great defects which were afterwards manifested in 1877 and 1878. The right hon. Gentleman had wisely seen that it was essential to increase the effective strength of our Establishment by strengthening the Reserve. In 1872 and 1873 there were changes contemplated, based on the linking of two Line battalions to each other, and with them two Militia battalions; and on the expansion, under certain conditions, of a brigade depôt to the effective strength of 600 men. The defects pointed out in the short service were due to the fact that the suggestions of the Localization Committee of 1872 were, shortly after the return of the late Secretary of State for War to Office in 1874, almost lost sight of. The defects upon which Sir Frederick Roberts had dilated could be traced to the fact that in the 18 months or two years previous to the particular regiment of which he spoke being sent to India, its effective strength, instead of being kept up, was in three instances cut down. Then, in the Zulu War, in 1879, five battalions were suddenly sent out. The deficiencies of those battalions had been dilated upon ever since; but the fact was, every essential principle recommended by the Short Service Committee of 1872 was forgotten in the preparation of those battalions. Their establishments were cut down repeatedly; they were changed from the highest position on the roster and put lower down; then, subsequently, when they were sent abroad, no means were taken to fill up their places. On the embarkation of those battalions he had pointed out that the War Office, under the Act of 1871, had power to fill up the gaps in the regiments, which had been shortened to the number of 1,400 men. The Secretary of State for War had replied that he was advised by the Law Officers of the Crown that the power did not exist, or, if it did exist, only enabled him to take the men for six months. He had pointed out, further, that there were two ways in which that difficulty might have been avoided; and subsequently, on the 12th June, 1879, the Secretary of State for War, in answer to a Question, had stated that the Law Officers had since discovered that he would have been justified in filling up the gaps. He would ask any hon. Member of that House what he thought would have been the result if, instead of resorting to the volunteering system, which tended to break the hearts of every adjutant and commanding officer by taking drafts from several regiments, the 1,400 men had been taken from the Reserve? When the men were called out two months later they were adverse to responding, and when they heard that the Secretary of State for War was in doubt as to whether he could call upon them, they hung back. It was rumoured that they had only to wait a sufficient time, until the Government were in difficulties, to have a large bounty offered to them; and consequently, when in July of that year they were called upon, only 120 responded. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had determined to enlist recruits of not less than 19 years of age, for enlistment at a premature age had been a bottomless pit of waste into which the whole Service had fallen during recent years. We had been enlisting young men who were nominally 18 years of age, but were really only 16½; whereas foreign Services never took a man of less than 20 years of age. In Germany, Russia, Austria, and even in France, it was the invariable custom to take the flower of the population for military service; and it was a farce for us to attempt to follow the short service system, unless we followed the true principles of short service, beginning with men of an effective age. It was totally fallacious to attempt to apply any real test to the age of recruits, and the only way of being certain that we got men of effective age was to throw the whole of the responsibility on the medical officers, in order that they might enlist no man who, in their opinion, from his physical qualities, size, weight, measurement, and general appearance, would not be fit for service in the field within 12 months. Unless that plan was adopted the short service would be a failure in the future, as it had been in the past. Then, with regard to the formation of the Reserve. The right hon. Gentleman must not forget that his changes would lengthen the service of the soldier. There would be a tendency to decrease the number of the Reserve. He had fixed the service of the Reserve at from six to four years, but he (Sir Henry Havelock-Allan) feared it would fall to three years; and it was impossible to look back on the history of the Reserve without acknowledging that the promises held out in 1871 had not only not been fulfilled in their entirety, but had been fulfilled only in a very small degree. In March, 1871, Lord—then Mr.—Cardwell, in introducing the short service system, said—

> "The result will be that, if we get 32,000 recruits on the present strength of the Army, it will give us a first Army Reserve of 178,000 strong, and will, besides, ultimately place among the people at large more than 400,000 trained men under 51 years of age."—[3 *Hansard*, ccv. 129.]

How had that promise been fulfilled? Had we got 178,000 in our Reserve? Shortly after he entered that House he wrote an article in *The Fortnightly Review*, pointing out that the outside figure that the Reserve could attain was 41,000. The calculation of the present Secretary for War coincided with that almost exactly. Lord Cardwell's expectation was to be fulfilled in 12 years. We were now within two years of the end of that period; but in the General Annual Return for 1880, it appeared that the Reserve in 1879 had reached only 16,000. This year it had reached 19,000; and he believed the right hon. Gentleman believed that it would reach 22,000 in the next 12 months. If the figure of 41,000 was reached he should be very much surprised; but, at all events, Lord Cardwell's Estimate was postponed, not to 1883, but to 1894. The object of the changes that had been made, no doubt, was to feed our Army so as to keep it up to the requirements of the present time in the event of a European campaign. Linked battalions and territorial regiments aimed at that object; but unless the right hon. Gentleman met the one existing deficiency, that purpose would not be fulfilled. It was intended that the linked battalions should supply one battalion in the field in the case of a European war; and it must be remembered that we should always be under the disadvantage of having, at least, one-half of our Line engaged in India or in the Colonies. Therefore, in the event of a European war, all we could expect to put into the field would be 42 or 48 battalions. How was our full strength to be kept up? It could only be done by our arranging that in three battalions at home—two Militia and one Brigade depôt—every man should be available to feed the battalions on foreign service. But at present he did not find any trace of an arrangement by which any one soldier of the two battalions at home would be transferable to feed the Line battalion abroad, except those who had been engaged in the Militia Reserve. In 1878, he had urged the Government to increase the Militia Reserve; but that was not done, because the Militia Reserve was regarded as a temporary expedient, intended only to feed the Line Reserve. We were in exactly the same position now, except for the slow increase of 3,000 or 4,000 a-year. In 1878, when the men were called out, 13,000 out of 21,000 were in the Militia Reserve; and for many years to come, he thought, we must look to the Militia Reserve as the main Reserve. If this were not done, the elegant structure which the right hon. Gentleman was erecting would be without its keystone, and, for want of cohesion, it would fall to pieces. At present we had a Militia Reserve of about 30,000 men, although in recent years it had fallen to 25,000 or 26,000. In 1878 it stood at 28,000; but, in consequence of a certain want of liberality with which the men were considered on their return after being called out in that year, the numbers fell off. He advised that in future an effort should be made—not by compulsion—to enlist as many men as possible who would be willing to enter the Militia Reserve with a view to foreign service in certain contingencies. He also thought the Militia bounty should be increased from £1 to £3 a-year, and that the men should only be liable for war service in the event of really great European emergencies. If that were done, he thought there would be a chance of obtaining, in perhaps five years, an effective Reserve of 70,000 men. Until that plan was adopted, no advance would have been made such as this country desired when it adopted the short service system in 1871. He also advised that a certain per centage of old soldiers should be allowed to renew their engagements, as had been done with regard to the non-commissioned officers, in order that those men might have an ensured career before them. The non-commissioned officers were not alone the strength of the Army. There was a large class of men, less numerous now, perhaps, when education was so general, who entered the Service without looking forward to being non-commissioned officers, but who were fond of a soldier's life; and if a proportion of them were allowed to extend their service to 21 years, he believed that would tend greatly to consolidate the Service. That opinion was held by officers of the highest experience; and by a Bill that would shortly be introduced in the French Chamber a similar system would be proposed for the French Army. France had established a special pension of 1,000 francs (£40) for a certain portion of old soldiers extending their service to 21 years. Another point was the proposal to reduce the Establishment as regarded general officers. It was proposed to reduce the number of those officers down to 140. Many of them were not of advanced age, but in the prime of life, and of great experience; but the right hon. Gentleman demurred to them, and the new arrangement in regard to employment would have the effect of sending into retirement a large number of men who had an experience unsurpassed in any other Army in the world. Most of these officers had served in the Colonies and in every quarter of the globe, some of them for long periods; and those upon whom the change might come with the heaviest and most crushing effect were those who were created general officers in 1877 and 1878. He believed there were some 70 or 75 officers, who were quite content with their position of colonels, who were not too old to continue to serve as colonels, and who had acquired long experience as regimental officers, but who were subsequently made general officers. The effect of this change would be to place them on the shelf for life. On the whole, he believed the change would not be found to be of advantage; and it must be recollected that, however carefully it might be worked, the Establishment which it was supposed to fix would be a small one. It might happen under the new scheme that a contingency might arise in which it would be necessary for the General to move a whole *Corps d'Armée*, in which there might be 450,000 armed men under arms, and, from want of experience, he would be found totally inefficient and altogether unsuited to discharge the duties. He thought this was a matter that deserved the right hon. Gentleman's attention. Although they might cut down the Establishment to what would suit the halcyon days of peace, they must, at the same time, keep it in such a position that it would be fitted for a time of war, and the country must have general officers ready for service in exceptional circumstances. His own impression was that in order to keep up the Indian Army and our own Army the Establishment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would be found to be inadequate. Then, again, the economy which the right hon. Gentleman looked forward to was only remote, and depended on the gradual falling in of an allowance of £1,000 a-year. At present there was a small difference, and the duration of that difference would depend upon the rapidity or slowness with which this reduction was carried into effect. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not think that these remarks were in the nature of carping criticism. On the contrary, they were made with a sincere desire to secure the efficiency and welfare of the Army. There could be no doubt that regiments deteriorated materially by a long period of foreign service; and full weight being given to the representations which had been made in this respect, it had been decided in 1862 that the full period of foreign service should be 12 years. The right hon. Gentleman now proposed to go back upon the old system by making it 16 years. It was supposed that there might be economy in bringing the men home in successive batches of 100 or 120 men every few years instead of allowing them to return home in a full battalion at the end of their term of service. He confessed that he failed to see that any economy would result from the new arrangement. He did not believe that any benefit would be derived from the change. It would be found, as in previous years, that when regiments had been localized for a long time in a foreign country, whether in India or in the Colonies, they became to a certain extent deteriorated in their tone; and it would be better to complete a regiment to its full strength on going to India, to keep it up to its full strength, and to bring it home at the end of its term of service. There was only one other point—namely, with regard to the increase in the depôts of the regiments serving abroad. The right hon. Gentleman was reverting to the original recommendation of the Committee of 1872, inasmuch as the first 12 regiments were to be reduced to a strength of 950, but only 800 sent abroad, a depôt of 150 being retained at home. He was afraid, however, that one of two things must happen—either that the depôt would be totally insufficient to keep up the strength of the regiment abroad, or else it would be necessary to increase the depôt very materially. He believed it would be an immense improvement to increase the depôts to 250 men instead of 150. By that means during the last few years of service the battalion abroad would not have to draw on any other battalion at home, and the efficiency both of the battalion abroad and the depôt at home would be secured. With these limitations, he was of opinion that the changes proposed by the right hon. Gentleman had been adopted after full and careful consideration of the recommendations made by the experienced officers who composed Lord Airey's Committee, and that they would effect very great improvements. In the course of a few years he thought the country would be ready to pronounce the opinion that short service had not been a failure, but had given to the Service everything the country had a right to expect.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that after the exhaustive remarks they had heard in the course of the debate, he was afraid the patience of the Committee was exhausted, and he would therefore be as brief as he could in the observations he proposed to offer. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War on having been able to pass through all his difficulties; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with the criticisms which had been passed on his scheme. So far as he (Lord Eustace Cecil) was concerned, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that, although he should have to say some serious things about the scheme, on the whole he mainly approved of it. He thought that a great deal of the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman would redound to the advantage of the Army, and he hoped to that of the country also. Before proceeding to criticize the scheme of the Government, he wished to go back to a portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman at the commencement of the evening; and he was induced to do so by the remarks which had been made by the hon. and gallant Member for Sunderland (Sir Henry Havelock-Allan). The position of the late Conservative Government was, from his (Lord Eustace Cecil's) point of view, a purely tentative one—that was to say, that they entered upon Office fully appreciating all that had been done for the Army by Lord Cardwell, but, at the same time, neither approving nor disapproving. They wished to give the new arrangements a full and fair trial; and they had done so, as far as he knew. But what the result of the trial was was not fully shown until the Zulu War. The hon. and gallant Member for Sunderland spoke of the way in which the Reserves had been handled, and intimated that very little had been done in utilizing the Reserves and sending them out to Zululand. Now, the position of the Government at that time was an exceedingly difficult one. The law did not allow of the Reserves being hastily pressed into the Service, and it was, therefore, impossible to utilize them as much as might have been desired. For example, there was no power to call out the Reserves; it was a necessity that they should be asked to volunteer. As the hon. and gallant Gentleman said, the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown was taken at the time, and fully bore out that view of the case. The gist of the hon. and gallant Member's remarks was this—that there were manifest defects in Lord Cardwell's scheme. To that conclusion they had all arrived. Then, the difficulties of the Government in sending out the Reserves to Zululand were very great; it was impossible to send them out, in as prompt a manner as was required, at a moment's notice. He would pass on now to some of the remarks which had been made in regard to the Militia Committee and Lord Airey's Committee. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) had spoken at some length upon the Militia Committee, and had categorically named the Members of that Committee. But with regard to Lord Airey's Committee his right hon. Friend had not said very much, and there was an evident desire to deprecate the efforts of the gallant Officers who sat upon it. No comparison, however, had been drawn between the two Committees; and he (Lord Eustace Cecil) wished, although not by way of depreciation, to draw the attention of the House to the composition of the two Committees. The Militia Committee consisted of three generals, three colonels, and five commissioned officers; whereas Lord Airey's Committee consisted of eight general officers and three colonels. Therefore, when they were dealing with questions of Army Organization, the balance of authority and experience was clearly with the latter. Another remark which had been made was that Lord Airey's Committee were not unanimous. He was perfectly aware that on one or two subjects they were not; but on many most important questions they were—such as the term of service being too short, the want of inducements to non-commissioned officers to remain in the Army, and the question of volunteering from one regiment to another. Against the practice of linking battalions, 10 out of the 11 Members composing the Committee were agreed, and the only Member who disagreed was Sir Patrick M'Dougall. Against brigade depôts, 7 out of 11 were agreed. He merely mentioned these facts to show that on almost all the main points, except brigade depôts, Lord Airey's Committee were practically unanimous, and that the principal dissentient—Sir Patrick M'Dougall—for whom they all had very great respect, had already committed himself to the views of the original Committee on which he served with Sir Garnet Wolseley. Although Sir Patrick M'Dougall's presence on Lord Airey's Committee was necessary, and he did good service there, it was impossible to overlook the fact that Sir Patrick M'Dougall had already been committed, and that he was hardly able to form a fair and unbiassed judgment. So much for the composition of the two Committees. He now passed on to the question of short service. He should be very sorry to commit himself to one year, two years, or three years. There was so much difference of opinion upon these subjects that he would rather leave it to the Executive to judge. He thought the Executive were the only people who could judge; but there had always been the greatest difficulty in the last few years, and his right hon. Friend knew it as well as anybody else, in obtaining soldiers for anything but short service. Men would not enlist for long service. If they tried to get men for long service they failed. That being the case, they must obtain the men they could get, and they must get them to enlist for as long a period as they were willing. He only hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would be successful in obtaining soldiers who would enlist for seven or eight years; but he thought it was quite possible that the recruiting had been as successful as it had been, simply because the British labourer and the artizan had got used to the idea of short service, and it would be a very difficult thing to knock it out of their heads. He would pass on next to the question of the promotion and pay of non-commissioned officers. They had heard a little about it; but he did not think there was any difference of opinion in regard to it on either side of the House. That which was recommended by his right hon. Friend, in the course of his able speech, was universally approved—namely, that they should give as many inducements as they possibly could to non-commissioned officers, who were really the-back bone of the Service. He was very glad that his right hon. Friend had taken up the ball, and that he proposed to give a very large increase of pay and promotion to the non-commissioned officers. He would remind the right hon. Gentlemen of the Committee on which they had both sat some years ago. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir Henry Havelock-Allan) was a Member of that Committee also, and they came to a general determination that, under the circumstances, to encourage the entry of non-commissioned officers into all the Departments of the Government, where it could possibly be done, would be a very good thing. There were from 900 to 1,000 appointments in connection with the Commissariat and the Ordnance Stores, and a beginning had been made in the way of employing non-commissioned officers in those branches of the Service. He hoped the experiment would be continued, and that it would bear satisfactory fruit. Advantage might also be derived from the employment of non-commissioned officers in the gaols and in the Civil Departments generally, wherever an appointment of a fitting and lucrative character became vacant. He also hoped that the question which had been brought up over and over again of the manner in which non-commissioned officers were received at places of public entertainment would receive the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. It would be a good thing if Her Majesty's cloth were much more honoured than it was at certain places of entertainment, and also upon the railways of the United Kingdom. Soldiers were constantly travelling, and he could not conceive why they should not be courteously treated, or why any prejudice should exist against them in the present day. He proposed to touch upon the question of the Reserves very shortly indeed; but he might take the opportunity of saying something more about them when the Vote for the Reserves came on. He entirely agreed with what the hon. and gallant Member for Sunderland had said. He looked upon the Militia Force as one of the most valuable branches of the Service we possessed, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to bring up the Militia to the numbers voted by Parliament. The necessity for doing this was too much lost sight of. Year after year certain numbers were voted for the Militia; and when they came to look at the list, they found that so many had been taken off from one cause or another that the strength of the Force had been cut down by 25 or 30 per cent. If it was possible, the list should be brought up to its full strength. His right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) did something in that way in his last year of Office. It would, he thought, be a source of great gratification to the House and the country to find that this valuable Force was being kept up to its full strength. Then, in regard to the Reserves, there was another very important point. They might talk as much as they pleased about having in a certain number of years 30,000, 40,000, 50,000, or 60,000 men; but unless they kept up a certain number of regular forces year by year they could not possibly have the Reserve they wished for. Every year a certain number went into the Reserves; but it was still necessary to keep up the supply of raw material, and he wanted to see the War Minister coming down to that House and calling upon them to keep up the Reserves for the purpose of offence and defence. It was absolutely necessary to have so many Regular soldiers; but, unhappily, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came in when the question of cost was involved, and they had also to meet the alarmists, the economists, and the philanthropists. The philanthropists, as they all knew, would have no Army at all. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was, no doubt, in favour of having no Army at all. Then came the economists, who wished to cut down all the expenses by one-half; and next the alarmists, who would double the Estimates at once. He knew the difficulties which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had to encounter in all these matters. No doubt, it was very difficult to please everybody; but, putting all crotchets aside, it was most essential that there should be a regular number of Forces, so as to ensure an efficient Reserve. He should be very glad if they had a few more particulars from the Ordnance Committee in regard to experiments. It was most desirable that Parliament should know what the Ordnance Committee were doing, and that their Report should be delayed for as little time as possible. He knew that experiments were in progress when the Conservative Government left Office, and if the right hon. Gentleman would look into the matter he might be able to hasten the Committee in coming to a conclusion. So, also, with regard to the supply of the Martini-Henry rifle to the Militia. Questions were constantly being asked upon that matter, and he understood that as the old arms wore out Martini-Henrys' were being substituted. He would not ask the right hon. Gentleman to issue them this year; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear in mind that it would be a good thing for the Service if steps were taken to secure a more rapid issue of this description of arms in future years. He thought the Militia and Volunteers ought to be put in the same position as the Regular Forces. Then he came to the question which had been already mooted this evening, and on which he was afraid he did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman — he meant the age at which recruits were to be enlisted. He admitted, with the right hon. Gentleman, that 19 years of age was very much better than 18, as 18 would be better than 17 or 16; but his right hon. Friend said he hoped in a short time to be able to advance the age to 20. Why not do that at once? He did not see why it was not possible under present circumstances, and he thought he should be able to show by figures that it was possible to enlist recruits at 20. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Sunderland (Sir Henry Havelock-Allan) had very properly pointed out that no foreign recruit was enlisted under that age; and when they considered that the foreign Armies were far larger than that of this country, how much more incumbent was it upon them to have a really efficient Army which could go out to any climate and engage in any service? That was not the case now, and he was afraid it would not be the case so long as they did not enlist men at 20. No man ought to be sent to the Tropics under 21 or 22. He should be glad to see the number of men—Regulars and Reserves—actually required for offensive and defensive purposes laid down by some authority. Committee and Commission had assembled year after year; but he had never yet seen in any one of their Reports a statement as to the number of men that military authorities laid down was necessary for this country to keep up as an offensive and defensive Force. If they once knew the number of men actually required for the purposes of our large Empire, for the purposes of our Reserve, for the purposes of offence and defence, they would go to the root of the subject, because then all the rest would follow in similar proportion. It was very simple indeed to come to a conclusion as to the number of Reserves they could have, or as to the number of the Force they could send out, if only they would come to the conclusion that our Empire here or our Empire there required such and such a Force, whether it be Military or Naval. But this conclusion had never been come to, and he was afraid that until it was they would never be able to thoroughly grapple with the subject of England's military requirements. They might go on arguing year after year, they might go on saying —as a number of people did say—that we had not sufficient soldiers and sailors, and all because the thing had never been thoroughly inquired into by a competent authority. He only threw this out as a suggestion. He had mentioned it to military gentlemen of great experience, but he had never received a satisfactory answer. Again, there could not be two opinions that whatever material they had for raw recruits, it ought to be good and sound. By good and sound material he meant men of 20 years of age, 35 inches round the chest, and at least 5 feet 5 inches in height. He believed they could get recruits of that quality; and if they could only feel that the soldiers were of that stamp, they would not have half the panic and alarm or hear half the wild talk they now did about our defective Army. He might be told they could not get men such as he had specified. It might be true; but, if it was true, they must cut their coat according to their cloth. If it was true that English soldiers were such expensive articles that they could not be obtained in sufficient numbers, they must look elsewhere. They must have more Coloured troops than hitherto. He recollected the time when the Hottentots the Cape Mounted Rifles, and the Ceylon Rifles, were a very valuable portion of the British Army, and he was very sorry they were done away with. He should be very glad to see a large number of such troops — officered, of course, by Whites—who were capable of doing service in South Africa, or indeed anywhere they might be required. The employment of foreign troops was a very old system. According to Gibbon, the ancient Romans used to enlist men of one nationality and send them to garrison the towns and provinces of another nationality, and he (Lord Eustace Cecil) thought a greater number of Coloured troops, who could be obtained at a considerably cheaper rate than the British soldier, might do most useful service in various parts of our enormous Empire. He had said there would be no difficulty in enlisting the required number of men at 20 years of age. He did not think there would—that was to say, if the right hon. Gentleman's estimate of 25,000 was a correct one—but he could not refrain from throwing little doubt upon that estimate. Lord Airey's Committee was of opinion that 36,000 men would be required to keep the Army up to its proper state. It might be that the extra two years' service now proposed would make a certain difference, but he did not think it would make as much difference as 11,000. Let them suppose, however, that 25,000 recruits were required. He found, according to the Report of Lord Airey's Committee, that in 1878 there were 28,035 recruits, and of these 14,500 were over 20. It was proved by evidence given before Lord Airey's Committee, that we lost at the rate of £500,000 a-year by young soldiers—by their desertion, misconduct, and one thing and another. There had been made another curious calculation which the right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, remembered. It was computed that if a recruit were enlisted at 18, he cost the country before he became effective, in the Cavalry, £144, and in the Infantry £135. If a man were enlisted at 19 years of age, as the right hon. Gentleman now proposed, he would cost, before he became effective, in the Cavalry £101, and in the Infantry £96; but if he were enlisted at 20 he would cost, in the Cavalry £58, and in the Infantry £57. Now, that showed that, notwithstanding the extra sum that might be required to obtain men at 20 years, there would be an enormous margin of saving; and he could not help believing that when the right hon. Gentleman reduced the matter to figures, he would see that if 10,000 men at 20 years of age were required above the 15,000 enlisted in 1878, they might be easily obtained. He mentioned this circumstance, because he believed it was really in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman when he said he hoped to be able very shortly to advance the age to 20. Now he would go to the question of territorial regiments. Some of the objections were, no doubt, sentimental; but it was impossible for a man like himself, who had had the honour of serving in one of the best regiments of Her Majesty's Line, to look upon the scheme which was now proposed with indifference. He could not help thinking that those glorious units of the British Army — if he might so term them—were shortly to be turned by one stroke of the pen into territorial vulgar fractions. He could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman had been somewhat posing in two characters. He had been trying to assume alternately the character of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Lord Penzance, for he was endeavouring with one hand to give the nuptial benediction to many ill-assorted pairs, and on the other hand he had been pronouncing a decree of judicial separation at the same time and with the same voice. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman might succeed; but he was confident there must be, and would be for a great length of time, a considerable amount of jealousy. The Militia Committee in their Report hoped that a new *esprit de corps* would spring up within a short time. The short time might be 10, 15, or 20 years; and what was to happen in the meantime to the battalions bound together perhaps against their will and working possibly inharmoniously, as he was afraid many of them would? What was to happen? There would be a constant sore and grievance. There would be the feeling that one regiment was the Cinderella, doing all the hard work at home in training raw recruits to be sent out, when effective, to serve in the ranks of the sister battalion abroad. In some cases, his right hon. Friend proposed to obliterate both the name and the number. The right hon. Gentleman laid a certain amount of stress on the name, but none at all on the number. He could not agree with him in that respect. The 43rd Regiment, in which he had the honour to serve, was to be completely obliterated both in name and number. He assured the right hon. Gentleman that he was mistaken when he supposed that numbers were not prized by regiments. These numbers had gone through a baptism of fire, and that baptism was not forgotten; but, on the contrary, it was the proud boast of everyone in the regiment, from the colonel down to the youngest recruit, and it was impossible for these old associations to be easily erased from memory. He would now, however, pass from what were sentimental objections to those of a practical nature. Territorial regiments would have all the objections of linked regiments until that period had arrived—10, 15, 20 years, or, perhaps, a generation—when a new *esprit de corps* grew up. Volunteering and drafting would go on as now; there would be little or no *esprit de corps*; and possibly, although he hoped not, they would have, on account of the mixed composition of the force, many scenes enacted similar to that on Majuba Hill on the 2nd of March, which was so graphically described in *The Standard.* The correspondent of that journal wrote—

> "One of our great sources of weakness was in the mixed composition of the force. The 350 men upon the hill belonged to four different corps, and did not work easily or steadily together, as they would have done had they belonged to the same regiment, and had been accustomed to work together and rely upon each other."

He did not understand why they were to have an enormous establishment of officers. He must not be understood to approve of the late linking system—he never did approve of it—but he thought 10 or 15 officers to 50 men was a very large proportion of officers to men. He did not quite know what would become of such a large number of officers, whether such a number was to be kept at the depôt perpetually, or whether some fresh distribution would be made. It seemed at present to be a waste of force. His right hon. Friend proposed to reduce the number of subalterns. It would be advisable to send some of these surplus officers to the battalions in the field. The brigade depôts would require some alteration, and he could not help thinking some money would have to be spent in making them larger. The original idea of affiliation was to have one regiment and two Militia battalions in depôts. The public generally thought that at some time they would all be brought together. If he understood the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman properly, he meant to have something like 50 battalions localized in India for 16 years, or, as some people believed, for 32 years, or even for 50 years. This was a point upon which there was a great deal of misunderstanding. He had read the passage in the right hon. Gentleman's speech to several people, and to high military authorities, and he was bound to confess that many of them were very much puzzled by it. It had not yet been satisfactorily explained, and he would be extremely glad, if, in his reply, the right hon Gentleman would clear up the question of localization of regiments, showing how long the head-quarters would be in India—whether it would be for 16 or more years—what was to be the exact number of reliefs, three or four regiments yearly, or only one. Then they came to the financial effect of the proposed changes. He did not think they would know what this effect would be for some years; certainly they would not know it this year. He recollected perfectly well that many years ago—he believed it was more than 20 years ago—the present Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster) calculated, much to the astonishment of the then House of Commons, that every British soldier cost something like £100 a-year. It was a great many years since then; the Army Estimates had been discussed very often in the meantime; and it was computed that now the cost of the Army was £116 per man per year. He should show it was a great deal more. The cost of the French Army per man was £45; that of the German Army, £45; and that of the Army of Italy, £41. These sums were very small indeed; but it must be recollected that there was no conscription in this country, but that service was strictly voluntary. Still, the cost of the British soldier now, as compared to what it was 20 years ago, was enormous, and he would show the Committee why. He did not speak from any Party point of view, and he would not go back to the old story of 1871; he simply wished to give them the totals of the money spent in recent years upon Army reforms. Whether those reforms were good or not was a matter which the country must determine for itself; but, perhaps, the Committee and the right hon. Gentleman would for a moment consider whether the country had got full value for the money spent. The cost of Lord Cardwell's reforms were:—For Army purchase of commissions, £8,000,000; for brigade depôts, £3,500,000; for waste on short service, £3,500,000; and for the retirement scheme of officers, capitalized, £10,500,000—in short, £25,500,000 had been spent in 10 years, or nearly £3,000,000 a-year. If they took this expenditure into account, and added it to the present Estimates, they would find that the British Army was costing something like £135 per man. Of course, the pay of effective men and officers cost very much less than that. He regarded the proposed promotion of captains and majors as a temporary but very expensive relief. It was a temporary relief, because, as had been pointed out by two or three hon. Gentlemen, they would have the same difficulty in regard to field officers by-and-bye, and eventually there would be a greater retired list. In fact, the Reserve officers would grow, and they would be found very costly. He was very much struck indeed when he looked back, recollecting, as he did, what Lord Cardwell's promises were in regard to short service. He found that in 1871-2 the amount of the non-effective Vote was £2,297,500; in 1874-5—it took a jump—it had fallen to £2,187,500; and in 1880-1 it reached £2,743,400; while in 1881-2 it was as much as £3,019,600—that was to say, it had increased nearly £750,000 in 10 years. Lord Cardwell promised that short service would reduce the number of out-pensions; but they would examine what was the state of the Out-Pensions Vote. In 1871-2 it was £1,262,900, and in 1881-2 it was £1,386,500—that was to say, it had gone up in the last 10 years about £120,000. It seemed to him they ought to have had some advantage from short service before this. There were some points affecting the position of captains, who, it appeared, were able to retire after the age of 43 with unattached majority, upon which the right hon. Gentleman, he thought, would do well to throw light. Finally, there was the proposal to reduce the number of subalterns, of whom there were not too many already; and this subject, on account of its difficulty, he trusted would receive very careful attention.

MAJOR NOLAN said, they were told that about 41,000 men could be obtained for the Reserve under the present system of six years' service with the Colours and six in the Reserve. Whether that calculation was correct or not, he was satisfied the proposed system would reduce the numbers. That was a matter of very great importance, and was sufficient to convince him that a step was being taken in the wrong direction. Parliament were always forgetting the lesson taught by the Franco-German War—of keeping four men in reserve for every one in active service. The Government appeared to think that two men in reserve were sufficient. For his part, so far as the short service system was concerned, he did not believe the 120,000 short service men would be a match for 100,000 long service men. The great argument in favour of short service was that it produced a larger Reserve; but he quite agreed with the noble Lord opposite in saying the question was, How to get men when they were unwilling to enlist? That was, no doubt, the true position, although it had not been honestly acknowledged. The way to get more men was to give them better pay; and the Government had, he believed, at any rate, taken a step in the right direction, by increasing the pay of non-commissioned officers. But the pay of the soldier was only 14*s.* 6*d.* a-week, or £38 a-year, a sum below the average earnings of an ordinary working man. This was not the case in all regiments, as was stated by the hon. Member for Leicestershire, who said that the men serving in the Guards received about £1 1*s.* a-week. However, the average weekly wages of labourers was 19*s.* a-week. Therefore, as we only paid the soldier 14*s.* 6*d.* a-week, he held that he was paid 3*s.* or 4*s.* a-week too little. When men who might be available for the Service changed their place of abode, they went, of course, for the most part, to the large labour markets in the North of England; and the effect of the system was, that when we got men for the Service, we generally caught those who were not even worth 14*s.* 6*d.* a-week. We were under-paying the men, and at the same time did not allow them to leave the Army when they wanted. He believed the right system would be to enlist men for long service, with better pay, and then to allow them to go into the Reserve at the end of a year if they wished. Nothing could, he thought, be more foolish than to force out the good soldiers of the Army and to keep men of the worst character.

CAPTAIN AYLMER thought it right to point out that the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman had not met with general approval amongst officers of the Army. The arrangements, however, with regard to lengthening the period of service, and the increased pay of non-commissioned officers, had, he thought, given satisfaction. He could not but think that the right hon. Gentleman had sacrificed efficiency in reducing the number of senior officers in the Army. With regard to the subalterns, he found that if the plan with regard to them were carried out they would have no chance of promotion under 20 years' service. Another fault in the scheme was the reduction of the number of generals to 140. It seemed to him that the colonels of an age at which they had a right to expect, in a few years, promotion, would not reach their next step in their lifetime. He felt sure the present or future Secretary of State for War would have to ask the House for some change in the proposed system. The scheme was, in his view, a fanciful one, made to catch the eye; but which, when put into practice, would, he thought, break down. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had only seen his way to give the quartermasters an increase of 4*d.* a-day in their pay, when they had reason to expect more.

CAPTAIN O'SHEA said, he believed the officers in the Army were now, as a body, more favourable to the scheme. He regretted, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was about to reduce the Cavalry by a number of men fully equal to the strength of a regiment. He considered the establishment of Cavalry altogether inadequate; and suggested that, inasmuch as it took as many years to make a perfect hussar as it took months to make a perfect trooper, the regiments at home below those first for service on the roster ought to have a strength of 600 men to 300 horses. There ought to be no advantages in pay in favour of officers in the Royal Horse Artillery over those in the Cavalry, and there was no reason why the command allowance of lieutenant colonels of Cavalry of the Line should not be assimilated to that of officers commanding the Household Cavalry. He objected to increasing the number of kilted regiments, and condemned the absurdity of dressing up a regiment like the 75th, in which the Scotch element was insignificant, in what was sometimes supposed to be a Scotch garb. He recommended the case of the riding-masters to the further consideration of the Secretary of State for War.

CAPTAIN MILNE-HOME said, he desired to allude to the promotion of regimental corporal majors of the Household Cavalry and the regimental sergeant majors of the Line to the position of warrant officers. He was assured that regimental officers had thought upon that change very seriously, and he was himself of opinion that it would not be wise to make that promotion. The arrangement would place the men in a difficult position. They would no longer be able to consort with the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, and they certainly could not do so with the officers. Therefore, for their own comfort and for the benefit of the Service, he thought it better their position should remain as at present. He would also like to see facilities given to old soldiers to re-engage as privates, as well as in the capacity of non-commissioned officers. An intermixture of older men in the ranks was required in order to keep the younger men in their places. Besides this, they were useful as officers' servants, orderlies, &c. On a former occasion he had brought the case of the riding-masters before the House, and he had now to thank the right hon. Gentleman, not only for what he had done in their behalf, but for having bracketed them with the quartermasters in the scheme presented a few days ago. He was afraid that in certain quarters invidious comparisons had been made between these classes of officers, both of whom had very responsible duties to perform. They had very valuable property to look after; the quartermaster having to look after stores, clothing, and the like, and the riding-master to train the horses and men. There was one point of great importance to Cavalry officers—namely, that of forage, the stoppages of which were to be abolished, while corresponding deduction was to be made from the pay of each officer. This arrangement would make little or no difference to those who kept all the horses, for which they were entitled to draw forage at the reduced rates. Every Cavalry officer was compelled to keep two chargers; while those above the rank of lieutenant were entitled to draw forage for more than two. A captain, for example, for three, and a field officer for four. The new arrangement dealt hardly with the poorer officers, who might prefer to keep only those horses obligatory on them, by at once docking their pay of the present forage stoppages in respect of horses they were permitted to keep or not as they liked. This was unjust to the officers in question, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give the matter his consideration. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would, under any circumstances, preserve to the Cavalry regiments their regimental majors, who, according to the plan now proposed, were to be taken away. He acknowledged the ample justice the right hon. Gentleman had done in the case of the purchase officers. The scheme they were discussing gave to the widow of an officer killed in action or wounded fatally, a pension equivalent to the saleable value of that officer's commission, and the scheme was retrospective to November, 1871. In the name of the purchase officers, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for this act of justice.

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY did not propose to detain the Committee more than a few minutes; but he should be sorry to allow the occasion to pass without saying a word or two on such an important matter as the introduction of a new scheme of this sort. He would only refer to three points, although the right hon. Gentleman had dealt in his speech with a great many more than this number, and those points were—first, the period of service; secondly, the localization scheme; and thirdly, the pay and retirement. The latter, or retirement scheme, was one which, in his opinion, was open to some amount of criticism, although, as to the period of service and as to localization, the plan of the right hon. Gentleman met with his hearty approval. For his own part, having served for a short period in the War Office with the late Secretary of State for War, he believed that the principle of localization was a good one, that it was based upon a good foundation, and that it had the cordial sympathy of the country. Some hon. Members might say that this was of no great importance; but it seemed to him to be of considerable importance that the scheme should be in harmony with the feeling of the country. We must always remember that our Army was an army of voluntary enlistment; therefore, he hoped that in carrying out the localization scheme the right hon. Gentleman would do his best to make the Service as popular as he reasonably could. The point was one which he did not think had been raised before during the discussion, and he was only desirous of introducing those matters which had not been already debated. The right hon. Gentleman, he trusted, would do what he could to make the Service popular, and, from his high position, encourage the officers to do likewise. Ours, as he had said, was a popular Army, and as such it was undoubtedly subjected to considerable blots which were constantly being pointed out. One of the great blots, and one which he was astonished not to see more frequently noticed, was the blot of constant desertions. It was to him a most painful thing to think that so many men were constantly deserting from our Army. What could be the cause of it? Sometimes he felt that it was owing somewhat to the mode in which the soldiers were treated; and as a case in point he would refer to the practice of shutting the men up at 10 o'clock at night, and locking the doors, which could not but be most objectionable to them. This rule might be relaxed. He believed he was right in saying that something had been said by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) as to increased facilities for obtaining leave, and this he looked upon as a step in the right direction. Then, as to drill, there was a great deal of unnecessary labour that the men had to undergo which might very well be done away with; for instance, they could, without difficulty, be relieved of the uncomfortable burden of carrying their knapsacks when marching. It could not be necessary for the men to carry these knapsacks. These were only two little points; but they were points in the direction of which he considered that the Service might be made much more agreeable amongst young soldiers—for it was amongst the young ones that we had these numerous desertions. The localization system was, and deserved to be, popular; and he claimed, as advocates of it, those people who said so much about *esprit de corps* and attached so much importance to it, for the *esprit de corps*, which was already strong in the regiments, would become stronger when those regiments were more intimately associated with the counties from which they took their name. In proof of this, he had only to point to the pride the counties took in their Militia regiments. The localization feeling was strong in the country; and if they carried it still further, and made their Line regiments participate in the great advantages which the counties were quite ready to give, the result would be found to be eminently satisfactory. On this point he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman—and he considered it was a fair question to put to him—whether he really intended to endeavour to carry this localization scheme out, because it seemed to him that half-measures in connection with these matters would not do? Very often the counties did not know their Line regiments, as they did not come to them. Often had he been to the barrack-yard of the depôt centre of his own county, and all he had seen there had been a number of unfortunate young recruits being drilled into a state of half-silliness, with a number of old pensioners outside. This was the only acquaintance they had hitherto had with the localization scheme. These brigade depôts were built at very considerable cost during the time of Lord Cardwell, as the late Secretary for War had stated, and in 1874 the new Government found them already built; £3,000,000 had been spent on them, but, costly as they had been, they were now only monuments of misapplied money—they had done no service. He trusted the Secretary for War would carry the localization scheme into full operation, even though, by so doing, some further outlay was necessary on the depôts in order to make them fit and proper for the reception of the regiments. It would be of great advantage to have their Line regiment quartered in the county from time to time, so that they might see it, become acquainted with its condition, become acquainted with its officers, and really become connected and identified with it in a manner of speaking. When the Line regiment went to Aldershot, the Militia regiment should take its place. One word about the period of service. He was very glad the right hon. Gentleman adhered to the 12 years' period of enlistment. There was no particular magic in that period, which was the longest time they could keep a man in the Service and send him back to civil life full of health and strength and activity, and with capacity for civil employment, without giving him a pension. The only reason, it seemed to him, why the 12 years was held to was this—of being able to send the soldier out fit for civil employment. The alterations made in the scheme as to the distribution of service—so many years with the Colours and so many years in the Reserve—seemed to him thoroughly good and proper. Another year longer with the Colours at home, and two years longer with the Colours in India, were as much as they could properly give; and he entirely approved of the proposal. But there was one point the right hon. Gentleman had not cleared up—namely, he had not told them how he was going to make amends to the Reserve for the slight amount of injury he inflicted on it by keeping men eight years in the ranks instead of six. The right hon. Gentleman told them he was going to allow a certain number of Reservists to extend their service to 16 years upon a smaller amount of Reserve pay; while, on the other hand, they were removed a certain stage further off the possibility of being called upon. He (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) did not feel very sanguine as to the success of this scheme; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to establish a satisfactory Reserve. He quite approved of allowing a certain number of men to go into the Reserve after a certain number of years' service. It was carrying out the plan which his right hon. Friend (Colonel Stanley) had adopted when in Office, and he believed it would work exceedingly well. He had a suggestion to make with regard to the formation of a new and efficient Reserve, and he hoped the Committee and the right hon. Gentleman would take it into their serious consideration. He wished to point out the immense advantages which the Volunteer staff of adjutants and sergeants would have for drilling a Reserve throughout the country. This

Volunteer staff formed the most perfect machinery they could possibly have, as it entirely adapted itself to the tastes and habits of the people, the drill being given at the most convenient and acceptable time; and not only was the drill given at the period which was most convenient, but the body was thoroughly elastic and thoroughly popular—as was demonstrated by the readiness of the Volunteers, after a day's work, to come and go through an evening's drill. Soldiers look upon the drill as an infliction, whilst the Volunteers looked upon it as a pleasure. They had the machinery in existence, and it was maintained at great expense. Why, therefore, should they not make use of it for drilling and training the Reservists? He would like to go further than this, and see a certain number of the Volunteers, who were recommended by their officers and passed by an Inspecting Officer as thoroughly efficient men, admitted into the Reserve, receiving 6*d*. a-day or £9 a-year — a splendid piece of pocket-money, which would enable them to draw the very best men in the country into the Reserve—namely, the agricultural labourers, whom the commanding officers were always sighing to get hold of, because of their acquaintance with the pick and shovel and their handiness in the field. The men they enlisted now were townsmen, very few agricultural labourers offering themselves; but if they allowed the squire or the clergyman of a country district to recommend Volunteers for the Reserve, and were to take them in on receiving a satisfactory report from their officers and the Inspecting Officer, the Government would find that they would get into the Reserve the best men it was possible to secure. These men would engage to serve in any campaign for which they might be required. No doubt, they would form a novel Reserve; but he maintained we must seek some novel Reserve, for we could not depend on the Army and Militia Reserve. He should like to see some novel form of Reserve of this kind formed, and had no doubt, if his suggestion were adopted and worked out, it would be found of immense advantage. It would induce many men to join the Volunteers, and afterwards the Reserve, who, if things remained as they were, would never join either Force.

Major O'BEIRNE had just one observation to make as to the period of service in India. The right hon. Gentleman had extended it to eight years; but such a service was not sufficient, and he very much regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not extended service with the Colours to 10 years. Three years would have to be taken off in the case of the young soldiers, for they might be enlisted at 19, but could not go to India before they were 20, and were then not fit for service until they had had sufficient training and experience. This would make the service in India six years instead of eight. It would be preferable to fix the period at 10 years instead of eight. It could not be said that eight years' service in India would frighten recruits, because the Indian Service was popular. He dissented from the observations which had fallen from some hon. Members with regard to the so-called Reserves. The Reserve in this country, compared with those of other countries, was a sham and a humbug—here it was a sham, but in Germany it was a reality. The Reserves ought to be called out from time to time for drill and training. With regard to promotion, he thought it ought to be by seniority, and not by selection; and as to non-commissioned officers, the right hon. Gentleman had made a very material change in the regulations, and one which had been desired for a very long time. The change had not come a day too soon; but the right hon. Gentleman, in dealing with this matter, had made a great omission in allowing non-commissioned officers to remain subject to a great restriction. These officers were not allowed to be out until 1 o'clock a.m. without a pass, and this, he considered, was a hardship. The discipline in this particular ought to be relaxed. As to the territorial system, as was shown in the Report of Lord Airey's Committee, and as many of the best authorities had declared, it ought to be condemned. It did not add a single additional effective soldier to the Army.

Mr. CHILDERS: I desire, in the first place, in reference to what has just fallen from my hon. and gallant Friend, to say that in replying to some of the remarks which have been made in the course of the evening I do so on the clear understanding, which I have already expressed, that further opportunity will be given for discussing these matters. All that I will say on the general question is, that the proposals have been favourably received, and that we will do our best to advance the measures necessary in order to enable us to bring those proposals into operation by the 1st July. Speaking generally, I have paid close attention to the debate; and I have heard several suggestions from hon. Members on both sides of the House which deserve great attention, and which have very much helped me and those who are associated with me in arriving at a conclusion as to the best means of carrying out some of the details of the scheme. I never look on anything in connection with these matters as final; and, no doubt, the criticism which has been offered, and which is the result of great experience on the part of hon. and gallant Gentlemen, will enable me to amend some of the details of the scheme. I have to thank the Committee for the kindly way in which, as a rule, they have alluded, some to the whole, and some to part, of my proposals. The hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) has been the only Member who has damned the whole thing completely. I am sorry that the hon. and gallant Member has not a single good word to say for the scheme; but he stands quite alone in his severe condemnation. I know the hon. and gallant Member's good nature; and, possibly, the severity of his criticism may be taken as showing his desire to think kindly of the measure—the desire of one who criticizes first and approves afterwards. I should not think for a moment of going through in detail all the suggestions that have been made this evening. Time would not allow it; and I should only be wearying the Committee if I endeavoured now to answer speeches which have taken six or seven hours to deliver, and which have touched almost every detail contained in the Memorandum I have placed on the Table. There are, however, two or three salient points to which I must refer; and I will endeavour to express myself as clearly as I can in reply to specific questions that have been put to me as to parts of my plan, which, hon. Members say, were not clearly developed either in the speech in which I stated it to the House, or in the Memorandum I have submitted. My right hon. Friend opposite has asked me a very pertinent question, to which I will endeavour to make my reply as clear as possible. He said, taking the figures as I stated them the other day, and as they are in this Memorandum, that I had not clearly expressed what ought to be the strength of the depôts in a particular contingency, that contingency being the fact of both battalions being abroad in the event of a great foreign war—not of one of those minor wars which we all know have disturbed so much the normal state of things during recent years. The right hon. Gentleman said there seemed to be a hiatus in my plan, and he asked me whether I could give my views on the question, or whether he was to consider the matter postponed for another year. Other hon. Gentlemen, I think, also alluded to this question; and, in as few words as I can, I will make the point clear. The regiments which are to form the first *Corps d'Armée* are to be 950 strong, with a depôt of 150, followed by others also 950 strong, with depôts of similar strength. In the event of the *Corps d'Armée* being called abroad, each of those regiments can throw off at once 150 of their men into the depôt, and thus strengthen the depôt up to 300. With regard to the question of resorting to the Volunteer system in the event of those regiments staying abroad for any considerable time in small wars, the Government propose to follow the suggestions made by the Committee to which I have referred, who expressed the opinion that the expansion of a depôt should be effected in three ways—by recruits from other depôts, if they could be spared; by calling the volunteers from Line regiments and other territorial regiments. That should only be resorted to when it cannot be helped; but on the two occasions, since I took Office, when it was necessary, first, to provide five regiments for sudden despatch to Afghanistan, after Maiwand, and next, to send what was really a large Army to South Africa, we sent the men required without calling for recruits. That is, I think, so far satisfactory. The third proposal of the Committee was that the Army Reserve should be called up, and that has been done with perfect success. I also agree with the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that if two battalions of a regiment are called abroad, one or two Militia battalions of the regiment should be embodied; and I have under consideration the propriety of submitting to Parliament a proposal for enabling the Government, in the event of one of those smaller emergencies—which cannot be regarded as a national emergency or a public danger—to provide the funds for embodying the necessary number of Militia. If the three courses I have quoted are supplemented by this plan, the operation will be complete, and the Government will be able to deal with emergencies with perfect success. Then, with regard to the Indian reliefs. It has been proposed to substitute relief by drafts, to a greater extent than hitherto, for reliefs by whole battalions. I will assume that a regiment is on the Indian roster, consisting of 820 men, or whatever its strength may be, and requires every year to be filled up, under the eight years' system, by drafts of 140 or 150. What we should propose is, that that process of relief by drafts should go on steadily, and instead of keeping the officers, as they are now likely to be kept, 12 years abroad, keeping them eight years, so that officers could be exchanged from the other battalions—not all at once, but from year to year with the drafts. It would not be necessary to do more than relieve the men by an equivalent number of drafts, so that during the next 16 years the relief by drafts will go on precisely to the same extent, and until both regiments have done full service in India, it would not be necessary to relieve the whole regiment. If the regiment were one which would have to go from the Indian roster to the Colonial roster, it would come home *en bloc*, and would be relieved by a regiment from the Colonial roster then at home. The result will be that, considering the comparative number of the regiments, 50 in India and 20 in the Colonies, instead of there being a large number of regiments relieved every year as a whole they will be relieved gradually, and the result will be a great saving of the finances of India. Something like this was proposed from India some years ago, and I propose to carry it still further. We believe this is as moderate and reasonable a system as can be adopted for improving the financial arrangements of India, and securing that neither men nor officers shall be in India longer than eight years. The hon. Member asked how it was I had spoken of eight years as the possible service in India, when enlistment could not be expected for more than six years? The Memorandum stated that the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for War might extend the service in India up to the whole period, and it is a fair calculation that a reasonable number of soldiers would remain for eight years; but the average would not be for more than six years. Then I have also been asked by several hon. Members what is the exact meaning of the proposed increase in the number of field officers. I will take the Line regiments as typical. Do we mean, I am asked, to establish simultaneously what is known as the double company system? We are almost the only country in Europe which maintains the small company system—in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, the companies are very much larger than ours, and the battalions are organized accordingly. I am asked if we propose to double the companies as we double the field officers. We leave that question exactly where it is; and there is no question upon which military opinion is more divided than upon this. We do not propose to unsettle or settle that question at all. But it is our object to get rid in a very simple way of the grievance of compulsory retirement, which is inevitable under the present arrangement. If you leave regimental organization as it is now, you must have an inordinate and cruel retirement from the rank of captain. That will be minimized by our proposal. Under the present system only 231 captains can become majors; but under our proposal 513 can become majors; and that will be a great relief to the state of things which weighs heavily on all ranks of the Army. The tendency of the feeling that a captain must leave the Army at 40, whether he likes it or not, cannot add to the efficiency of the Army; and I have the concurrence and the strong approval of my military friends in this proposal. I am asked whether the pecuniary expenses of the general officers will be altered by the proposed changes. The difference is so slight that it is not worth consideration. The expectancy of an officer becoming a general officer is something under £700 a-year, and it will remain at £600 and something a-year. The hon. Member who asked that question was not sure whether

I was right in effecting that reduction, and he gave as his reason that it was more invidious to choose from a small list than from a large list. I admit that; but you are more likely to find efficiency in a small number than in a large number, considering the changes that take place year after year. I am also asked whether the scheme with respect to the establishment of officers will not bring about a serious diminution in the number of subalterns in the regiments. Another hon. Member came to my rescue by complaining of the large number of officers for depôts. The change we propose leaves the regiments pretty nearly as they are now. There will be one subaltern less in a regiment abroad than there is at present. There are now 17 in every battalion abroad; there will, in future, be 16. One of the 17 we shall, in future, make a captain, and the captain will be an adjutant, so that the number of officers will be the same abroad as at present. The present number in the battalions at home is 13, including the adjutant; in future, the number will be 12, excluding the adjutant. With regard to the objections to our proposal respecting quartermasters, I fancy some little agitation has arisen through the words I used the other day, rather than from the words of the Memorandum. Quartermasters will be granted a higher rate of pay after 12 years' service, and on the completion of 20 years' service, and not less than 10 years as quartermasters, they will receive a pension, and after 12 years' service quartermasters may become captains. I quite agree with one remark made by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), as to the importance of not making frequent changes; and I can assure him that what I am anxious to do is to build up a system which shall be tolerably homogeneous, in the hope that it will last some time. I offer the scheme as a whole, rather than as a mere change on one or two points in Army Organization. With respect to the veto of the Secretary of State, to which the hon. and gallant Member objects, that is only intended to enable the Secretary of State to decide judicially in the event of the colonel of a regiment objecting to the re-engagement of a non-commissioned officer. That veto is absolutely necessary; but it will be exercised only in that way, and not upon financial considerations, in order to deprive a man of his pension. The proposal respecting Cavalry regiments is a matter of internal economy, which I shall, perhaps, best deal with by saying that it is the result of very careful consideration. I am doing all I can to induce my colleagues in the different Departments to give as much of their patronage as they can to non-commissioned officers —or rather to attach such conditions to service under them that, whenever it is feasible, non-commissioned officers and petty officers in the Navy may be employed; and I shall be very glad of any assistance I can get in this House in that direction. My right hon. and gallant Friend opposite asked me whether I would add to the battalions of Guards. I am afraid I cannot hold out any hope of that. With reference to the four relief regiments having depôts of only 50 in our present organization, as those battalions have 150 recruits whom they can throw off when relieving regiments abroad, it would be perfectly safe to leave those four as proposed. That is a detail thoroughly understood in the Army, and is one as to which there will be no difficulty. It has been suggested that I should increase the Militia Reserve bounty, and raise the Reserve to 50,000 men. This suggestion has been made in connection with the idea that the Army Reserve will not reach the numbers contemplated; but I never heard of the 178,000 men to which some reference has been made. I have always understood that the Army Reserve was to reach a much more modest figure than that. I have put it down at 44,000; but I think there is no doubt that, with the scheme I propose of a second Reserve, the Reserve will reach 60,000, and that will be sufficient for all the requirements of a double battalion in the event of a great war. I am very strongly in favour of increasing the Reserves, and there are many other improvements which might be considered and carried out if we had the money. I have been asked by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Eustace Cecil) if we intend to take any steps in reference to the general issue of Martini-Henry rifles. No doubt that is a question of great interest.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked if the right hon. Gentleman had made inquiries in regard to the experiments at Shoeburyness?

Mr. CHILDERS: Yes. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Clare (Captain O'Shea) put a question to me as to the reduction of Cavalry. It is true that there is a small reduction in the Cavalry; but it is intended to strengthen the first regiments for service. There will, however, be a slight reduction of Cavalry and also of Artillery. I am obliged to my right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Colonel Stanley) for the generous support he has given to the main part of our proposal; and perhaps I may be allowed to conclude by saying that I cordially agree with him, and with one or two other hon. Members who have spoken, in the hope that we may be able to take steps to make the Army more popular than it is now. I firmly believe that there is no service in the world, no employment in the world in which men should be able, if steady and sober, to get on so well as in the Army and Navy of this country. The Navy has reached the popular position which that great Service deserves. From all I hear, the progress made in the Naval Service in the last 20 years has been to give the Navy the position which it ought to have; and we are able now, I believe, to reach those parts of the population where good sound lads can be got whose families hold good positions in the country, and to induce them to enter the Naval Service, which is now looked up to with respect throughout the country. I am afraid that we have not yet reached the same point in the Army, but we are making progress. The imputations against the Army are, to a great extent, unjust; but we hope that we may be able, by such suggestions as those which have fallen from my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley), and others who have taken part in the discussion to-night, to make non-commissioned officers feel that they hold positions in which their comfort is considered, and in which they can satisfy their friends that they occupy as good positions as any other persons of the same influence and power in the country. I can assure the Committee that as long as I hold my present position it will be my endeavour to do my best in these directions. I may add, also, that I do not at all entertain those ideas which my right hon. and gallant Friend so well refuted to day as to the character of the officers of the Army, and especially the regimental officers of the Army. So far from it, I am anxious to do all I can to assist the regimental officers of the Army, who have been called the backbone of the Army, although I do not like the word, for the whole Army is the backbone—but who, at any rate, form an important part of the Army. I thoroughly believe that we have in the Army abundance of men who are quite prepared to appreciate the necessary changes which took place in organization and in administration 10 years ago, and which have been, to some extent, followed up since. I do not believe that the Army has retrograded. On the contrary, I have full confidence that Her Majesty and the country are well served by the Army.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked what duties the new majors were to perform?

Mr. CHILDERS: I have undertaken that the vested interests of all officers shall be carefully considered. I think I am within the mark when I say that whereas, under the present system, 6 out of 1,000 officers become generals, in future the proportion will be 7 in 1,000. In regard to what has been said by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon), I may say that there are two prevalent ideas—one in favour of double companies with a major and a captain to each, and the other in favour of regarding the senior captains of single companies as majors. For the present, the duties of majors will remain unchanged.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Colonel STANLEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman state when the Army Estimates are likely to be taken again?

Mr. CHILDERS: I am afraid I am not at present in a position to state until I can have an opportunity of consulting my Colleagues.

Colonel STANLEY: It will not be before Easter?

Mr. CHILDERS: No. Certainly not.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 18*th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bill—*Third Reading*—Peace Preservation (Ireland) (46), and *passed.*

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

QUESTIONS.

The Earl of BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question respecting a paragraph in the "Times" of this day, with reference to the withdrawal of the British troops from Candahar. I have read the paragraph, which appears to be of an authoritative and authentic character, that it is the intention of the Government to abandon Candahar on the 15th of next month and to hand over the city to the Ameer Abdur Rahman. I wish to know, Whether it be a fact that that is the intention of the Government? I should also like to know if it is so, and provided the information can be given without inconvenience, what are the stipulations on which the agreement with the Ameer is founded; and I should further like to know, whether it is true that the Ameer Abdur Rahman has announced to the Government of India that he will not be prepared on the 15th of April next to occupy the city and territory of Candahar?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, in answer to the Question of the noble Earl, of which he gave me private Notice, I have to state that the announcement made in *The Times* is not official and is not accurate. It is quite true that there have been communications between the Government of India and the Ameer Abdur Rahman as to the time the English troops should be withdrawn from Candahar; but the Government of India has not yet thought fit to announce in detail the result of those communications. We have, however, telegraphed to India to ascertain whether any further information on the subject can be given to Parliament without disadvantage to the Public Service; and I shall be glad to give any further information which may be within my power at the beginning of next week.

The Earl of BEACONSFIELD: Are we to understand from Her Majesty's Government that it is an inaccurate statement that the Ameer Abdur Rahman has announced that he cannot or will not fulfil the engagement he is supposed to have entered into?

Earl GRANVILLE: That is not accurate.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

The Queen's answer to the Address of Tuesday last reported as follows:

I thank you sincerely for your loyal and dutiful Address:

I share the indignation and deep concern which you have expressed at the assassination of My relative and ally His late Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias:

I shall take care to convey to His Imperial Majesty the present Emperor of All the Russias the abhorrence which, in common with Myself, you feel at the detestable crime, and the sympathy which it has called forth for the Imperial family of Russia and also for the Government and people of that country.

Russia, No. 1. (1881).

Note from the Russian Ambassador to the Earl Granville forwarding a telegram from the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs in acknowledgment of the resolutions passed by both Houses of Parliament on the occasion of the assassination of His Imperial Majesty Alexander II.: *Presented* (by command) and ordered to lie on the Table.

Earl GRANVILLE: I have to state, my Lords, that I have received from the Russian Ambassador the following communication, which I will now read, and afterwards lay on the Table of your Lordships' House—

"London, March 18, 1881.

"Monsieur le Conte,—I lost no time in bringing to the knowledge of the Imperial Government, by telegraph, the Resolutions passed by the House of Lords and the House of Commons expressing their sorrow for the misfortune which has just befallen the Imperial Family and the whole Russian Nation.

"H.M. the Emperor has been deeply touched by the manifestations of sympathy, and has caused the enclosed telegram to be addressed to me by M. de Giers, which I make it my duty to communicate to Your Excellency, in the hope that you will be so good as to make it known to the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

"I have, &c.

"(Signed) Lobanow."

The telegram referred to is in the following terms:—

"St. Petersburg,
"March $\frac{5}{17}$, 1881.

"The Emperor has been deeply touched by the manifestation of sympathy for him and of respect for the memory of his Father which has emanated from the House of Lords and the House of Commons. His Majesty charges you to convey his warmest thanks."

AFGHANISTAN—GIFT OF MILITARY STORES TO THE AMEER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord WAVENEY asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that a large quantity of small-arm ammunition has been given to the Afghan Envoy recently at Calcutta, and that it has been sent on in advance; and, secondly, whether there is any objection to lay on the Table of the House the text of the Convention with Native Chiefs by which the Khyber Pass is transferred to the military occupation and protection of the mountain tribes of the district? The noble Lord said, that the two points to which the Question related gave indications of the direct and active interest which the Government were taking in the future of Afghanistan. As to the latter point, the wild tribes inhabiting the districts in the neighbourhood were, it appeared, to provide such a number of police as the Government might require for the purpose of maintaining order and securing life and property; but he doubted whether it was the opinion of their Lordships that that object, in a mountain pass like the Khyber, was to be attained by those means. He must be allowed to express his disapproval of the Convention, for there could be no doubt that our wisest policy would be to stand aloof from any such entanglements.

Viscount ENFIELD: My Lords, with reference to the first part of the Question of the noble Lord, I have to state that a request lately preferred by the Ameer to the Indian Government for small arms and ammunition has been complied with; and, in all probability, those munitions either have been, or are being taken to Cabul by the Ameer. The quantities are unknown, and it is not quite certain whether they have yet been sent to Cabul or not. With regard to the second part of the Question put to me by the noble Lord, I have to state that the text of the Convention to which he refers has not yet been received at the India Office.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 46.)

(*The Lord President.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."—(*The Lord President.*)

Lord DUNSANY said, he wished to say a few words on the Bill before it became law. Their Lordships would all remember the course of action pursued by many of those who considered themselves the leaders of the Irish people, and who were, in a measure, responsible for the present state of Ireland. Mr. Parnell and his followers had told the Irish people that he could prevent the Government from bringing in a Coercion Bill, and had also said that he would take the land from the landlords and give it to the people; but he had not yet succeeded in doing that. Their Lordships had heard very many things that were to be done by the Irish Party; but the Government had lately shown a great deal of energy and courage in dealing with them; and that energy in part made up for their previous shortcomings. But there was an old French proverb which said that he laughed best who laughed last, and it might so happen that before the end of the duel between Her Majesty's Government and the hon. Member for Cork, the latter might have the laugh all on his side, especially if he succeeded in handing over the property of the landlords into the hands of the tenants. Even now that Gentleman had his laugh at the Government; for, while those who had given ill advice to the people of Ireland were at large, it was only their dupes who had been imprisoned. Government had set its net for the minnows, but had let the Tritons go free. Why, he asked, were the most dangerous of the leaders of the land agitation still at liberty? The Gentlemen who gave the advice as to the houghing of cattle were still at large; the Gentlemen who hoped that Ireland would soon throw off the yoke of England were still at large; the Gentleman who gave the advice to plough up the land before giving it up to the landlord, but who withdrew it as soon as he found it would place him within reach of the law, was still at large, and he (Lord

Dunsany) would like to know the reason. They had a certain number of these gentry locked up; but it seemed to him, from what he could learn from the newspapers, that they would soon be at large again. He thought it would be very wrong if that were done, and he warned the Government that mild measures would not be effective. He disapproved of this alternation on the part of the Government of blowing hot and cold, as it demoralized the people of Ireland and compromised the Government. The prisoners seemed, from a paragraph that had appeared in a newspaper, to be holding high carnival now that Lent was in progress. They had been feasting on unaccustomed dainties, and he understood that there was no single restriction, except as to the quantity of wine, placed upon them. He thought the restriction would not be found very harsh. They could all remember the remarkable case of Stephens, who was placed in gaol, but walked out of it as soon as he wished to; and he hoped the Government would exercise more care with the prisoners they now had under their charge. He touched upon these points, not with the intention of blaming the Government, but to show that caution ought to be exercised, lest the liberty granted to the detained should be abused and greatly exceeded. Before sitting down, he would remind Her Majesty's Ministers that they had the authority of three Irish Judges that trial by jury had broken down in the country; and the state of things there required the serious attention of the Government.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he would not follow the noble Lord (Lord Dunsany) in the criticism which he passed on the way in which Her Majesty's Government had exercised the exceptional powers which had been given them. But before the Bill before the House passed, and Parliament was relieved of measures of a very painful description, he would like to say a word or two on the question touched upon by the noble Lord opposite towards the close of his speech. He (the Earl of Dunraven) would ask their Lordships whether the experience of the last few months and of the last few years, and of the more distant past, had not been such as to prove, almost conclusively, that some permanent alteration was necessary in the ordinary law of Ireland? The history of that country for the last 80 years presented the appearance of an almost unbroken series of vain attempts to govern the country by what was called the ordinary law—by a courtesy title—followed by the adoption of measures which were altogether different from, and much more stringent than, the ordinary law of the country. He believed ordinary law had been interfered with about 40 or 50 times in almost as many years, either by new measures, or by the renewal of existing measures. Under those circumstances, it was hard to know what was the ordinary law. If it were not Irishism, one might say "that the ordinary law was the extraordinary law, and that the exception was the rule in Ireland." There was one class of crime that, as they all knew, remained, practically speaking, almost unpunished—namely, crime of an agrarian nature. His attention had been specially called to this subject by the recent observations of some of the Judges. Judge Brody, at the Limerick Assizes, commenting on the fact that the jury could not agree, said that they must have brought in a verdict of guilty, unless they disregarded the sworn testimony of the whole of the constabulary who gave evidence. At the recent Tralee Assizes, also, Mr. Justice Fitzgerald the other day, when a jury had brought in a verdict of acquittal in a case of agrarian crime, where the strongest evidence had been given against the accused, said that the verdict was contrary—if those kinds of verdicts were given, trial by jury would have to be swept away altogether. They did not wish to see that; and he (the Earl of Dunraven) submitted it would be well for Her Majesty's Government seriously to consider whether it would not be advisable to institute some other means of trying crimes of this particular nature than by trial by jury. It was hoped that remedial legislation would put an end to agrarian crime. He feared, however, that such would not be the case. The state of crime in Ireland 50 or 60 years ago, when that country laboured under many disabilities, could, of course, afford no precedent; but taking into consideration the state of the country during the last 10 years, he thought he must be a very sanguine man indeed who believed that any alteration in the land tenure of Ireland would prove an immediate and effectual remedy for the existing state of things, and prevent the recurrence of such a state of things again. He had not the slightest doubt that a good Land Bill would have a very salutary effect; but he believed—and he thought that those among their Lordships who knew most about Ireland would agree with him—that the good results of such a Bill must take a considerable time to develop. He therefore ventured to express a hope that Her Majesty's Government would, before the expiration of the period during which the exceptional powers intrusted to the Government were in operation—namely, September, 1882—consider whether it was not to the interest of Ireland that such an alteration should be made in the ordinary law of the country as would render it possible to secure punishment to the perpetrators of agrarian crimes. It seemed to him that if there was one weak spot in the English character, it was that Englishmen would always insist on believing that that which was good for themselves must be good for everybody in every part of the world. The consequences of that idiosyncracy were sometimes disastrous. England had tried to govern Ireland by the same methods that succeeded in Great Britain; and, as far as trial by jury in certain cases was concerned, the result had been a failure. The good effect of coercive measures was lost, because all Governments applied them to Ireland in a way which, though suitable to England, was not suitable to the former country. The noble Earl (Earl Granville) had cited Lord Grey and Sir Robert Peel as authorities in favour of allowing a considerable time to elapse before having recourse to measures of a repressive nature. But as such measures had been frequently tried, and as the country had not been permanently pacified, the measures must either have been useless, or there must have been something faulty in their application. In his opinion, the fault was that they were not applied soon enough. It was all very well in England allowing matters to run to a great length before interfering; but it was most mistaken kindness to pursue that plan in Ireland. The people, forgetting former coercive measures, mistook the patience of the Government for weakness. Law-abiding people, though believing in the ultimate triumph of the law, were afraid to declare themselves, dreading the long period of persecution to which they would be subjected. The principal thing was to foster a feeling of respect for the law, and confidence in the law; but they did not give the law-abiding people of Ireland a fair chance, for, unless sure of protection, they were naturally afraid of standing up boldly in defence of law and order. Besides the effect on Ireland, they ought to consider the effect on Great Britain and on Parliament of the condition of things in Ireland. It was very painful to their Lordships—as, indeed, to everybody—to see what had taken place in the other House of Parliament—what a new departure in the old method of Parliamentary procedure had been adopted, what a great step had been found necessary in the curtailment of the freedom of debate. Moreover, however necessary they might be, it must always be painful for their Lordships to be obliged to pass such measures as those which had been lately occupying their attention. With respect to the Bill under notice, he had nothing whatever to say; but, as his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council had said that this Bill was only part and parcel of a former Bill, perhaps he might be allowed to make a remark about the former Bill. It was about a part of the Bill which he considered to be unwise and obnoxious—namely, the retrospective part of the Coercion Bill, by which its provisions became applicable even beyond the period when Her Majesty's Government had first announced their intention of introducing it to Parliament. It was quite fair that the Bill should come into play at the date of Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne; but it was not just that it should have effect prior to that date. It appeared to him that what happened was this. We told the Irish people that trial by jury was to be the method of trial, that a jury of their peers would decide whether a man was guilty or not. Certain individuals committed actions which were undoubtedly crimes, but which were not crimes in the estimation of their peers, since juries almost invariably acquitted; and if trial by jury was to be the test of innocence or guilt, they could not assume that these persons considered they were committing crimes. Then they suddenly altered the law, and, by making it retrospective, they could punish a man for an act committed by him under the certainty that if tried for it by a jury, which was the legal method at the time, he would be pronounced innocent. Practically speaking, that was very much the same as making a new crime. That he considered a very great injustice. The retrospective nature of the Coercion Bill ought not to go beyond the period when it was first mentioned in Parliament that exceptional powers would be sought. After that date the people had fair warning and could not complain if they suffered under the exceptional powers given to the Executive by the "Protection for Life and Property Bill." He thought it was unjust to insert that retrospective clause as it stood, and being unjust it was unwise; he feared it was calculated to give rise in the Irish people to a perfectly erroneous idea that there was a certain feeling of irritation and vindictiveness on the part of the people of this country, and on the part of Parliament, towards Ireland. That was, however, a matter of detail. The great point to which he wished to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government was that in cases of crime of an agrarian nature trial by jury had proved to be a lamentable failure. They tried to maintain trial by jury, but they were constantly driven to supersede it. The country was kept in a state of continual change and irritation, the lawless were encouraged, and law-abiding people were discouraged. He therefore earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government would, before the Coercion Bill expired, consider whether it was not advisable to make some alteration in the ordinary law, in order to effectually deal with agrarian crime in Ireland, and to try and make the law fit the country instead of making the country fit the law.

Earl SPENCER said, part of the speech of the noble Lord (Lord Dunsany), relating to the treatment of prisoners, was founded on a paragraph which appeared in a daily paper that morning, and Her Majesty's Government had no confirmation of what that paragraph contained. With regard to the larger question which had been opened up by his noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Dunraven), he would not enter into it on the present occasion, as it was a most serious and grave subject. The facts stated by the learned Judges, which his noble Friend referred to, no doubt showed a very serious state of things; and that was the reason why Her Majesty's Government had been induced to bring in this Bill and that which preceded it. He (Earl Spencer), however, hoped that state of things was only the result of the terrorism which unfortunately existed in Ireland at the present time, and that things would soon change for the better. He believed if there was good and loyal feeling restored in that country those difficulties would pass away. The closing remarks of his noble Friend behind him referred to a former Bill, and he would make no further allusion to that subject.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3^a accordingly, and *passed.*

House adjourned at a quarter before
Six o'clock, to Monday next,
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 18*th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee* —Navy Estimates.

Resolutions [March 17] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Teinds (Scotland) * [118].

First Reading—Alkali, &c. Works Regulation * [119]; Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention * [120]; Copyright * [121].

Second Reading—Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) [107].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Maintenance Law Amendment [110].

Third Reading—Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) [83], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CASTLEBAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr. W. CORBET (for Mr. O'Connor Power) asked the Chief Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that Mr. F. O'Donel, land agent, and member of the Castlebar Board of Guardians, at a meeting of that body, threatened Mr. Joseph B. Walsh, a fellow guardian, and now a prisoner under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, with arrest and imprisonment; if it is true that the same Mr. O'Donel has directed similar threats against other members of the same Board; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board will take steps to prevent the repetition of threatening language which might interfere with the elected representatives of the poor in the discharge of their duties?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, the Irish Local Government Board had no information as to the language used by Mr. O'Donel, and they had no power to control the language of members of Boards of Guardians. It was the duty of the presiding Chairman of a Board to put a stop to proceedings which were of an objectionable or improper character. He dared say that in Ireland, and in England too, if it were the business of the Central Government to take steps whenever an improper or objectionable speech was made at a Board of Guardians they would have a good deal to do.

ARMY—ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that the capital of the Royal Patriotic Fund has been diminished by a very large amount; whether the accounts of the fund have been audited annually according to the requirements of the Royal Commission; whether, in consequence of the diminution of the capital referred to, it has been found necessary to close, or advise the closing, of the Boys' School at Wandsworth, the same being unendowed; and, whether he will lay the Papers, and all the information on the subject which may be in his possession, upon the Table of the House; in the event of the above facts being as stated, whether he will take the necessary steps for the appointment of a Committee for the purpose of thoroughly investigating the matter, and suggesting some scheme of reorganisation with a view of placing the funds so liberally subscribed by the public under more responsible control; and, whether, in view of the present system of short service, and of the fact that the benefits of education are made generally available through the Board Schools, he will consider the advisability of applying the whole of the interest of the fund to the grant of pensions or compassionate allowances to the widows and children of officers and soldiers killed in action?

Mr. CHILDERS: Sir, at the opening of the Session I stated, in reply to the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry de Worms), that I had not then received an answer to a letter written to the Patriotic Fund Commissioners on behalf of the First Lord of the Admiralty and myself, in which we pointed out the very serious and unsatisfactory state of the finance of the Commission. As I then stated, the subject was under the consideration of the Commissioners; and I have since received from Lord Nelson, the Chairman of their Executive Committee, a letter going fully into the question of their finance, and the remedies they propose. This letter, after enumerating considerable economies, which the Committee hope to effect, recommended the closing of the boys' school unless the War Office and the Admiralty could come to the assistance of the Commission by supplementing their sources of income with certain funds at the disposal of the two Departments. Lord Northbrook and I, after full consideration, found ourselves unable to comply with this request; but we have made a proposal to the Commission very much in the sense of the last part of the hon. Member's Question. If, as we hope, the Commissioners should see their way to adopt our views, it will be easy for them to complete the special task for which they were orignally appointed by the Crown, and, at the same time, to assist in placing upon a permanent footing the main object for which they were constituted. I think I ought to add to this reply that, although, for want of sufficient data given to their actuary, it is the case that their assets have been found to be insufficient for the expenditure to which they were more or less pledged to Parliament and the public, there is no reason whatever for imputing to their officers any defalcations, and the whole matter has been so thoroughly probed to the bottom that the appointment of another Committee on the subject would be now useless. In any case, a Bill must be brought into Parliament to carry into effect the proposals of Lord Northbrook and myself, or of the Commission, and before then I hope to lay on the Table all the Papers and Correspondence.

NAVY—THE COASTGUARD PAY AND PENSION.

Captain PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that chief officers of the Coastguard of twenty years' standing only receive the same rate of pay as those of one year; and, what is the reason that they are not allowed progressive pay in common with all other officers of the Navy; is it the fact also that these officers are pensioned at the rate of £1 per annum for their service as seamen and petty officers in the Navy, whilst the warrant officers, with whom they rank, are pensioned at the rate of £1 10*s.*; and, is this one of the reasons for the "lack of candidates" for the Coastguard Service mentioned by Admiral Phillimore in his recent Report?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the case, Sir, that chief officers of the Coastguard receive a fixed scale of pay, and not a progressive rate. It is 6*s.* a-day, with 16*d.* a-day for provisions, and they get besides a capital cottage, often in as agreeable a site as any residence in the country, kept in repair for them at the public expense. It is likewise the case that their pension is as stated by the hon. and gallant Member. If Coastguard officers, in addition to all their other advantages, had the same pecuniary position as those of their rank on board ships, no one would serve afloat, except on compulsion. There is no lack of candidates for the Coastguard, in which the numbers borne are at this moment only 16 below the numbers voted.

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE —THE NEW FRENCH TARIFF.

MR. BRINTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If, in view of the early promulgation of the new French Tariff, before an opportunity has been afforded to consider its effect upon British interests, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will apply to the French Government to allow a period of at least twelve months to elapse from its promulgation, in order to give time for negotiating a new Commercial Treaty between France and this country?

MR. W. HOLMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, having regard to the fact that the new French General Tariff will probably be promulgated in the course of next month, which will involve the termination of the existing Commercial Treaty with this Country six months afterwards, what steps, if any, have been taken by Her Majesty's Government to negotiate a new Commercial Treaty with France?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, by a Declaration, signed in October, 1879, it was agreed between the British and the French Governments that the Commercial Treaties between the two countries, which were about to expire on the 31st of December, 1879, under notice given by the French Government, should remain in force until six months after the promulgation of the new General Tariff. Her Majesty's Government have repeatedly urged that that arrangement will afford a very limited time for negotiation; and when, in the course of last month, the progress in the French Legislature of the Bills embodying the new General Tariff showed that it would probably soon become law, Lord Lyons was instructed to call, in urgent terms, the attention of the French Government to the whole subject of commercial negotiations with this country. The French Government replied, on the 28th ultimo, that they expected to be soon in a position to commence these negotiations. On the 14th instant, Lord Lyons was further instructed to point out that under present circumstances an extension of the period of six months, agreed upon in 1879, will be necessary. On the following day his Excellency addressed a note to that effect to the French Government. In reply to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Paisley, I may add that active steps have already been taken by Her Majesty's Government; but he will understand that at the present moment it would not be advisable to enter into any details.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (for Mr. FITZ-PATRICK) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the telegraph clerks on the Great Southern and Western Railway and other Railways, Ireland, were transferred from the old Telegraph Companies and placed under the present Post Office as Clerks in the Civil Service; whether they enjoy all privileges guaranteed to them under that transfer, or under the terms of the Playfair Commission; and, whether it is not a fact that many of these clerks, having been in the service twelve, and in some instances eighteen years, are now only receiving 21*s.* a-week salary, for which they are expected to work ten hours a day alternately with ten hours' night duty, as well as five hours on Sunday?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, I could not answer the first part of the Question addressed to me without prejudging the case of the telegraph clerks in general, which I am now investigating. The Question of the hon. Member only appeared on the Paper yesterday morning, and I have not had time since to communicate with the Department in Ireland respecting it, so that if the hon. Member will give me the details of the case to which he refers I shall be very much obliged to him. I can assure him and the House that it will receive my most careful consideration in the inquiries I am now carrying out.

NAVY—GOOD CONDUCT MEN.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, in reference to Return, No. 114, Whether the 10,836 persons not included in the first or second column of the Return are persons entitled to wear good conduct badges, and are, therefore, not liable to corporal punishment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: These persons, Sir, all either wear good conduct badges or are leading seamen, and in neither case are they liable to corporal punishment.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL— THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government have received any information as to the negotiations or arrangements that are taking place between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boers; and I would further ask, whether, if he has no recent communications which he can give to the House, he still purposes to proceed with the Vote for the Transvaal expenditure on Monday next?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We are not, Sir, in receipt, nor, indeed, did we expect yesterday to be in receipt to-day, of any fresh intelligence from the Transvaal. It is, however, possible we may be so to-morrow. I cannot say with any certainty, however, whether we shall be in a position to communicate conclusive information to the House before Monday next. We are very desirous of doing so, if possible, because, undoubtedly, the Transvaal Vote would afford a most convenient and proper occasion for discussing whatever topics connected with the Transvaal hon. Gentlemen might think required it. The Votes, however, are, in the first place, of a retrospective character, and I need not say the voting of the money does not in the slightest degree, under the circumstances, commit the judgment of the House with regard to the prospective policy of Her Majesty's Government; and it is, in fact, necessary that the money should be voted, considering the great inconvenience which would arise from postponing it even for a day. We probably could not postpone it till the following day with any certain view of being in a condition of then placing the House in possession of full details. What I should propose, therefore, is that, being most desirous to give the information, if we can we should do so; but if we are not able to give that information to the House we should still proceed with the Votes on the ground of public financial necessity; and, in that case, I need not say that when the information is received, and we can communicate it without detriment to the public interest, we shall at once lay it upon the Table, and if there be a desire, as very possibly there may be, for a discussion upon the subject, it will be our duty to give every facility for bringing on that discussion at an early date.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked, whether it was proposed to interfere with the rights of private Members by taking Tuesday and Wednesday next for Government Business?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the progress made in the Business of the House during the week had been such as would probably make it unnecessary to do so.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I also wish to ask a Question of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, of which I have given him Notice—Whether, with reference to the paragraph which appears in the morning papers, the Government have made any offer to the Ameer Abdur Rahman with respect to the cession of Candahar; whether the Ameer has accepted the cession; whether he has made any stipulation as to the time for the evacuation of Candahar by our troops; and what the nature of that stipulation is? And I wish further to ask the noble Lord, Whether it will be in his power to lay any Papers upon this subject before the House before the debate on Candahar comes on?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the paragraph which appears in *The Times* newspaper of this morning was not officially communicated, and it is inaccurate. It is a fact that, for a considerable time, communications have been in progress between the Government of India and the Ameer of Cabul on the subject of the arrangements to be made in Southern Afghanistan consequent on the withdrawal of British troops. I have, however, thought it inexpedient to communicate to the House in any detail what the nature of these transactions has been; but I have to-day telegraphed to the Viceroy to inquire whether it is the opinion of the Government of India that the time has now come when with advantage, or, at all events, without disadvantage, further information can be communicated to Parliament as to the progress of those communications; and I hope that on Monday, or some early day next week, I may be able to make some further statement on the subject.

ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Lord KENSINGTON) reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address [15th March] as followeth:—

I thank you sincerely for your loyal and dutiful Address.

I share the indignation and deep concern which you have expressed at the assassination of My relative and Ally His late Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias.

I shall take care to convey to His Imperial Majesty the present Emperor of All the Russias the abhorrence which, in common with Myself, you feel at this detestable crime, and the sympathy which it has called forth for the Imperial family of Russia, and also for the Government and people of that country.

MR. GLADSTONE communicated to the House a Letter from the Russian Ambassador to Earl Granville, forwarding a Telegraphic Message from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia:—

London,
March 18, 1881.

[*Translation.*]

Monsieur le Conte,

I lost no time in bringing to the knowledge of the Imperial Government, by telegraph, the Resolutions passed by the House of Lords and the House of Commons expressing their sorrow for the misfortune which has just befallen the Imperial Family and the whole Russian Nation.

H.M. the Emperor has been deeply touched by the manifestations of sympathy, and has caused the enclosed telegram to be addressed to me by M. de Giers, which I make it my duty to communicate to Your Excellency, in the hope that you will be so good as to make it known to the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

I have, &c.
(*Signed*)
LOBANOW.

Telegram.

[*Translation.*]

St. Petersburgh,
March $\frac{5}{17}$, 1881.

To the Ambassador of Russia in London.

The Emperor has been deeply touched by the manifestations of sympathy for him and of respect for the memory of his Father, which has emanated from the House of Lords and the House of Commons. His Majesty charges you to convey his warmest thanks.

[By Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EASTER VACATION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, If the Prime Minister could state whether he thought it probable the House would be able to enjoy, as it had enjoyed under former Administrations, an Easter Vacation; if so, whether he could form any idea as to the date at which that Vacation might be given, and whether he thought it was likely to be of any appreciable duration?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Government is not, I am glad to say, in so serious a position with regard to its Business as not to contemplate an Easter Vacation. They even look forward to the absolute extension of that Vacation, and particularly as, during the present year, the labours of the House of Commons have been far more severe than on any previous occasion. I hope the noble Lord will not press me to-day to say more; but I hope that in the course of a few days—or, at any rate, in a very short time—I shall be able to make a definite announcement on the subject to the House.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked, When the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take the Budget? Would it be before the holidays?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, he hoped to be able to take the Budget before the holidays, and shortly to state the day.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL gave Notice that, in consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, he would ask him. Whether, taking into consideration the immense importance of there being sufficient time between the introduction of the Irish Land Bill and its consideration in its future stages, he would make arrangements for its introduction before Easter.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—IMPORTATION OF CATTLE FROM THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether there is any foundation for the report that Her Majesty's Government intend extending the period of a month's quarantine to which steamers employed in carrying live cattle from United States ports are subjected before being allowed to bring cattle to this Country from Canada?

Mr. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, there was no foundation whatever for the report.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED MAN AND DOG FIGHT.

Mr. SLAGG (for Mr. W. Corbet) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of a brutal fight between a man and a bull dog, stated to have taken place on Saturday last at Stacksteads, near Manchester, as reported in the London papers, one of which contains a picture or illustration; and, whether, if the facts are as represented, he will cause an extra police force to be quartered in Stacksteads, at the expense of the inhabitants, with a view to preventing a repetition of such a proceeding?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he was really ashamed to occupy the time of the House with such matters as these. He had a Report from the Chief Constable of Lancashire, who assured him that the whole story was a ridiculous fabrication. He certainly had no intention of taking any such measure as was indicated in the Question.

THE NAVY ESTIMATES — ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS—WITHDRAWAL OF MOTIONS.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, it being necessary to proceed with the Navy Estimates, he would be obliged by hon. Members who had Notices on the Paper postponing them, in order to allow Mr. Speaker to leave the Chair.

Mr. ERRINGTON, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—

> "To call attention to the small number of trained teachers in charge of Elementary Schools in Ireland, to the recommendations on the subject of the Royal Commission of 1868, and to the various attempts made by successive Governments to deal with it; and to move, 'That, in the opinion of this House, the interests of education require that no further time should be lost in providing increased facilities for the training of teachers for Elementary Schools in Ireland,'"

said, the appeal just made to him placed him in a somewhat embarrassing position, for the Motion which stood in his name for that evening was not only one of importance, but circumstances had made it one of urgency; and that was the first occasion he had been able to get for it, after balloting the whole of last Session and of this. However, of course he need not say that he was most desirous of consulting the convenience of the House, and facilitating the progress of Business; and, therefore, he could not refuse the appeal made to him to postpone the Motion. But he thought he was justified in saying that he postponed it on the distinct understanding that if he failed to get a day for the discussion later in the Session, the Government should give him facilities for bringing it on at a reasonable hour some day after Easter.

Mr. CAINE expressed his readiness to give way.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he hoped on Vote 1, in Committee, to call attention to the matter of which he had given Notice. But he wished to ask whether it would not be possible to revert to the old arrangement, under which the main discussion on the Navy Estimates was taken on Vote 2? It had been ruled by the late Chairman of Committees that

Vote 2 was no longer the Vote on which that discussion could be taken.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that, in his opinion, in which he was corroborated by other and far weightier authority, the matter of which the right hon. and gallant Baronet had given Notice might be taken on Vote 2.

TURKEY AND GREECE — THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.

MR. MACARTNEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the statement in one of the evening papers that the Turkish proposal with regard to the Greek Frontier has been accepted is correct?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, he should complain in general of any such Questions being put while negotiations of a delicate nature were pending; but he might say at once that there was no truth in the statement that any settlement had been come to as yet.

FISHERIES—THE EAST COAST FISHERY —DEPREDATIONS OF FOREIGNERS.

COLONEL BARNE asked, Whether the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could inform him as to the state of the negotiations with respect to the East Coast Fishery depredations?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, so far as he knew, there were no negotiations going on.

COLONEL BARNE said, that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty told him to go to the Foreign Office, as the matter was in their hands.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the Foreign Office could act only in concert with the Board of Trade. Up to the present time, the Foreign Office had not been applied to, and it did not take such matters in hand of itself.

COLONEL BARNE: Perhaps the Representative of the Board of Trade can give some information.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that some short time ago, at the instigation of the Home Office, a careful investigation was made into these alleged depredations, and a Report was prepared, which had been laid upon the Table of the House and distributed. The whole subject was now engaging the careful consideration of the Board, and he hoped in a very short time to be able to make a recommendation upon the subject.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 58,100 Men and Boys.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in rising to move the Estimates which I have the honour to submit to the Committee, I must ask for indulgence on two grounds —first, because this is, I believe, only the second occasion during 15 years that that duty has been performed by anyone who spoke with less authority than that of the First Lord of the Admiralty; and next, because, owing to my comparatively recent accession to Office, it will fall upon me to explain and defend measures the conception and initiation of which are due to those who have been longer on the Board than myself, including, I must beg the Committee to remember, my right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works. But while I renounce the credit of the measures, the explanation of which will constitute the main substance of what I have to say, I cannot too emphatically state that there is not one of those measures which I do not heartily approve, and sincerely believe to tend to the interests of the Navy and the advantage of the country. It will be incumbent on me to beg the Committee this evening to devote an unusual share of its attention to Vote 1. It is in matters relating to that Vote, which includes the whole *personnel* of the Service, from the Admiral of the Fleet to the youngest boy who is entered in our training ships, that the most caution has to be observed by an Administration, and that the keenest interest, and even anxiety, is felt by those whose position and fortunes are so nearly concerned. Hasty and inconsiderate changes in matters relating to officers and men of such a Navy as ours are extremely distasteful to the Service, and seldom find much favour in Parliament. But the changes which it is now my duty to announce are none of them hasty and inconsiderate; and the first, and, as I cannot but think, that which will ultimately prove to be the most important, can hardly be called a change at all, but a return to a state of things which endured so long and so successfully that it was fast becoming an institution in the Navy, as it has long been an institution in almost all the other great branches of the Public Service. The present Board, as the Committee already knows from Papers presented to the House, has restored the principle of competition which was introduced into the Navy by the right hon. Member for Pontefract. Up to the year 1869 cadetships were a matter of pure patronage. Every boy, who was nominated by the people in power, entered the Navy if he could contrive to pass a test examination; but my right hon. Friend, by an Admiralty Order of August, 1869, laid it down that for the future twice as many boys as there were vacancies for should be nominated, and that cadetships should be given to the first and successful half of the list. This system continued in force until the year 1875, when it was altered by Mr. Hunt, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Hunt restored to himself, his colleagues, and all other officers who had the right of nomination, the power of appointing cadets absolutely, without subjecting their nominees to the ordeal of a competitive examination. That system has lasted till the present time, and the two plans have had a fair trial of about the same duration. Now, Sir, of those two plans, which has stood the test of experience the best? I am not going to enter into a debate on the merits and demerits of competition. But when applying once more to the Navy a principle which a previous Board of Admiralty announced to be unsuitable for it, the present Board is bound to give its reasons; and, happily, the field of argument is reduced to a very narrow spot indeed. The most serious line of reasoning against competition has no bearing on this case. It has been often urged against the competitive system that in Services like the Army, Navy, and the Indian Civil Service it is essential to have men of a certain social rank; that a system of competition is not a sufficient guarantee; and that the nomination should be left in the hands of persons who could be trusted to choose candidates whose antecedents and family associations were satisfactory. The late Board of Admiralty left the nomination of cadets in the hands of members of the Board and of flag officers on appointment to their stations. The present Board of Admiralty leaves the nominations in the same hands, but adds to them post captains. I feel sure that the Committee will be satisfied that whatever personal guarantee can be afforded by the character of the officer in whose hands an appointment lies, that guarantee will be afforded by a post captain of the British Navy. This admission, which will be universally made, reduces the arguments against the proposed change to one, and one only. The ground on which the Board of Admiralty restored pure nomination was that the limited competition which had been in force between 1869 and 1875 injured the health of the cadets. Now, Sir, I venture to assert, what I have often supported within these walls by copious illustrations, that, taking a man's life through, mental energy and bodily energy are, in most cases, intimately connected; and so satisfied am I of this, that even if our cadets did suffer a little from overwork, I would take that temporary inconvenience for the sake of the sort of young fellows whom we should get under a competitive system. But I prefer to take a narrower point, and to contend that boys of 13 or 14 who succeed in a competitive examination are, at any rate, not inferior in health to those who fail. On this point the Board of Admiralty has provided itself with outside evidence of a very interesting nature. They selected certain well-known schools, which contained a class of foundation scholars who had been admitted by competition, as well as a class of boys who had been placed at the school by their parents after a single test examination, and inquired whether there was any marked difference between the bodily health and strength of the two classes. The results of the inquiry were as follows. Dr. Hornby, of Eton, reported that the collegers were not inferior physically to the oppidans. Dr. Haig Brown, of the Charterhouse, replies as follows:—

> "The successful candidates have taken no hurt from their previous training. They are boys of strong, vigorous constitution, both of body and mind, and they take their full share in school games."

Dr. Vardy, of King Edward's School, at Birmingham, writes to exactly the same effect. And, finally, Dr. Ridding, of

Winchester, who, on a question of this sort, may be trusted to speak with any man in the country, says this—

> "The scholars at Winchester are not physically inferior to the other boys. In games that require time, like cricket, several each year will sacrifice a leading position to school exigencies; but even then I have known nearly half the cricket eleven come from 'College.' In football, which perhaps represents physique best, the 70 scholars manage to hold their own against the other divisions of 150 each. Taken individually, their bodily strength is not inferior, and their pluck and spirit at least equal."

Well, Sir, as at Winchester and Eton, so it has been on board the *Britannia*. The Medical Director General of the Navy was desired to call for Reports from the medical officers who had had experience of the cadets who had entered by competition and by pure nomination. The deduction to be drawn from this inquiry is expressed in his Report as follows:—

> "There is no perceptible difference in the physique of the cadets appointed under the two systems."

But if there is an equality of physical condition under the two systems, it is otherwise when we come to intellectual results. On this point I shall not dilate; first, because the Navy Estimates are not the occasion for anything that resembles Party recrimination; and, secondly, because I do not think it right to say what may hurt the feelings of young men who are officers of our Navy, and many of whom are fine and valuable officers. But none the less is it the case that, so far from the removal of competition having done away with cramming, the cramming is worse than ever. The instructors of the *Britannia* are bound to pull the boys over the course; and it is contrary to every principle of education to hurry and push a lad over the later stages of education when he has not thoroughly mastered the earlier ones; and that is certainly the case with not a few of the cadets who are entered under the pure nomination system. At last it came to this—that there was talk of a proposal to have two courses on the *Britannia*—one an obligatory course for the run of boys, and the other an optional course for the cleverer ones. Sir, this was a proposal which the Board of Admiralty could not entertain. The two systems had, in their opinion, had quite a sufficient trial, and they resolved to revert, without delay, to the system established in 1869; enlarging it so far as to enter three times as many candidates as there were vacancies, instead of only twice as many. The subjects of the examination have been carefully selected for the purpose of discouraging cramming. If any gentleman who takes interest in examinations, and I am glad to say that there are many such in this Parliament, will look at the list of subjects, he will see that it would be as impossible to cram for it as to cram for a University Scholarship at Cambridge. In French and in Latin the candidates are examined, not in any particular book, but in the language in general; and they are permitted to bring their dictionaries, so that a boy who has seen the piece set may have no special advantage over the boy who has not. Four cadetships are given to the sons of gentlemen in the Colonies, and five to the sons of officers who have been lost in the service of their country by sea or land. A slight advantage has been withdrawn from the successful competitors, which I hope the judgment of the Committee will endorse. The cadets will no longer receive pay and pocket-money from the country. The truth is that the cost of education elsewhere has risen so greatly that the education supplied in the *Britannia* is quite disproportionably cheaper than can be got anywhere else. Even after this deduction is made, a parent will pay £70 a-year for what he could not obtain in the open scholastic market for less than £100 a-year; and I will venture to say that, when once the cadets on the *Britannia* are all picked boys, a parent would not easily find a school to which he would more willingly intrust his son. I may say that the Board reserve to themselves the power of admitting at a lower rate of £40 a-year 10 yearly among the cadets whose fathers have a claim on the public, and whose circumstances justify the concession. And, Sir, there is another argument of great importance for restoring the principle of competition. Under a system where every nomination is equivalent to the gift of an office, the temptation to nominate more officers than the Service requires is almost too strong for human nature. This is curiously seen in the history of the Navy. The years from 1858 to 1868 were the last years of pure nomination. During these years the entries of cadets were 142, 360, 179, 174, 189, 171, 169, 176, 160, 136, 119. In 1869 the question was carefully inquired into, and it was discovered that to supply the needs of the Navy not 180, or 160, cadets a-year were required, but 60 or 70 at the outside. The enormous burden to the country, the terrible disadvantage to officers of a block in promotion, disappeared on the day when competition took the place of nomination. But, Sir, I am glad to say that the tendency to increase the numbers of appointments, which began to show itself as soon as the system of nomination was revived in 1875, was checked by the personal influence of a Gentleman to whom the Navy owes much. In 1875, 96 appointments were made; and in the following years the number was of an average of 84. But in January, 1880, the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), anxious not only to do what was right himself, but to see that his successors should do so too, instituted inquiries which resulted in the calculation that 55 cadetships a-year would be enough to keep the Navy supplied until the list of lieutenants was reduced to the number of 1,000, at which he wished them to stay. That calculation has been revised by the officer who made it; and it has been ascertained that the right hon. Gentleman had given the benefit of the doubt in favour of economy; and the present Board has fixed the annual number of entries at 65. And now, Sir, I pass on to another question which forcibly illustrates the unsoundness of the practice which was in vogue before the right hon. Member for Pontefract made the reduction in the annual entries of cadets. To enter more officers than the Service of the country requires imposes a heavy burden on the taxpayer; but it is likewise a very cruel kindness to the officers themselves. Promotion is the keystone of efficiency in a fighting Service; and rapid promotion is impossible if all the channels of the Service are clogged and blocked in consequence of an extreme redundance of officers. When the right hon. Member for Pontefract became First Lord there were 1,100 sub-lieutenants, midshipmen, and cadets, as against 663 who are at present in *The Navy List.* And, now, these officers are in and about the top of the list of lieutenants, and find that they have to pay for the facility with which cadetships were given away in old days by the slowness with which in these days they rise to the rank of commander. Their grievance was brought before Parliament last year by the right hon. and gallant Member for the Wigton Burghs (Sir John Hay), and an undoubted grievance it is. In January of this year there were 24 lieutenants of 14 years' standing, and 28 of 13 years' standing; whereas it is desirable, on every ground, that an officer, who is to be promoted at all, should be promoted, at latest, by the time he has been a lieutenant for 12 years. The Board of Admiralty accordingly determined to do something to relieve the grievance, and have obtained an Order in Council by which the promotions to the rank of commander were virtually raised from 20 to 25 a-year. It is not necessary for this purpose to increase the number of commanders above the authorized list. That list stands, as it has previously stood, at 225; but by the relaxation of the Order in Council the maximum number of commanders will be reached more rapidly than there was any prospect of reaching it before the Order was relaxed. It has been a great satisfaction to the First Lord to have had the means of promoting five additional deserving officers; and to be able to look forward to the same opportunity during the years which will elapse until the effect will be felt of the reduction in the number of first entries of cadets, which was made in 1869, and until the Service is once more restored into a healthy, and what we may fairly anticipate to be, a normal state of promotion. How great a difference there is already for the better from the state of things which existed before 1870, hon. Members who have not watched the Navy debates for many years past may, perhaps, not be aware. We have, at this moment, 90 unemployed post captains, as against upwards of 200, 65 unemployed commanders, as against upwards of 250; and taking the class of lieutenants and sub-lieutenants in conjunction with the navigating officers, we have, on this great list, less than 300 unemployed, as against 650 in 1869. And among those who now are classed as unemployed considerably over 100 officers are studying at College for the purpose of providing themselves with an equipment of advanced professional knowledge which will be equally to the advantage of their country and themselves. Everywhere there is hope, interest, generous emulation. The Service is alive; and that vitality it owes to the high-minded abstinence from the too free exercise of patronage which has honoured the administration of successive First Lords of both the great Parties in the State—which is ever bringing us nearer and nearer to the point when, to become a naval officer, is to obtain an active career instead of an empty rank, with all the miseries of talents unemployed and hopes deferred. There are, however, bodies of officers under the administration of the Admiralty who would not admit that their conditions of service answer to the description which I have just given, and there is one set of officers in particular who have afforded a very striking and exceptional proof that their grievances are real. When a class of public servants applies for an improvement in their position, they are very generally met with the argument—the very just argument—that the country should not be called upon to pay more than the market price of the services which it requires, and that as long as public servants of the right sort are freely forthcoming there is a strong proof that that market price is actually being paid. But that argument does not hold in the case of the Medical Service of the Navy. The experience of many years has shown that the present inducements do not attract such a number of medical candidates as would give us the choice which we should like to exercise in selecting surgeons. Nay, more than this, so far from having a choice, it is long since as many candidates have presented themselves as there were vacancies to be filled. In the course of the last 10 years only 220 candidates have presented themselves for examination, and the establishment has in consequence fallen from 476 to about 400. It has often happened that instead of having, as we ought to have, four candidates for each vacancy, we had four vacancies, on an average, for each candidate. It is important, too, that in supplying a National Service like the Navy, public servants should be drawn equally from the whole surface of the United Kingdom. But this was far from the case with our surgeons. Of the degrees and diplomas held by the candidates, 103 were from Medical Colleges of England; 128 of Scotland; and 251, or more than the two other countries together, from Ireland. Such famous institutions as Oxford, Cambridge, London University, were not represented on our list of candidates at all. We suffered; but we did not suffer alone. The Army found a difficulty in supplying itself with medical officers, not, indeed, as great as ours, but so great as to call for a trenchant remedy. In February, 1878, Lord Cranbrook appointed a small Committee, who examined into the causes of the difficulty under which the War Office found itself in procuring medical officers, and recommended a great amelioration in the position of those officers. The recommendations of that Committee were practically embodied in an Army Circular issued by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley), which has had a great, and, I hope, a permanent effect in popularizing the Medical Service of the Army. At the half-yearly medical examinations for the Army there came forward, during the years from 1868 to 1878, an average of 17 candidates. The Circular improving the position of medical officers appeared in January, 1880. At the examination which preceded its appearance, and at the two examinations which followed it, there were respectively 74, 42, and 78 candidates, or an average of 64. Well, Sir, if the expectation and fruition of the Army Medical Scheme could produce such marked effects upon the entry of candidates for the Army, it is reasonable to hope that the same result will be produced if a proportional improvement is made in the position of the Naval Medical Service. I say proportional improvement, because it has been clearly recognized that the medical officers of the Navy require to be actually better treated than their brethren of the Army. In 1866, there sat a Joint Military and Naval Committee, which came almost unanimously to the conclusion that the life of a Navy surgeon was so much less agreeable, owing to the hardship on board ship, the severance of domestic ties, the liability of being placed on half-pay, and other disadvantages, that the Navy surgeon ought throughout his career to have the advantage over the Army surgeon to the extent of 7 per cent in his emoluments. Just before the end of the last Parliament the late

First Lord appointed a Committee, presided over by Admiral Hoskins, which has brought in a Report admirably clear and practical. The recommendations of that Report have been, as regards the Service at large, accepted by the Admiralty, and will be embodied in Orders in Council. I will not trouble the Committee with the details of the change further than to say that the advance of 7 per cent on the improved position of Army surgeons has been accepted as the principle. Henceforward, a young man will be able to step at once into an assured income of £210 a-year, besides his quarters and the victuals which he draws; and it is not easy to be so securely and comfortably settled in life at that age in any calling whatsoever. When he finally retires, he will enjoy a good pension, which will make him an object of envy to many a hard-worked practitioner of his own standing, who cannot afford to leave his private business. A flow of promotion will be maintained by the compulsory retirement of Fleet surgeons, who have not risen to be Deputy Inspectors General, at the age of 55; and by the offer of handsome gratuities to younger men at fixed periods of 8, 12, and 16 years' service. Numerous other advantages are offered to which I will not allude at length, except by stating that a Fleet surgeon will henceforward be treated, as he always should have been treated, to the privilege of being placed on the list of officers for whom special cabins are appropriated. For reasons which I need not give here, the Admiralty have determined to withdraw their young medical men from the course at Netley, rare as the educational advantages of Netley are, and much as we appreciate them. Henceforward, instead of passing through their special education in the character of students with a small allowance for their maintenance, they will be from the first young naval officers, on the full pay of a surgeon, profiting by the experience and teaching of older naval surgeons in the Naval Hospital at Haslar. In every way, for the first time in its existence, the Medical Service of the Navy will be placed in a position worthy of the Service which has been honoured by such names as Sir Joseph Hooker and Professor Huxley. There is another body of officers, with regard to whose position and prospects something has been said in the House, and a great deal outside it. It would be idle to assert that the arrangements for quickening promotion and retirement have satisfied officers in all grades of the Royal Marines; and there are other proposals with regard to all ranks of that most distinguished, and to me personally, if I may be allowed to say so, in the character of a critic of the Purchase system, most deeply interesting Corps, which are attracting the earnest attention of the Admiralty. But, though the Board of Admiralty are not willing to admit that there is an over-close analogy between the Navy and Army, still it is indisputable that the Royal Marines are too near akin to a purely military force to be treated at Whitehall without any reference to the policy which obtains in Pall Mall. We have waited to be fully informed of the final arrangements with regard to officers and non-commissioned officers which are proposed by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War; and the Board of Admiralty is now prepared to begin considering the questions which affect the Marines, and they hope to have those changes in operation on the 1st of July. It is not the habit of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty to anticipate performance by pledges; and I trust that the Committee will give him so much indulgence as to believe that the thoroughness with which he has treated so many questions as are included in next year's Estimates will be an earnest of the spirit in which he will deal with those to which he has promised his careful and not tardy attention. And now, Sir, from the officers I pass to the men, the numbers of whom may be found on page 7 of the Estimates. We ask next year for 30,988 petty officers and seamen, as against 31,433 this year. The variation is not more than is usual one year with another, and it is satisfactory to be able to state that the number of seamen proposed to be voted this year is greater than in any of the seven years preceding 1880-1. The diminution is in the number of bluejackets, which have come down from 20,369 to 19,903; while the stokers and artificers have risen from 7,378 to 7,929. The main cause of this diminution is the loss of seamen in the *Eurydice* and *Atalanta*, and the small entry of boys in 1878-9. In that year the First Lord, finding that, under the attractions of the continuous service system, the number of seamen was growing more rapidly than the Service required, reduced the entry of boys by something like two-fifths below the average; entering only 1,776, as against about 3,000. The result of that reduction in the entries we are feeling at present, and there is no need for alarm about it. But then it appears to have struck the right hon. Gentleman that in a question like the manning of our Navy there should be that regularity of system by which alone so important a machinery can work without being liable to constant and damaging criticism, and he determined to lay down a rule for the guidance of himself and his successors. He pronounced that between 18,000 and 19,000 was the normal number of bluejackets at which we ought to aim; and by an elaborate calculation he found that 2,200 boys a-year would supply the annual waste in that force of men. Now, the present Board of Admiralty does not intend lightly to depart from the practice of the right hon. Gentleman. I trust that hon. Gentlemen will not believe that I am inclined to underrate the value of our seamen. It is difficult to express the pleasure with which one who has, for many years past, been giving his thoughts to Army questions, and who knows what are the difficulties of recruiting, finds himself connected with a Service where the rank and file are trained professional fighting men, bred to it from their youth up, and regarding their calling as men regard a well-paid life-long career. I never shall err on the side of diminishing so stable a force, which stands like a rock amidst the ever-changing, the necessarily ever-changing, Military Forces of our country. It is after very deliberate and close examination that I have come to endorse the figure given by the right hon. Gentleman. The first consideration in favour of that figure is afforded by the numbers of bluejackets during the last 30 years. In 1858 the bluejackets numbered 23,000; in 1860, 32,000; in 1864, 25,000; in 1868, 20,000; then between 1870 and 1874 they fell to 18,000; then rose to 19,000 in 1876, and 20,000 again in 1878. There is, it will be observed, only one great variation, and that was in consequence of an enormous entry of boys in the "Invasion Panic" of 1859. The practice of so many successive Boards is a strong argument in favour of a figure of between 18,000 and 19,000 being the right figure; and the reason for a decrease in the average number of our bluejackets from the 22,000 or 23,000 of 20 years ago may very shortly be stated. That reason consists in the difference between our fighting ships of the present and the past in structure and in complement. The fighting ships of old days cost little and carried large crews. The fighting ships of to-day cost the annual revenue of a small Kingdom, but carry far smaller crews, and of those a far larger proportion consist of artificers and engineers, and a far smaller proportion of pure bluejackets. The most powerful fighting ship of 20 years ago was the *Duke of Wellington.* She cost £140,000, and carried 1,100 men, of whom 633 were bluejackets. The most powerful fighting ship of our present Fleet is, presumably, the *Inflexible.* She cost £700,000, and carries 370 men, of whom probably about 120 are bluejackets. A 90-gun flag ship in 1864 carried 834 men, of whom 439 were bluejackets. The *Alexandra,* a flag ship of to-day, carries 688 men, of whom 298 are bluejackets. There are only 110 bluejackets in the *Thunderer*, which, as a movable engine of war, stands in the very first rank. And it must be remembered that, while our requirements of seamen have decreased, our reserve of seamen has rapidly grown. For 10 years past our Coastguard is as fine a body of seamen as the world has ever seen or ever can see; in perfection of discipline, in fulness of experience, fit especially for a sudden emergency. We have the Pensioner Reserve, with the great body of pensioners behind them, who, at the least, can do the work of the guard ships and Steam Reserve in the home ports, and release every available active young man to serve on board the Fleet. And then we have the 18,000 men of our Naval Reserve—the creation of the last 20 years—by which we are enabled to draw promptly and effectively on the vast resources of our Mercantile Navy. Sir, it was with all these facts in view that the right hon. Member for Westminster laid down his somewhat elastic limit for the seamen of the future; and it is with these facts in view that the present First Lord has confirmed his decision. Until, by careful and constant observation, we ascertain that the number of boys whom he proposes to enter annually is either too large or too small to keep our seamen to that limit, we shall continue to enter the same number of boys yearly, and refrain from those hasty and extensive variations in our enlistments of the past which financially and, I think, administratively have not been to the advantage of the Navy. And now, Sir, I have come pretty well to the end of the personal matters that are connected with these Estimates, and it is time to turn to their financial aspect. Hon. Gentlemen will observe that, in concert with the framers of the Army Estimates, we have included in the Votes for the financial year of 1880-1 the first Supplementary Estimate for the war in the Transvaal, and in the Votes for the financial year of 1881-2 the estimated Transvaal expenditure for that year, as it was estimated early in February. Deducting these sums from both years, we find a net increase on the normal Estimates of £149,984. Now, for this increase two Votes, and two alone, are chargeable. The Dockyard Vote for Wages, and the Vote for Naval Stores to be consumed in the Dockyards, are answerable for the whole, it may fairly be said, of this increase. What we shall get for our money I will inform the Committee; but, for the present, I must beg hon. Members to notice that those items which require minute care to watch—which may be said to be evidences of the attention of administrators to small details—in no case show a real increase, and in some cases show a very sensible economy. The only exception is the Scientific Vote, and that is apparent, and not real. Very great care has been taken in re-modelling these Estimates, in which the right hon. Member for Westminster will, no doubt, frequently recognize the bold but prudent touch of that excellent public servant, the Accountant General, whom the Admiralty owes to his judicious choice. The tabulated Appendices at the end of the Estimates — superior, I think, in clearness and brevity to anything we have had yet—show that hand in several places, and nowhere is it more apparent than in Vote 5. As was done last year with the *Britannia*, the salaries of the training schools for engineer students have this year been collected out of every corner of Vote 1 and Vote 6, and charged to Vote 5, where they properly belong. In this way, an apparent increase of £7,000 becomes on closer examination a real decrease of £4,000. There is a diminution of £8,000 for New Works and Buildings; of nearly £5,000 for Medical Stores; of £8,000 for Miscellaneous Services. On Vote 14—greatly to the credit of the Transport Department, which, amidst the constant spurts of overwork to which it has been subjected by recent events, might well have been excused if it had not found time to re-consider its system with a view to economy—a careful re-arrangement of the method of sending out our men and officers to re-commissioned ships by troop ships instead of by passenger ships has led to savings which amount to the really considerable figure of £5,000, and which, it may be confidently anticipated, will be in part permanent. For the ordinary transport service of the year which is done for the Army, £145,000 is asked for, as against £171,000 last year. The Votes for Salaries and Pensions for the Admiralty Offices stand much where they did; but they will not stand there long. The re-organization begun by the present Secretary of State for War, and carried to its completion by a renewed and spontaneous effort by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster and his energetic lieutenant, the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), will soon begin to show its fruit. No one who has the pleasure of working at the Admiralty now can fail to recognize the extraordinary change for good which those two successive reforms have wrought in the Department. The most celebrated of my Predecessors, Mr. Samuel Pepys, says once and repeats it pretty often—"It is strange to see how many people it do take to do the King's business." That can no longer be said of the Admiralty Office. There are now as many public servants as the Service requires, and of the right class. The saving at the end of 10 years will be £8,500, and the ultimate saving in salary and pension will be not far from £40,000 in the Admiralty Offices in town alone. And, while the expense will be less, the work is already better done. There are fewer people, but they are better arranged, and far better contented. Promotion by selection, once so unpopular because new, is now the pride of the Office; and to give the less efficient man a post of command and responsibility merely because he stood at the top would cause as much discontent now as in old days would have been caused by the best man being placed over the head of his senior. Men who have the zeal of their Profession are now in the places of trust; and business goes with a rapidity and a thoroughness which, to a Minister of the past, would have appeared incredible. We have endeavoured to supplement the arrangements of our Predecessors in a point which still remained untouched. It has long been recognized that civil employment of a suitable kind was most desirable for Army and Navy pensioners. Employment of that description appeared to the present Board to exist among the messengerships of the Admiralty Office. The patronage of those places was of a humble sort; but it was, for well-understood reasons, a patronage which has time out of mind been cherished as a particularly useful and agreeable patronage by Ministers. The present Board has, however, determined to forego the privilege of appointing as messengers those who have a personal claim on them, and to give these posts henceforward to naval pensioners who have deserved by good conduct at sea the privilege of serving their country in what may be looked on as a snug berth on land. One word, before I finally pass to the shipbuilding, must be said about the Non-Effective Votes. The half pay and retired pay to officers shows a reduction of £17,000, owing to the falling-in of the first of the sets of Terminable Annuities created to meet the commutations of pension by which the great reductions of the active list in 1869 and the subsequent years were carried through. On the other hand, there is an increase of £15,000 on the Civil Pensions Vote on account of the recent reductions in the Admiralty Office made by the late Board. There remains an increase, not so large indeed as others in the list, but of all others the most black and ominous in the eyes of every genuine economist. I refer to the £24,000 or so by which the Military Pensions and Allowances have increased this year. The results of the continuous service system, excellent from the military point of view, from the aspect of economy are very formidable. In the year 1852, when the system took its present form, the Vote for Military Pensions and Allowances was £469,000. In 1860 the effect had not begun to be felt; the Vote still stood at £465,000; in 1865 it had begun to rise, and it stood at £501,000. In 1870, it was £606,000; in 1873, it was £658,000; in 1875, it was 703,000; in 1878, it was £781,000; in 1879, it was £810,000; and this year, alarming to relate, it has risen, by unavoidable automatic action, to 847,000. In laying these Estimates before the Committee, I must deprecate the wrath of economical reformers so far as to bid them observe that one single item, which for 15 years to come we can do nothing to check, has in the course of 15 years past risen by near £400,000. What possible comparison, except to our sore disadvantage, can be made between the Estimates of the present and the Estimates of the past? But our sufferings, so far from making us selfish, have filled us with compassion and fellow-feeling for future Boards of Admiralty. We are determined that, at any rate, the country shall not be saddled with such a burden permanently and for ever, without a careful inquiry into the possibility of that burden being alleviated. The time has come for an examination into the problem as to whether the advantages of continuous service cannot be retained with some diminution of its enormous cost. There is no notion of touching the interests, boy or man, of anyone who has already engaged to serve Her Majesty. But, as regards the manning of the Navy in the future, a careful inquiry, which is now being conducted by able financiers and a most trusted naval officer, Captain Codrington, will enable the Admiralty to see whether seamen as efficient as we obtain now can be got and kept without the enormous, and, as far as we can see, unlimited outlay which at present lies around us and before us. In connection with the Vote, I should like to have referred to a change from which those who best knew our seamen expect a large amount of good. The Board of Admiralty, having now a Bill on the Table to abolish the punishment of flogging, have thought it their duty to ask themselves whether they can do anything to diminish the temptation to drink—the direct or indirect cause of faults for which flogging used to the punishment; and they have devised a scheme which I hope and trust will conduce to temperance, at the same time that it will add to the health and comfort of our seamen. But time, and a sense of justice towards those who will follow me, warn me to defer the exposition of that scheme until Vote 2, and perhaps the Resolutions of the hon. Members for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) and Paisley (Mr. W. Holms), which they have so kindly postponed to-night, will give me the opportunity of stating it. We now find ourselves face to face with the Votes, the amount and destination of which depend upon the naval policy of a Government. Those Votes are the Dockyard Establishments, which this year cost £1,446,346; the Vote for Naval Stores of £1,172,700; and the Vote for Machinery and Ships built by Contract, which amounts to £683,239. Now, in these, the first Estimates which the present Board of Admiralty has framed, it is incumbent on us to make up our minds as to the policy which we should pursue so long as we are intrusted with the charge of Her Majesty's Navy. There is a tendency—sometimes there is even a necessity—for a Board to direct its expenditure into a special line. One Board makes great efforts in the direction of iron shipbuilding; another prides itself on placing the existing iron-clads in a state of efficiency; and further back, there were times when to build gun-boats was considered the pressing duty of the day. The present Board has come to the conclusion that the circumstances of the Navy permit us this year to produce a scheme, which shall be, if I may so call it, a normal scheme; which shall exceed in no direction, and, as far as possible, fall short in none; and which, with comparatively little variation and disturbance, may be worked one year with another for the purpose of making good, to a reasonable extent, all the current needs of the Navy. I say to a reasonable extent, for the almost feverish advance of science, sharpened and impelled by the rivalry of the great Naval Powers, has rendered it necessary rigorously and carefully, not, indeed, to dole out—no one who scans these Estimates can in justice use that term—but to dispense and partition the sums allotted to each of the great branches of our naval system. How numerous are those branches, and how indispensable it is to pay to each of them a full share of attention, is sometimes forgotten both by those who demand that more money shall be spent upon some one object, and likewise by those who complain that too much money is spent upon all together. In the first place comes that class of vessels which are the foundation of the maritime greatness of all nations, and the domestic security of our own—the ships that are to fight in line of battle. Whatever else may be neglected, this we cannot afford to neglect. This work we cannot postpone, because three or four years hence we may find some better method of doing it. Men dispute, and, perhaps, will for ever dispute, as to the best type of battle ship; but a good ship that is armed and afloat is better than an ideal ship which is still on the stocks. The present Board may have notions of their own as to the man-of-war of the future; but they find plenty of work left them by their Predecessors, in the shape of carefully and ably designed iron-clads, which only want to be completed in order to render them fit then to dispute the seas against any comer. The best way of getting to a new design is to finish the old one out of hand; whereas, if ships are laid down freely, and finished off slowly, the nation has never the advantage of a new design at all. This coming year, accordingly, the *Agamemnon* and *Ajax* are to be completed for sea at Chatham, and will soon follow their great prototype, the *Inflexible*, which will be commissioned in June or July. At Chatham, likewise, the *Conqueror*, which is of the improved *Rupert* type, up to which the *Hotspur* has recently been re-modelled, will be pushed forward with all the energy that can be commanded. At present she is about a quarter built. By the end of next year she will, if all goes well, be advanced to three quarters. At the same yard that remarkable ship, the *Polyphemus*, which, as some think, is destined to work a revolution in naval warfare, will be completed, at a cost certainly not too great for so interesting an experiment. At Portsmouth the *Colossus* will be advanced by over a quarter; and at Pembroke her sister, the *Majestic*, will be advanced about as much. At Pembroke, too—a yard, by its vicinity to coal and iron, excellently adapted for that iron shipbuilding on a large scale, to which, from its maritime seclusion as compared with the Channel Dockyards, it is able to give its full time

—the *Collingwood*, the youngest device of the late Board, will have the first serious work done upon her. It is not until the close of the year, when the stress of these unfinished tasks is off his hands, that the present First Lord intends finally to determine on the type of the first-class iron-clads, one of which will certainly be laid down at Chatham, and another elsewhere. These are considerable undertakings. I might have recommended them to the Committee, and, at the same time, have given point to a tame narrative, by referring to the efforts in the same direction that are being made by other nations. But those comparisons, not always very discreet or very expedient, for reasons into which I need not enter, are in this case unnecessary. We do not need arguments drawn from the confidential *Navy Lists* of other Powers to stimulate us at Whitehall to do what must be done in order to keep Great Britain in the maritime position which she enjoys, and the Committee do not need such arguments to grant us the sums of money which that essential and indispensable duty requires. But before I bring the list of what we are doing in steel and iron to a close, I must say a word on a subject on which silence would be culpable. There is one department in which, whether we consider our Navy in relation to that of its great neighbour, or in relation to the enormous commerce which, in time of war, it would be bound to protect—not less than half the Mercantile Marine of the globe—we have till lately been behindhand. Taking 14 knots as the standard of high speed, we have only 11 swift cruisers, counting the *Iris* and *Mercury* despatch vessels among them. Fine vessels they are, and no doubt the *Shah* and the *Raleigh*, when they have got on board their new armament, will give a good account—a very good account indeed—of any cruiser in the world that is not an iron-clad. But the world is a large place; and eight or ten vessels cannot be everywhere, and the safety of our commerce imperatively demands that the swift cruisers which we have ready at the outbreak of a war shall be enough to clear the seas of privateers. Much use, as a war goes on, may, no doubt, be made of the armed merchantmen on the Admiralty List; but we must have Royal cruisers to begin with, A commencement was made last year by the late Board in the *Leander* and her two consorts, which, with their partially protected machinery, their great speed, and their excellent guns, will be everything that can be desired for the purpose for which they were devised. The present Board have carried this policy farther. We are pushing on the *Leanders*, and we have laid down a fourth *Leander* at Pembroke, to occupy the spare time of the 200 extra men who are working on the iron-clads. We have determined, in the new vessels of the *Comus* class, to give an extra knot of speed. But we have done more than this. In our opinion, it is necessary to produce a vessel which shall not only have the heels of others, but which shall be able to meet, on at least equal terms, almost anything she is likely to catch. Great pains have been spent over the form and attributes of a vessel which, in the words of the designer, is intended—

> "Especially for independent service on foreign stations, where fast, unarmoured ships may have to be opposed, and where the second-class iron-clads of an enemy may have to be met and engaged."

On such service it is considered desirable to secure the following conditions:—A speed of 16 knots; a comparatively large number of guns, some of them capable of penetrating the thickest armour of second-class iron-clads at long ranges; armour of proof to protect the vitals of the ship; her coal supply must also be large, and the vessel must have auxiliary sail power to economize fuel, and a coppered bottom to make her independent of docks. Such a vessel, fit to keep the sea and to sweep the sea, the Admiralty believe they have got. Her length is to be 315 feet; her extreme breadth 61 feet; and her tonnage about 7,300. Her horse-power is to be 8,000; her bunkers will hold 900 tons; and her speed on the measured mile will be 16 knots. She has the great advantage of a twin-screw. She will have a belt 8 feet broad and 140 feet long amidships, of steel-faced armour, 10 inches thick with 10 inches of backing, protecting her engine-room and boilers, 3 feet above water and 5 feet below. She will have a conning tower of steel-faced armour; a protecting deck of inclined steel, 3 inches thick, 5 feet under water, covering the whole of that part of the ship, both fore and aft, which is not clad in iron. She will carry an armament of four 18-ton 9·2 inch breech-loading guns, mounted in barbettes, with protection against bullets, which, at 1,000 yards, will pierce 16½ inches of iron armour, and more than 13 inches of steel-faced armour. She will carry likewise six 6 inch breech-loading guns, equal in range to those which have carried desolation at a distance of five miles into the Peruvian harbours; she will be equipped with boat guns, torpedoes, field-guns, machine guns, and will probably be fitted with a couple of torpedo boats in addition; and she will have room for over 400 men and officers to work her and fight her. She will combine the speed of the *Leander;* with guns of greater power than the *Thunderer* or the *Devastation*; and the Admiralty, with some confidence, submit her to the criticism of a nation which thinks little of a vessel that cannot travel far and fast, and fight sharply and long. She will rank high among cruisers, and high among second-class iron-clads; and in the hope that she will meet the ends for which she is designed, it is proposed to lay down one such vessel this year at Portsmouth and another at Chatham. Her hull and engines will cost £400,000, as against £550,000 of the *Collingwood*, and £150,000 of the *Leander*. Later on, we propose to confide the construction of another to a private yard. My noble Friend (Lord Northbrook) is much impressed with the advisability of keeping up in private establishments the habit and traditions of shipbuilding for war purposes; but he is likewise impressed with the importance of maturing our plans by the process of making our own experiments before we contract for ships to be built on those plans elsewhere than in our own Dockyards. Every alteration of design leads to such delay and such expenditure, that long and melancholy experience has taught the Board that no ship should be built by contract until her design is absolutely and all but finally ascertained. The amount of iron-clad shipping which it is proposed to build in the forthcoming year will amount to no less than 10,816 tons; that is more by nearly 3,600 tons than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) proposed to build last year. It is by upwards of 2,000 tons more than has been built in any year since 1876-7, and in 1876-7 the Estimates were £600,000 higher than the present, and the Non-Effective Vote was £180,000 lower than that with which we are unfortunate enough to be saddled. It would be impossible to accomplish what we have hoped to accomplish were it not that we have followed the same system which was adopted with such good results in 1878, and allotted a lump sum of £50,000 to the three iron shipbuilding yards to be employed by the local authorities on principles which I will explain when we come to the consideration of Vote No. 6. That money, of which £22,000 will go to Chatham, £13,000 to Portsmouth, and £15,000 to Pembroke, will give the superintendents and constructors some latitude, something to veer and haul on—something which will give them the freedom in employing men on overtime and keeping their machines going when the exigencies of the work demand it, without which private firms would find themselves totally unable to work at profit. But besides the building of new ships, there is another service which can just as little be neglected — the maintenance of our existing Fleet in a condition of efficiency. Now, here we owe much to our Predecessors. The attention which, of late years, has been paid to the repair of our iron-clads has enabled the present Board to throw a greater strength into shipbuilding. The force of Chatham Yard has, with the exception of one ship, been devoted to this purpose, and the Vote for Repairing and Refitting will be slightly below that of last year. But there is no need for anxiety on that account. Apart from the magnificent fleet which is building, apart from the iron-clads which are under repair, we have actually 41 iron-clads, with their boilers, in effective condition; and the Committee may be assured that this essential service is the very last on which, in the opinion of the present Board, money should be spared. But besides fighting in line of battle, besides the protection of our commerce with swift cruisers, there are the endless demands upon the services of our Navy, which have to be met by another class of vessels. The call for gun-boats is incessant from the Foreign Office, from the British residents in ports abroad, who like the sense of security which they feel at the sight of the British flag, and from other quarters where, without being bound by the ties of Treaty or even nationality, we are urged to yield assistance by the claims of humanity. Since the new year began, in addition to the permanent calls upon our smaller vessels, we have sent a corvette to punish an outrage in the Solomon Islands, a gun-boat to keep in countenance a German vessel which has gone to inquire into a difficulty in the territory of Liberia, a steam sloop to succour an expedition of the Geographical Society on the Mozambique Coast, and a sloop to keep an eye upon the remains of an expedition which a French Marquess has taken out to the Western Pacific, in order to establish a Legitimist community called La Nouvelle France, with the three orders of nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasants, with himself as Viceroy. To meet these demands, we propose to lay down this year and build by contract two new gun-vessels of an improved *Rambler* tyye, eight improved *Mallards* as gun-boats, a despatch vessel for fleet service, a new paddle steamer for the service of the African rivers, to replace the *Niger*, which has gone to the Danube, and a new surveying vessel for the supply of that inestimable and arduous undertaking which we perform on behalf of all the civilized world. In all, armoured and unarmoured, we propose to build 18,890 tons of shipping; an amount which, in every branch, is, in our view, sufficient to supply the yearly demands of the Navy. It is an enormous, even though a necessary, task; and no Board would be justified in recommending so great an outlay unless it was prepared to devote ceaseless and anxious attention to economy in detail. We have lately recalled the attention of the Dockyards to an admirable Order of Sir Spencer Robinson, and desired that the Board may in all cases be consulted before any repair, in order that we may not find ourselves committed to work, which, perhaps, we might have disapproved. We have, likewise, checked to the utmost extent any tendency to Supplementary Estimates of repairs, and to alterations of design during the progress of work. And the greatest care has been applied to one terrible and increasing source of expense. Simple and clear instructions have been sent round the Fleet as to the treatment of boilers, and a system of minute reports and independent inspection into their condition has been instituted, from both of which measures we hope for good results. A nation which spends £100,000 a-year on new boilers cannot afford to neglect its old ones. The main causes, then, of the increase in the Estimates consist in £87,000 for the wages required to produce so large an amount of shipping, and in the addition of £161,700 to the Store Vote. The Store Vote of 1879-80 was £250,000, and the Store Vote of 1880-1 £270,000 below the average Vote of the preceding five years; and while we applaud the policy of the right hon. Gentleman opposite in keeping stores low and intend to imitate it, still it is obvious that low Store Votes cannot go on for ever, unless the Dockyards are to be dangerously denuded. One other exceptional piece of ill-luck has befallen us—namely, that the 53rd week falls in the forthcoming year, and involves us in an extra charge of about £25,000. Before concluding, I wish to say one word on a subject which depends on naval policy, though it does not largely increase naval expenditure. In one important respect the coming year will be an era in the Navy. At this moment there is not a single heavy breech-loading gun mounted in any of our ships, and by the end of next year a very substantial beginning will have been made towards arming our Fleet with breech-loaders. We have been driven to the step by the fact that a high velocity is now required for the projectile; that high velocity can only be obtained by a great length of gun; and that to load a gun over a certain length at the muzzle becomes impracticable under the ordinary condition of mounting guns afloat. When the shot and the powder weigh nearly a ton together, it is no light matter to ram them down a tube 30 feet long. We have lost nothing by waiting. In the breech-loading guns which are being made at Woolwich, to serve, if successful, as patterns for our future naval ordnance, it has been possible to take advantage of the various improvements introduced by Sir William Armstrong and by the foreign nations which have preceded us in their use. Our new breech-loading guns will be, calibre for calibre, more powerful than any which have been produced abroad; and, in point of price, they will compare favourably with the ordnance of foreign nations. Our new 9-inch breech-loader of 18 tons, which will penetrate 16 inches of iron and 13 of composite armour, costs only two-thirds as much as the Krupp gun of the same size and certainly not greater power. Of that and the 8-inch we shall have a certain supply this year; while for our corvettes we shall have a very large supply indeed of the 6-inch gun of four tons—a beautiful and handy weapon, already proved in war, and such as it will be the pride of a British cruiser to carry. The Government have likewise ordered in a large equipment of Nordenfeldt machine guns; and the War Office have been kind enough to take money for experiments with a larger machine gun which will unite the excellent firing qualities of the Nordenfeldt to the power of carrying shell, which our present Nordenfeldt is too small to carry. Finally, measures have been taken for carrying on the task of providing our Navy with a full equipment of torpedoes and torpedo vessels. It will interest the Committee to know that we have already 19 first-class torpedo boats, each armed with three Whitehead torpedoes. These are 86 feet long, and of a size to act independently, either when attached to a fleet, or for harbour defence. The second-class torpedo boats, 60 feet long, might be carried on board our battle ships and principal cruisers. They are armed with two torpedoes, and there is talk of altering them to carry machine guns likewise. Their speed is marvellous, and we spare no pains and no expense to increase it. Of these boats we have 18 actually built, and we are building 30 more; and I believe that we, as Englishmen, have reason to regard that special addition to our Navy with great interest and satisfaction. In other Departments of naval affairs other nations, by great exertions of science and expenditure of money, may hope to rival us; but in the management of torpedo warfare the peculiar national qualities which our people possess, and which no money can buy, will, I fully believe, restore to us those advantages which we possessed in the days when individual skill, daring, and self-reliance went, not only for a great deal, but for everything in naval warfare. When I was reading the accounts of the torpedo attacks of the Russian boats on the Turkish iron-clads, I could not but reflect that there was the revival of the days when, in cutting out hostile privateers, the British pinnaces and cutters used to perform such prodigies of dash and valour. And now, incompletely as regarded each special item, but at a length, taking the whole together, for which I beg to make the Committee my grateful apologies, I have gone through the principal points which have been occupying the attention of our Naval Administrators during the last twelve months, and the undertakings to which, with the approbation of the House, we propose to devote ourselves during the coming year. The hon. Gentleman concluded by proposing the Vote for men and boys.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before putting the Vote I think it would be convenient to the Committee that I should explain that the general discussion should take place on this Vote. The next Vote is for the Wages of Seamen and Marines, and upon that Vote a discussion also might be taken; but it would not be proper to take upon that Vote a discussion having reference to questions of structure. Therefore, the general discussion raised by the Secretary to the Admiralty should be taken upon the 1st Vote.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Committee will agree with me in tendering to my hon. Friend my congratulations for the excellent manner and for the clearness with which he has explained the Navy Estimates. I am conscious of the difficulties which must necessarily attend a first attempt of the kind, and I think that nobody who has been in the House for a few years can fail to recognize the extreme ability with which my hon. Friend has discharged his duty. The hon. Gentleman, in the first place—as I think it was fitting he should do—alluded to the very important question of the entry of naval cadets into the Service. I will not go at any great length into the arguments and statements which he addressed to the Committee. I think it would be desirable that questions of this kind should be considered when we come to the particular Votes providing for the Service. I can only say that when I was First Lord of the Admiralty I felt that the duty of distinguishing between applications and nominations for cadetship was a most invidious duty —a duty that was extremely difficult to discharge with satisfaction to myself, and with a full sense of the responsibility which belonged to an officer in the position I occupied. I am still of opinion that it is a most desirable thing to discourage in every possible way we can that detestable system of cram which enters into almost every branch of competitive examinations for appointments. I should have wished that the hon. Gentleman could have seen his way to extend the period of education for cadets from two to three years. I believe that would have been a far more beneficial course than the course the Admiralty has adopted. I think it would have been much more serviceable for the Navy if the boys were allowed to go to a school such as the *Britannia* six months earlier than they do now—at 13, instead of 13½—and if they were permitted to remain there three years, being allowed to enter the Service, after examination, at the expiration of three years. It has occurred within my knowledge that cadets have been admitted into the *Britannia* for a period of training, who have developed tastes and inclinations not precisely calculated to fit them for the Service; but they are naval cadets, and a certain amount of injury results to the boys themselves and to their parents, if, under any circumstances they are withdrawn from the Service as naval cadets. If, on the other hand, they were admitted into a naval school at 13 years of age, and examined, as it is proper they should be, in regard to their fitness for entering the Service, and if, at the age of 16, it were found that they were not fit for the Service, they would certainly not sustain any damage. They would be well qualified for other positions on leaving; and I think, on the whole, that the Service would be benefited by having a better, a more successful, and more highly trained class of officers. However, I will not go further into that question; but it appears to me that it would have been a somewhat better course to adopt, and before the Admiralty come to a final decision I hope there may yet be time to see whether the period for education could not be extended. It might be done at little cost to the boys themselves or to the Service; but I am satisfied the results would fully justify the slight sacrifice required. My hon. Friend has referred to the reduction which appears in the Estimates of 700 in the number of men borne upon the books. I felt a little alarmed when I saw this reduction, and I should hope that it is not decided that we are to have a less number of efficient artificers and stokers, who, I believe, are quite as necessary to the Service as bluejackets; but that we should retain a fully efficient staff of all ranks for the service of the country. The number of 58,100, certainly appears to me to be a small number for the service of such a country as England; but the statement which the hon. Gentleman made to the Committee was one which I think ought to assure the Committee that sufficient provision has been made as far as the bluejackets are concerned. I believe that the number provided for in the Estimates, with 4,000 Coastguardmen, will give a full and ample supply of bluejackets for service under our present altered conditions; but it must be borne in mind that the introduction of machinery in handling and working guns rendered it unnecessary that there should be so many men to deal with them. On the other hand, we always ought to have a very considerable reserve of bluejackets and skilled gunners. I lay special stress on the necessity of having skilled gunners, for on their accuracy, coolness, and knowledge of their weapon depends the supremacy of England at sea. I cannot help referring to the question of guns, to which the hon. Gentleman has just now called the attention of the Committee. The late Board of Admiralty, in conjunction with my right hon. and gallant Friend the late Secretary of State for War (Colonel Stanley), came to the conclusion, which has been so carefully explained by the hon. Gentleman, that it was no longer possible to resist the breech-loaders. It would have been impossible, as far as we could see, to obtain in the muzzle-loading gun the power, range, and penetration of the breech-loading guns which are necessary now to put us on a par with the guns that are found in other countries. At this moment, however good our Woolwich gun may be, there can be no doubt that our naval guns are inferior to the new naval guns found on board the German, the French, and the Russian ships. The later Krupp gun is decidedly superior to anything we possess at this moment on board any of our ships. I therefore concur in the hope which was expressed by my right hon. and gallant Friend the late Secretary of State for War, that the Committee who have been appointed, no doubt with the full concurrence of the Board of Admiralty, by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War is a Committee which is not intended in the slightest degree to delay or stand in the way of recommending the construction of the best possible sort of gun at once. There is always a danger, in regard to Committees to which a great many subjects are referred, that officers and gentlemen in their position may think it necessary and due to their reputation to take a great deal of time in order to examine everything that has been done by other Committees and by other men before they arrive at a conclusion as to that which is the best possible course to be taken. Now, there is one thing which is even more necessary than the best possible gun; and that is the gun which can be put on board our ships with the least possible delay. It would be intolerable that our sailors and our ships should be sent to sea with a gun decidedly inferior to those which are used in the vessels of other nations; and I am obliged to repeat again that the Krupp gun is decidedly superior to any gun in use in Her Majesty's Service at the present moment. I urge this with persistency upon the Admiralty, because it seems to me an extraordinary thing that, while we do not hesitate to spend anything that is deemed to be necessary for providing a thoroughly efficient ship; while we provide them with electric lights at a cost of £1,000, or £1,500, or £2,000, and torpedo boats which cost from £3,000 to £5,000 more; while we supply to these ships every new and fitting which science can devise; while we spend something like £500,000 on a new cruiser, or even, as in the case of the *Inflexible*, a sum of nearly £750,000—we do not hesitate to expend all this money on a single ship which after all is a mere gun-carriage, simply to carry the gun and to hold the gun; and yet, when it comes to the question of the gun itself, we take no steps to secure that it shall be the best that mechanical and scientific skill are able to secure. I think there cannot be a doubt that we ought to have the most perfect gun that can be obtained; and we ought not to be compelled to wait for two or three years until the design of the gun is settled. I have no wish to put difficulties in the way; but I must insist as strongly as I can upon the absolute necessity of the work being done, of a decision being arrived at, and of the gun being made, so that Her Majesty's Service may be placed in an efficient condition as early as possible. I agree with the hon. Gentleman in the observations which he has made as to the error committed in times past of admitting too many officers to the Service. That has occasioned great disappointment; and I am glad to find that the hon. Gentleman admits that I did not make that mistake, at all events, so that no officer in future will be able to charge upon me that I had ruined the fortune of any gentleman admitted to the Service during the short period I was responsible for the affairs of the Navy. Well, I am glad to find that the Admiralty are able to extend the number of promotions on the lieutenants' list from 20 to 25. The additional promotion of five lieutenants does not seem to afford very considerable relief; but it will be some relief to officers who have been waiting a long time for the step. I would say, again, that it is a mistake to create in any rank a larger number of officers than can be properly and thoroughly employed. It is most undesirable that an officer should be promoted to the rank of commander, and should for a number of years be unemployed—that there should be a considerable period between the date of his promotion and the date of his employment. There is always a danger of young men who ought to be kept employed having to wait for long periods until their services are required; and, consequently, it not unfrequently happens that a period of two, three, or four years elapses, during which these men are kept on shore when they ought to be maintaining and improving their knowledge of their Profession. I have always been of opinion that the list ought not to be larger than the employment requires; and I should be exceedingly glad if the Board of Admiralty could see their way to the carrying out of an arrangement of this kind. I must say one word about the Flag List. My right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Childers) has spoken with a reasonable feeling of paternal pride of the changes which he made when at the Admiralty some years ago. I will not call in question the policy of those changes at this moment; but it is a fact that the captains' list is now entirely blocked. There will be no promotions, or scarcely any, for a year or two on the Flag List; and, to use the right hon. Gentleman's own words, if promotions—reasonably regular and fitting promotions—are necessary in order to maintain the life and efficiency of the Service, I think he will find that it is requisite to review the present position of the Flag List and the regulation affecting it; and, in doing so, I may promise him my assistance in making such changes as may, on the whole, be for the advantage of the Service. That some change and relief is required in this respect I am convinced. It is impossible to stop all promotions from the captains' list for an entire year, or, perhaps, two years; and that will be the practical result if the present regulations are maintained. I may now say a few words in regard to the numbers on the Flag List. I do not wish to lay down an arbitrary rule; but I confess, for my own part, that I should have been glad if there had been a few more officers on the Flag List. There have been occasions when it has been exceedingly painful to me, in making appointments, to have to pass over officers who stand next in order for commands because there were other and more fitting men to whom those commands, in my judgment, ought to be given. If there had been a few more officers on the list there would not have been this exceedingly painful appearance of invidious selection. I am fully aware of the fact that a man who stands in the position of a Minister must be fully prepared at all times to take on himself the duty of selection, however invidious that selection may seem. It was my duty to give the appointment to the officer who was best fitted, in my judgment, for it. The responsibility rested on me, however painful it might be, to make the selection. I think it would be for the benefit of the Service if the numbers among whom the selection might be exercised were increased, so that the result would be less painful to some of the officers passed over. I would urge this on financial grounds as well as on grounds of expediency. I believe that the fact of keeping a few more officers on half pay, instead of retired pay, would be for the actual benefit of the State financially. The half pay of a rear admiral is £456 5*s.*; while the retired pay is £600; the half pay of a vice admiral is £593 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the retired pay is £725. Therefore, there is a difference in favour of the public in regard to half pay as compared with retired pay. The hon. Gentleman has referred at great length, but not at too great length, to the very important question of the Pension List. In conjunction with my Colleagues, I directed my attention to the question of the Pension List some time before we left Office. Attempts were made to get the petty officers to re-enlist by inducements offered to them for that purpose in the shape of an increase of pay. My hon. Friend did not state to the Committee how far those attempts have been successful. I am afraid they have not been largely successful; but the object we had was to postpone the charge for pensions, which would have been effected by the re-engagement of these men for a period of five or seven years, and by what I think would have been a still greater gain to the Service—the retention on the lower deck of men from 38 to 45 years of age, whose experience, whose many good qualities, and whose influence, would have a very beneficial effect indeed on the lower deck. When I say this, I must not be understood to say a single word against the *morale* of the bluejackets in the Service as a whole. A more respectable and a better conducted body of men it would be difficult to find in any Service; but still it is only reasonable to suppose that men of middle life would take a more sober view of their duties, and would have a greater idea of the dangers and difficulties which young men are exposed to, and would probably exercise a useful and beneficial influence among them. I trust the Committee to which my hon. Friend refers will keep in view the great importance of retaining these men in the Service. I believe if they succeed in devising any scheme that will have this effect, it will be of great advantage to the Service to retain the services of men who are willing to re-enlist for a period of five, six, or seven years. My hon. Friend referred, also, to the question of the Medical Service. I am exceedingly glad that the Committee which I and my Colleagues had the honour to appoint has resulted in the production of a scheme which, I believe, will be satisfactory to the Service. I think the proposal made by the hon. Gentleman is one that ought to be satisfactory. The recognition of the fact that these officers might fairly claim a small comparative increase over the pay of officers of similar rank in the Army is one that ought to be entirely satisfactory to the Naval Medical Service; and where that is done I have no doubt the difficulty of filling up vacancies in the Service will rapidly disappear. We owe a great deal indeed to these officers, and I confess that in former years I have had a difficulty in understanding why it was that the Service was not more popular than it is. To young men with ability and knowledge, with a desire to see the world, no service could offer greater inducements than medical service on board ship. I hope that the attempt which is now being made will be altogether successful; and I believe that the result will be exceedingly beneficial to the country. With regard to the Royal Marines, I am exceedingly glad to hear that it is proposed to give them the full advantages — I mean the proportionate advantages—which are conceded to the officers and non-commissioned officers in the Army. There is one suggestion which I should like to make to the hon. Gentleman in connection with the question of the Royal Marines. The seamen receive extra pay as gunners—as trained men in gunnery. It is very well known that the Marines, both in the Infantry and in the Artillery, are exceedingly useful with the guns; and I venture to think their training and their drill, both as Infantry and as Artillery, render them most valuable in connection with the guns. It would be very much to the advantage of the Service if the additional pay given to the bluejackets as trained men was also given to the marines. It would have this advantage—that it would be paying for results; and it would depend on the capacity and skill of the men themselves whether they had it or not — on their attention to their drill, and on their fitness for the discharge of the work. I think that a reward given to attention to duty in that way, just as it is given to the bluejackets, would be satisfactory as far as the interests of the Service are concerned. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty adverted to the question of the ships for the year. I think it is desirable, and even necessary, that we should have a further discussion on that programme, when we come to Vote 6; and, therefore, I shall not go into the question which he has raised at very great length. As to the way the hon. Gentleman dealt with the question, I do not at all complain. The fact is, that the whole increase in the Estimates is due to an increase in shipbuilding. On Vote 6 there is an increase of £82,000; and Vote 10 shows an increase of £161,000. Vote 10 is the Vote for Stores, and hon. Gentlemen may very likely be inclined to think that a Vote for Stores has very little to do with shipbuilding, unless they have had some acquaintance with the actual work in a dockyard. In point of fact, the stores here referred to are iron plates, and all the materials out of which ships are built. I fancy this large increase of £161,000 is, in a great measure, due to armour plates for ironclads. It is impossible that 4,000 tons additional of armour-clad ships could be built without largely increasing the Stores Vote. It must be done, because you have not got the stores on which to fall back, and you are obliged to supply them and pay for them in the course of the year. That, I apprehend, is the state of the facts so far as stores are concerned. Then, with regard to the reduction on Vote 10, Section 2, it appears to me to be entirely due to the reduction in the amount paid for locomotive machinery and for shipbuilding, and the repairing of ships by contract. I confess I am sorry to see that there is a reduction in the amount for ships repaired by contract, because, although I fully admit the importance of keeping up our shipbuilding programme, I feel, as I have always felt, that as a nation liable at any time to be involved in warlike preparations or in actual war, we ought not to leave for any unnecessary period any ships on which we should rely in time of war in a state of disrepair. The hon. Gentleman referred in his speech to the *Shah* being in repair. The *Shah* is being repaired this year; but I see no provision whatever for the repair of the *Raleigh*, which is, I believe, in a state to require repair, and could not be sent to sea without considerable previous expenditure. In the same way I regret to see the absence of any provision for the repair of the *Rupert;* and it appears to me that the *Bellerophon*, which was to be completed by the middle of last year, according to the Return presented last August, is again postponed—not until the year 1881-2, but until some time in the next year. We shall therefore have three iron-clads in the Dockyards which will not be available during any portion of the year 1881-2. There is also another ship—the *Resistance*—which will not be available during any portion of the year 1881-2, and the repair of which, if taken in hand on the 31st of March, 1882, must extend over a considerable portion of that year. There is also another ship in regard to which I feel considerable interest. That is the *Black Prince.* My Colleagues and I had almost decided to put compound engines into that ship, largely adding to her coal endurance. She possesses great speed, and was to be armed probably with 12 or 14 breech-loading guns, and with these alterations she would have been a very powerful and valuable cruiser; but no decision appears to have been come to in that matter by the present Board of Admiralty. I do not wish at all to urge my hon. Friend, because I know it is not possible to come rapidly to a decision upon questions like these; but there are three or four powerful ships which are useless as far as war is concerned, and which must remain useless until they are taken in hand. If war were unhappily declared from any cause—and we were told the other day that the state of affairs is not altogether re-assuring, for we were informed by the Prime Minister that the Cabinet were considering from day to day questions of peace or war—remembering a statement of that kind, a certain amount of uneasiness must be felt at the fact that these ships, which in an emergency might be exceedingly useful, are to be allowed to remain incapable of service for at least a year from the present time. That is to say, that they are not to be taken in hand, except the *Bellerophon,* during the course of the present year. I know the difficulty of dealing with this question, and that money enters largely into the consideration; but I should be disposed, on a future day, to urge it again on the attention of the Government. Ships, said to be complete, like the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon,* this year will still be many months before they are in a state to go to sea. The time taken in rendering a new ship fit for sea is very great; and, glad as I am to see these new ships pushed on, still I deprecate leaving any ships intended to be again used as ships of war for a long period in a state of complete disrepair. If their boilers are not fit to be used, new boilers ought to be put into them without any unreasonable delay. There is one other point upon which I wish to make a remark, and that is, to urge upon my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty the great necessity of discouraging the employment of men on overtime. Although I do not refer to them as an authority absolutely infallible, I have seen in the newspapers statements and remarks upon the employment of men on overtime in the Dockyards. I think the employment of men on overtime ought to be avoided. I do not believe that there is any source of extravagance more fruitful in disappointment and loss to the Public Service than a continuous employment on overtime. I am aware that there are occasions when it is absolutely unavoidable. A ship comes in for repair, and it is necessary to get her away rapidly, and overtime must be worked in order to get her away, and it is sometimes advisable to work overtime with machinery; but in ordinary, shipbuilding proceeding from day to day, and from week to week, in a work which would occupy three or four years, at least, going on in a steady and systematic way, overtime is a great mistake. I believe we do not get the full results of their labour from the men. They are not capable of giving it; and there is a disposition on the part of the men to exaggerate the amount of charge in a manner that is exceedingly detrimental to the Service. With these few remarks, again bearing my testimony and admiration to the manner in which the hon. Gentleman has discharged his duties, I will conclude by expressing a hope that the Vote will be accepted by the Committee.

SIR EDWARD REED said, he could not help feeling that there was some disadvantage in the manner in which the Navy Estimates had been dealt with in the House, particularly with reference to Vote 1. They had now gone into Committee on Vote 1, and on Vote 1 alone. That Vote was for men; and it was inconvenient, he thought, to enter into a broad discussion on all branches of naval policy, and, at the same time, to enter into the details of Vote 1. When they were called upon to discuss important questions affecting every branch of the *personnel* of a great Public Service in this manner, he had found that many of the minor branches of the Public Service were liable to be passed over without that consideration which they clearly deserved, because hon. Members had to enter in Committee on a single Vote upon a broad discussion of the whole naval policy of the country. It would be better to take the general discussion before going into Committee. He could join the late First Lord of the Admiralty in bearing testimony to the admirable clearness and satisfactory nature of the Statement which had been made by the Secretary to the Admiralty; but they had not heard very much in the way of criticism from the Front Bench opposite, and, as a little criticism was not an unwholesome thing, he should venture to make one or two remarks, which would be not altogether in the way of approval of the proposals of the Government. In the first place, he could not help feeling that there were branches of the *personnel* of the Navy which had not received that consideration they were entitled to. It had come out in the course of the speech of his hon. Friend below him, and also in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that, as every one of them was perfectly well aware already, the engineers and artificers of the Navy were rising steadily in importance in the Public Service; and that they were, more and more, as events rolled on, supplanting other classes who before prevailed in the Naval Service. The naval engineers and artificers were increasing in number in the ships; and there was an increase also in the number of ships in which steam machinery was employed. Every extension of the Naval Service threw additional responsibility and power upon the Naval engineers. Take the case of the torpedo vessels, of which they had heard a little that night, although not so much as they might have heard, at any rate, with interest. Who were the men who had to take their lives in their hands and manœuvre and handle these boats? They were the naval engineers, and although he did not wish to underrate for a single moment the gallantry or ability of others on board these vessels, it must be felt that everyone who had to go into the close stokehole of a vessel constructed of steel, 1-16th of an inch thick, within fire of the enemy, holding their lives at the disposal of every stray shot that might emanate from a machine gun, were men entitled, upon every ground, to every consideration the Admiralty could give them. But the engineers did not receive anything like the consideration they were entitled to in reference to their importance. In the figures which his hon. Friend had given, he had mentioned 9,000, and some additional hundreds of engineers and artificers in the Fleet; and he (Sir Edward Reed) thought the time had now come when the indisposition of all Boards of Admiralty to realize the great importance of this class, and the effect which any want of public spirit, or any want of encouragement might produce upon them, should be fully considered. He believed the time had fully come when it was necessary to demand from the Admiralty, on behalf of the engineers, a great deal more than the engineers themselves would think of demanding. He believed he was about to make a demand which, although it certainly would not be granted at once, would before long be granted—namely, that the Board of Admiralty itself should comprise within its numbers a naval engineer—a man acquainted with the necessities of this branch of the Service. They saw continually that this class and its interests were rising into public importance; but the Committee would be surprised to hear that the Board of Admiralty consisted now, and would consist for all eternity, if somebody in the House did not move an alteration, of one political Member and two or three admirals or captains. On the Board of Admiralty at the present day it was considered that there was no occasion for the presence of a single naval engineer. He certainly felt that the Board of Admiralty was the proper place for one, and it would not be until the Royal Naval Engineers were represented by a member of their own class upon the Board of Admiralty that they would obtain the consideration which they deserved. He might even put it on a higher consideration than the deserts of the naval engineers themselves—namely, the interests of the Public Service, which ran a great deal of risk at present from the want of sufficient comprehension on the part of the Admiralty of the wants of this branch of the Service. The Committee would be surprised to hear that, in the whole range of the Admiralty Office, there existed but one man who had ever served in the Royal Naval Engineers, and that one man was an out-door officer. This condition of things had only to be stated, and its error would be manifested. The present First Lord of the Admiralty was a highly accomplished and excellent administrator, and he trusted the noble Earl would ask himself whether the time had not arrived when the engineer officers in the Royal Navy should not be relieved from the odious disadvantages under which they laboured, as compared with the ordinary naval officers of the Service. At the present time they were not allowed to mess with the ordinary officers, or even to sit at the same table with them; and it was deemed a favour to permit the chief inspector of machinery in the Navy to associate with the wardroom officers. This was a perfectly ridiculous position for men of high education and scientific attainments to occupy, and the time had arrived when all such separate messes ought to be abolished, and all the officers in the Navy placed on something like an equal footing. At present, the engineers of the Royal Navy might not be considered by some as an attractive class of officers; but if they were treated by the Admiralty as they ought to be, they would soon become everything that could be desired. He felt deeply on that point, because he was satisfied the Public Service would reap nothing but advantage if the change he proposed were carried out. Now, turning to the outline of the Naval programme which had been laid before the Committee, he thought the late First Lord of the Admiralty was well advised in not leading the Committee into any lengthened debate upon it, inasmuch as another opportunity for discussion would be afforded. He, however, wished to remark that the Committee were placed in rather a curious position with regard to the programme, because the Admiralty had told them just as much as they chose of their future intentions, and kept them altogether in the dark as to the rest. For instance, it had been stated last year by the late Government as well as by the present Naval Administration, that it was intended to build three new iron-clads—one at Portsmouth, one at Chatham, and another at Pembroke; and the House was required to vote the money for their construction. It now turned out, however, that while it was the function of the House to vote money for the construction of ships, it lay with the First Lord of the Admiralty to determine afterwards whether those ships should be built or not, and what kind of vessels they should be when built, and the Committee were told just as much about the matter as the Department pleased. The Government, therefore, put ships into their programme and took them out of it without saying one word about it to the Committee. He thought it right to take exception to this line of action. His own opinion was that some recent ships were of such a kind that the House would not have sanctioned their construction had they been fully informed with respect to them. Now the three iron-clads for which the House had been asked to vote money last year had disappeared altogether from the Naval programme for this year, and not a word of explanation had been offered on the subject.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE explained, that the *Collingwood*, which had been laid down by his right hon. Friend opposite at Pembroke, would represent one of those vessels, and the armed cruiser described by his hon. Friend represented another.

SIR EDWARD REED thought the right hon. Gentleman had entirely mistaken his point. Apart from the *Collingwood*, there was last year a proposal to build two or three iron-clads. He said these proposals were made, and that these ships had been withdrawn without a single word being said upon the subject. He believed that what had been done was without any intention on the part of the Government of depriving the House of Commons of information. At any rate, his right hon. Friend would not make any objection to what he was about to say—namely, that they were now asked to vote money for the commencement of two new iron-clad ships, which, he presumed, would be of considerable importance, and that the Committee were not informed of what kind those ships would be. He had seen in the Tea Room of the House drawings hung up for the information of hon. Members of the House, and for the convenience of

Departments, in relation to matters of far less moment than the expenditure of £500,000 or £750,000. When it was remembered that the whole period of the Conservative Administration had passed away without the *Inflexible* being completed, that she would not be completed for two months from the present time, and that her total cost might amount to more than £1,000,000, surely, if ships were to be built that would involve the country in perhaps a similar outlay, Parliament ought to be allowed to know what kind of ships they were to be. But it would appear, from what the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had stated, that the First Lord would make up his mind on that point months after Parliament had voted the money. He congratulated the Committee on the intention of the Government at last to commence the construction of two ships which would deserve to bear the name of "iron-clads." So far as he could judge at present, they could not, like the *Inflexible* type, be destroyed without touching their armour; but they were very arge ships for cruisers. There was at the Admiralty his hon. Friend the Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey), long a strenuous advocate for small cruisers; but when his hon. Friend came into power—his hon. Friend smiled at the idea of his having power, but everyone who had a seat at the Admiralty ought to have power—well, his hon. Friend came into power, and what did we get? A ship of 61 feet beam, 315 feet length, and 8,000 indicated horse power, to cost £400,000; and that was the embodiment of the beau ideal of a small ship, as concieved by his hon. Friend! Instead of getting smaller ships, we were getting very much larger ones than we had before. At the same time, however, the ship was to have a high rate of speed, and that high speed involved size—in the opinion of some people very considerable size. It underlay the principle of construction at the present day that we always, after starting with a fine ship, tried to see how much armour we could put on, and in that way the large size of our ships was gradually reached. The true course was to see with how small a ship certain armour and guns could be got to move at the required speed. As a Member of the House, he was extremely disappointed that his hon. Friend had not power enough at the Admiralty to add more small ships to the Navy. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had cast a little discredit upon the efforts of the present Administration for quickly completing the ships commenced by the late Government. He thought the present Government deserved the utmost credit for having pushed on ships that had been too long upon the stocks. Hon. Members would bear in mind that there had been some contention in that House, and much more in the public Press, as to the armament of the *Shah.* He was himself the designer of the first ship of the *Shah* type, and it was deemed advisable to put into that ship a battery of the most powerful guns of the day. Some men, however, came into Office at the Admiralty who took it into their heads to say that because the *Shah* was not an armoured ship she should not carry armour-piercing guns; and, in spite of the opinions of persons who were perfect masters of the subject, that House had been powerless to get them put into the vessel. But, if they looked into *The Times* of that day, they would see that after many years, and after the *Shah* had failed to destroy an opposing ship off the coast of South America, the Admiralty had come round to the view that she should be armed with powerful armour-piercing guns. This was an instance of the House being right and the Admiralty wrong. He did not consider it desirable, therefore, that the Committee should in any way be passed over in reference to public expenditure; while he thought it was desirable that they should look thoroughly into every proposal of new ships intended for the Public Service.

Sir JOHN HAY said, so many subjects had been touched upon that he thought it desirable to defer some of the remarks he had to make until other Votes were reached. But with reference to the point as to the naval cadets, which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had alluded to, he thought some little injustice had been done to the memory of his late Friend, Mr. Ward Hunt, by not mentioning that it was in consequence of the Report of a Committee that the change in question had been made, and it was done, moreover, after proper discussion in the House. He was always in favour of a small number of naval cadets, and was sure that if the examination of boys of 15 was properly conducted, the competition would yield the best lads for the Public Service. He understood that three nominations were to be given for every vacancy, and that the three lads nominated should compete *inter se.* He hoped some arrangement would be made under which the boys would not, on being taken away from a public school, be sent into the unhealthy atmosphere of a crammer's study. He believed, also, that a longer training after they were admitted to the Service would be advantageous. He had always thought that the age of 13 was too early at which to take boys away from the general course of education and give them a special education. A very famous Predecessor of his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) in the representation of Westminster—he meant Lord Cochrane—did not enter the Navy until the age of 18, and certainly no naval officer had been distinguished by more excellent service. There were, no doubt, many occasions in the old wars of men who entered at an early age and did good service. But seeing that we now required such extreme efficiency in every subject, at a time when the brain was not sufficiently developed, he thought it better that lads should enter the Service a year or two later than 13 years of age. His hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff had alluded to the case of the naval engineers. He was not going to say that there should be an engineer at the Board of Admiralty. That might or might not be necessary. There was no reason, that he was aware of, why he should not be there. But he did not think it at all necessary, when discussing improvements in the position of the engineer class, to aim so high in a direction which might be impracticable. They had before them a Report of a Committee, of which the present First Sea Lord of the Admiralty was Chairman, and he expressed his surprise that the recommendations of that Committee had not been carried out in their entirety, seeing that they were all worthy of immediate attention. Some of the most important of these recommendations had not been carried out. He thought hon. Gentlemen opposite might urgently call the attention of the Board of Admiralty to the claims of these most useful and excellent officers. On Vote 13, the Vote for Retired Pay, he hoped to say a few words with reference to promotion in the Navy. He quite agreed with his right hon. Friend near him in saying that it was impossible to have sufficient promotion in the Navy if the upper List was small in proportion to the List below. There were two methods by which speedy promotion could be secured without greatly increasing the charge upon the Public Service. He had already alluded to one in suggesting that the number of naval cadets should be reduced—at any rate, he thought it would be admitted that the smaller the number of cadets the better it would be for promotion. Then coming to the class of lieutenants, it was quite certain that the number of officers in the Navy was based on the necessary number of lieutenants, of whom there were between 800 and 900, the great majority of whom were employed afloat, or in perfecting their education at the Royal Naval College. The upper rank of lieutenants ranked with majors in the Army, and many of them were performing duty as commanders or second officers of ships. All these might well be promoted to the rank of commander. It seemed to him that the number of commanders in the Navy should be considerably increased, while the number of lieutenants should be diminished *prô tanto.* By this means the number of the various officers would be equalized, and there would be a proper flow of promotion through the three ranks. Under this plan an increased charge to the public would hardly be possible, because the class of officers in command were receiving pay equal to that of commanders. He trusted, however, with the permission of the Committee, to go more closely into detail with regard to this subject on another occasion. He regretted that the number of iron-clads was not to be increased. With these facts before the House and the public, it seemed to him absolutely necessary for the service of the State, in order to protect our great lines of communication in time of war, that we should have 62 of these ships; and the Secretary to the Admiralty had just stated we had only 41. With regard to size, he confessed he did not care so much. Vessels of smaller size would satisfy the requirements for the protection of our five great lines of commerce; and until these were added to the Navy, he thought that the large ships proposed to be constructed, had better be postponed. Hon. Gentlemen who had paid attention to the subject knew that the necessity for number of 62 iron-clads had been carefully verified. For cruising purposes the Admiralty knew where they could lay their hands upon about 50 merchant ships in time of war, which, when properly fitted, would be able to keep down privateers or any small vessels that might prey upon our commerce. He had heard, with some alarm, the proposal of the hon. Gentleman opposite that the country should rely upon the inexhaustible supply of men offered by the Merchant Navy. Now, the Merchant Navy had by no means an inexhaustible supply of men. It was, indeed, very much smaller than the Committee would, probably, believe. According to the Report which had been made, the Mercantile Navy had 82,474 able seamen and ordinaries. But of these, 16,070 were foreigners, and could not be relied upon in time of war; and of the remaining 66,404 men, 38,424 were unqualified, they having been guilty of various kinds of misconduct unfitting them for service in the Navy. Therefore, there remained only 27,986 seamen who could be depended upon. Of these 12,050 were in the first class, and 5,496 in the second class of the Royal Naval Reserve, the latter not being as good seamen as it was desirable to have. We could, rely, therefore, only upon 12,050 out of the 27,987 men at present serving in the British Mercantile Navy. The Committee would see that this was by no means an inexhaustible supply; and as, in the event of war, it was to be hoped that we should not be deprived of all our commerce, some of these men would still be required in the Merchant Navy. It was for that reason he doubted very much whether we had done wisely in reducing the number of boys for the Navy. The number now entered was 200 less than in the preceding year, there being only 4,700, as against 4,900. He believed that the number of entries had been accurately arranged for the supply of seamen; but he now understood the number had been reduced.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the number to be entered had not been lowered since it was fixed by the late First Lord, and any deficiency now was due to the smaller number entered before the late First Lord made the arrangement. The number to be entered next year was to be equal to the number to be entered this year.

Sir JOHN HAY said, at any rate, the number was 170 less than it was last year. The number of men had also been reduced by 623, as compared with last year, which, under the present circumstances, he regarded as unfortunate. He desired to press on the consideration of the Admiralty that, while allowing the number of men to be reduced, we were failing to take the necessary steps to train them. We had at this moment a large number of men who were not, in any sense, seamen. They had been taught as boys and brought up for the sea, it was true; but taking the analysis of Captain Wilson, which he believed was correct, there were 18,500 during the last year of the late First Lord's administration, of whom 10,500 were in sea-going ships, and 8,000 in harbour ships. Of those 18,500, 10,000 were under five years' service, and had only been 18 months at sea. Well, he would ask anyone who knew anything about the sea—any yachtsmen, of whom he saw some present—whether 18 months at sea was sufficient to make a man a sailor? He would take the next group of men, 4,270, with between five and ten years' service. They had been four and a-half years at sea, and no doubt those fellows were beginning to get their sea-legs. Then there were 2,600 men of between 10 and 15 years' service, who had been seven and a-half years at sea; 1,816 of between 15 and 20 years' service, who had been ten and a-half years at sea; and those were prime seamen, efficient in every respect. It was to the 10,000 men—more than half our seamen—who had only been 18 months at sea, that he wished to call particular attention; for he could not think that the circumstances of the case would be considered by the Committee at all satisfactory. It appeared to him that a step in the right direction had been taken by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) when in Office. The *Cruiser*, a sailing ship, had been fitted out, and employed in training the men at sea in the Miditerranean; and, in his (Sir John Hay's) opinion, it would be a a valuable thing to have attached to every iron-clad ship one or two tenders in which they could train men at sea—

train them in reefing, and furling, and steering, and doing all the material duties of a sailor. In that way a man would get confidence, would be rendered muscular and agile, and valuable at the guns, in the boats, or elsewhere. He was fully alive to the difficulty of this subject; but they required their ironclads to be at sea occasionally to teach the officers how to manage them, and unless they also sent the sailors to sea in the class of ship where they would get the best training, the men would have none of the qualifications to which sailors looked forward in order to be distinguished and useful. It was necessary for a sailor to have quickness of eye and readiness of hand, in order to make him valuable on board ship; and those acquirements were to be best obtained in the ordinary work and routine of a sailing vessel. On this subject he might mention to the Committee a statement of a gallant officer whom they all respected very much — namely, Captain Shaw, Chief of the Fire Brigade, who, in giving evidence before a Committee of this House, some years back, declared that until within a period of about 10 years ago, he always chose for the London Fire Brigade men who had been in the Navy; but, he said, he did not take them now because they had lost those particular qualifications for which he used to select them. That was impartial evidence, and would tend to show that it was not from a desire to criticize unduly or to embarrass the Government that he brought the subject forward at the present time. He had mentioned the matter on several former occasions, and he was sure it was well worthy the attention of the Committee, which, he trusted, would urge on Her Majesty's Government the desirability of endeavouring, by some means or other, to give the best possible training to the seamen in Her Majesty's Service. They had already gone to considerable expense to give the sailors a good education; but he maintained that to keep them in harbour for a considerable number of years prevented them from acquiring that activity and resource and courage which was to be acquired on board a sailing ship, handling the masts and yards, and which was so valuable to a sailor in the exercise of his profession. He would strongly press that subject on the attention of the hon. Gentleman opposite. The hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey), knew the necessities of the case as well as he (Sir John Hay) knew them, and no doubt the hon. Member would do all in his power to obtain the necessary improvement in the training of our seamen. He heard the hon. Member, if he was not mistaken, speak upon the subject when he sat on the Opposition side of the House, and he was quite sure the hon. Gentleman shared with him the belief that there was a great change necessary in the training of our sailors. He would not take up any more of the time of the Committee just now upon naval matters; but he ventured to make this suggestion, and trusted that the few words he had spoken as to the importance of properly training seamen would not be lost sight of.

Mr. MACLIVER hoped to see the day when the Naval and Military Services would be dealt with upon other than political considerations. Like the hon. Member who had just sat down, he took considerable interest in the naval engineers, and every word which had fallen from the hon. Member for Cardiff with regard to those officers he cordially endorsed. The engineers had a strong claim upon them, and it should be immediately recognized. Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key had reported upon that subject, and his recommendation should be adopted, and, like the hon. Member for Reading, he trusted this question would not be looked upon as a personal matter. The position of those officers was almost of more importance than an increase in their pay. In 1877, hon .Members who sat on the Treasury Bench interested themselves on the point, and he did not suppose they were less sincere now than they were then. What the engineers asked was not merely a money question. They were a patriotic and intelligent body of men; and one of them, in order to remove any impression as to the question of pay affecting their sentiments, had written to the effect that he did not look upon this as a personal matter. The efficiency of the Navy, he said, was of far higher importance to every Englishman than the question of whether or not a certain class were properly paid; but it was necessary, in order to secure that efficiency, that the engineer officers should be placed in such a position of authority and command as to enable them to exercise proper control over the magnificent and costly machinery committed to their care.

Mr. BENTINCK said, he had listened in common with the rest of the Committee, he believed, to the very clear and lucid Statement made by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty with great attention. His only regret was that it was not so good in matter as it was in manner, for there were some grounds on which he must ask to be allowed to take exception to the statement made by the hon. Gentleman. It had been his fate for a great many years to try to persuade the House of Commons to take a different, and what he would term a more enlightened, view of the position and requirements of the British Navy. He was bound to admit this, that up to the present he had been entirely unsuccessful in his efforts; and he could assure the Committee if he thought he was only attempting to urge upon them his own individual opinions, he should not trouble them with a repetition of the case he had already presented to Parliament. But his belief and his knowledge were such—and there were many in the House and thousands out of it who concurred in the view which he ventured to take as to the inadequate condition of the British Navy—that he was induced once more to make an attempt to secure the attention of the Committee to the subject. Now, the points upon which he had formerly attempted to dwell were these. He had contended that the country was not sufficiently supplied with line-of-battle ships; and he was glad to find his opinion on that point confirmed by his hon. and gallant Friend near him (Sir John Hay), than whom, perhaps, there was no higher authority on this question. They had no reserve of heavy iron-clads in the event of casualties in action. The hon. and gallant Gentleman agreed also with him, and bore out his opinion as to the unsatisfactory number of men about to be proposed as the means of supplying the necessary draft in the Navy. The questions of ships and men went together, for if they had a certain number of ships they would want so many men to man them; and his contention was that they had not now, and had not had for many years, a sufficient number of ships for the requirements of the Public Service, more especially line-of-battle ships. He would ask the Committee to suppose that the time might come when they would be called upon to take part in a great naval battle. Let them suppose that a great disaster ensued to the British arms, what would be the result? In order to avoid that, they wanted a larger number of ships of two classes. In the first place, they wanted ships in which to train their men and make sailors of them, because it was impossible to make a man a sailor on board a steamer. Take the best man in the world and put him on board a steamer, keep him there for a few years, and then transfer him to a ship where the qualities of a seaman were indispensable, and they would find him no more useful than a landsman. They must put a man under canvas to make him really valuable for the Service. They must, therefore, have a certain number of cruising ships for the sole purpose of training the sailors, and converting the rough material into really good and efficient men. He admitted we had been unfortunate lately with our sailing ships, and had lost two cruisers which we had sent to sea for the sole purpose of making sailors of our men; but that was no reason why we should be discouraged. If we had not got the ships in the Service, then we must build them; but, whatever we did, we must not neglect to have a supply of these vessels, for they were absolutely necessary for the naval supremacy of this country. With regard to this question of the Navy, the people of this country seemed to live in a sort of paradise—he would not say what sort of paradise—in the matter. They seemed to think that at no time, and under no circumstances, could this country be possibly engaged in a great war—a war that might vastly affect our own position, and even our existence. Such a time might come; and if ever it did, he contended that the first requirement of this country, after a reserve of fighting ships, would be a sufficient number of cruisers—first, for the protection of our own commerce; and, secondly, for the purpose of harassing the Navy and commerce of our enemy, whoever it might be. He thought he could show that if the Navy of this country had been, up to the present time, insufficient for the service of the country, the condition of things, within the past 12 years, was such as to make that deficiency much greater than it was formerly, and that it was more than ever incumbent on the House of Commons to devote itself to the question of improving the efficiency of the British Navy. Let them suppose for a moment that the lamentable event to which he had referred, but which the Admiralty never seemed to contemplate for an instant, occurred—namely, that a disaster to our Navy occurred, and war was brought into our own country; and supposing that, and contemplating the result that might ensue, he would ask the Committee whether the reasons were not sufficient to make it more than incumbent on this country to render ourselves thoroughly masters of the sea? We had had forced upon us the sad conviction that, in spite of the brilliant strategy of our generals, and the unflinching gallantry of our officers and soldiers, our Army was not numerically equal to the services it was called upon to perform. There was no denying or flinching from that fact. The fact, then, of the inefficient condition of our Army made it more than ever indispensable that the Navy of the country should be supreme at sea. But there was still, if possible, a stronger argument in favour of our having our Navy in the highest state of efficiency to meet the requirements of the country in point of numbers. The Committee could not have lost sight of the fact that, for a long time, this country had been dependent for her supply of corn upon foreign markets. The present depression in our agricultural industry increased that dependency to a very large extent, and increased also the dangerous position of this country in the event of our foreign supply being jeopardized in any way. As a consequence of the agricultural depression a large area of the soil was going out of cultivation, and in the future we should even be more dependent on outside supply than we were now. Therefore, unless we had complete command over the sea, in the event of a serious war, the result might be utter starvation. It was, beyond everything, necessary for us to keep open our communications with other countries, so that we might procure the food that was indispensable to our existence. These, he ventured to think, were considerations which should not be lost sight of in any assemblage of Englishmen, much less by the British House of Commons; and he complained that, up to the present, there had apparently been a total want of interest in the question. In conclusion, he would say, as he had said at the beginning, that if he believed his view of the subject was an individual opinion, and was not joined in by anyone else, he would not press it upon the Committee; but that was not the fact, for a great many high authorities agreed with him, and he trusted that, ere long, some voice more powerful than his would be heard bringing the matter more clearly home to the English people.

MR. BROADHURST wished to express his great disappointment in not hearing, in the Statement that night, of any improvement in the position of the engineers. He had certainly listened to the speech of the hon. Gentleman from beginning to end, for the purpose of hearing him make some concessions by way of improving the position of the engineers. He thought that no argument in favour of that improvement could be proposed of a stronger nature than that used by the Secretary to the Admiralty himself tonight, when he showed the large proportion of skilled artizans on board our great fighting vessels in comparison with the number of bluejackets—by which, he presumed, were meant the ordinary sailors. They had to recognize this fact, that the fighting vessels were every year becoming more and more great floating factories of mechanical engineering, and the consequence was that the position of the men who worked the vast and complicated machinery of our iron-clads, and without whom they would be absolutely powerless, should be recognized by the authorities, and their status on board the ships considerably improved. He sincerely hoped that at some time tonight the hon. Gentleman would say that he had overlooked the question of improving the position of the engineers, but would rectify the mistake before the Estimates were disposed of. If the hon. Gentleman was unable even to do that, he trusted that he would give the Committee a definite promise that the claims of the engineers would be looked into at no distant date. He (Mr. Broadhurst) was sure the engineers would feel as deeply indebted to the hon. Member for Cardiff as he did himself for the admirable manner in which the hon. Gentleman had placed their claims before the Committee. If it had not been for the admirable manner in which the hon. Gentleman had brought forward their case, he (Mr. Broadhurst) would have had a great deal more to say on behalf of them. He held that the position of the artificers in connection with men-of-war would have to be taken into consideration, and that at no distant date, and when the matter was brought forward he would have to draw attention to another section of their complaint. He would raise a new question on Vote 6; but, in the meantime, he only wished to express a hope that the Secretary to the Admiralty would tell them that he had forgotten to make the promise which they had all expected of him as to bettering the condition of the engineers.

Mr. T. C. BRUCE had only a word to add to the considerable arguments which had been addressed to the Committee in favour of improving the position of the engineers. Those who had to do with industrial occupations in the country were aware how engineers had increased in importance of late years, and how valuable their services had become, and how they were appreciated in other places than the Royal Navy. The result of the advances which had been made of recent years in the science of engineering in connection with shipping, had been that not only a large number of men now entered that branch of the Service, but that many of them entered the Mercantile Marine, and the service of other countries, where the payments they received were far greater than those they obtained under Her Majesty's Government. No doubt the Engineer Department of the Navy had now become so popular, that it was possible to procure a sufficient number of men; but the object of the Admiralty should not only be to secure a sufficient number, but to secure the best men of that class for Her Majesty's ships. No doubt, the intricacy of the machinery, the immense importance of its preservation, and the difficulty of its repair, made the engineers of the Navy more responsible than they were in the largest ships of the Merchant Service, and it was, therefore, to be hoped that the Admiralty would consider the whole position of the scientific force. He did not know whether he would go so far as the hon. Member for Cardiff; but, at any rate, he trusted the matter would be considered, and that the Admiralty would do all they could to secure the services of the very best engineers they could employ. Some suggestions had been made with regard to that matter years ago, which seemed perfectly reasonable, and he confessed he regretted that the Admiralty had never thought fit to adopt them. There was one point in the speech of the hon. Gentleman that he had not understood, and perhaps it was his own fault that the point had failed to reach him. The hon. Gentleman had made some allusion to the continuous service in the Navy, and had stated it was in contemplation to have an Inquiry into it, consisting of three financiers and one naval officer. Well, he wished to point out, that although financiers might be admirable gentlemen, they had a weakness, and would be inclined to look at the cost of a thing rather than to its efficiency—they would be rather inclined to look at a diminution of expense than at the desirability of increasing the value of the article. The Naval Force was as fine a body of men as it was possible to meet with, and he thought they should be very jealous of allowing it to deteriorate, and in that he was sure the hon. Gentleman who had brought forward the Estimates would agree with him. We had to depend upon that force for the immediate defence of our country. The Navy was not a thing which we could bring up and make fit for use at a moment's notice —it was not a thing the deficiencies and faults of which we could repair in a day if it were required for instant action. The Navy, both men and ships, must be ready for use at once, and, in order to have it ready, we must have the vessels properly fitted and the men properly trained. The question was one of vital interest to the country.

Mr. JENKINS said, he had heard with some disappointment the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Trevelyan's) statement as to the building of those two or three very large armoured cruisers. For his own part, he should have preferred to hear that it was the intention of the Admiralty to build six or eight small ships, which would be just as effective in time of peace, and a great deal more so in time of war; because we must remember that we had not only our own commerce to protect, but, in the event of a war, the commerce of our enemy to destroy. The more ships we had in time of war to destroy the fleet and the commerce of an enemy the better. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay), than whom there was no greater authority in the House or in the country, had referred to the training of seamen; and if a dozen of such ships as he was referring to were built, and formed into two flying squadrons, we should then have such a nursery for the training of seamen as would be found most invaluable. Some people were of opinion that neither boys nor men could be properly trained unless they were sent to sea in sailing ships; but he believed that a greater mistake than that was never made. It was an entire fallacy. He believed that in vessels where they had auxiliary steam power — where they could either put the ships under canvas or steam—they had the most efficient description of ship in the world for the training of officers, or men, or boys. What necessity, he would ask, was there for crowding 300 or 400 men into a small training ship, say, of 3,000 or 4,000 tons? It was absurd. An Admiral of the Fleet (Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds) had condemned that class of training ship, either for the use of men or boys; and it was to be hoped that we had seen the last of commissioning ships of an obsolete class propelled by sailing alone. In time of war such vessels as those were entirely useless; whereas ships of the kind he recommends would be very serviceable, besides being invaluable for the training of men and boys during a time of peace. In case of war, or when at peace, such vessels would form very valuable auxiliaries to the Fleet. With regard to what had fallen from the late First Lord of the Admiralty as to converted ships, his experience had been that such vessels always ended in disappointment. The Estimate given for conversions was generally exceeded by one-half, or by 100 per cent; therefore, he thought the Government had acted wisely in deciding not to spend money in converting those iron-clads. As to the torpedo system, he thought that if they were to have men to handle the torpedoes with the coolness and judgment necessary, they must have a class of sailors on board the boats as efficient and highly-trained as they could get them. Unless the seamen were thoroughly trained during the time of peace, when they were wanted on active service in any emergency, or any great danger, they would utterly fail us. Nothing but experience, as everyone knew, would enable a seaman to do that which we had a right to expect of him in a case of emergency. In the future stages of the discussion on these Votes he should have a word or two to say; but now he would confine himself to these few observations, and to expressing his satisfaction at the able Statement of the hon. Gentleman; and he only hoped that the advice so ably given by the hon. Member for Cardiff would be followed, and that the plans of the iron-clad ships in course of construction would be circulated amongst hon. Members, in order to enable them to form an opinion as to those vessels.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, the discussion had covered such a large field that it was impossible for any individual to go over the whole of the ground, nor was it his intention to do so to-night. He only wished to offer a few observations; and, in the first place, he did not quite understand the statement made by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) with regard to the entry of boys. It appeared to him there was no doubt they were to be 700 men short this year of what they were last year. He was not quite clear whether it was intended there should be an actual reduction of boys, or whether the number was to remain as it was last year. This should be made quite clear. He thought that unless the entry of boys was slightly increased the number of men next year, or the year after, would be still further reduced. No doubt, one reason which would partially account for the deficiency in the number of men was the loss of the *Atalanta*, by which they were deprived of the services of 220 men; but there did not seem to him to be any attempt made on the part of the Admiralty to replace those men. If they were to replace them they must, of course, introduce some more boys into the Estimates now. Attention had been called to that question of boys very particularly; but he did not think that what had been said had been yet answered by the hon. Gentleman. No doubt, the hon. Member would have an opportunity of giving the necessary answer later on. He was a good deal impressed with what the right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) had said as to the number of men in the Merchant Service that the Admiralty would have to draw upon in a time of emergency. That had been called an inexhaustible source of supply; but, according to the best authorities, when the Naval Reserve, some 18,000 men, had been drawn, they would only then have something like 6,000 able seamen in the Merchant Service to draw upon. [Sir JOHN HAY: We should have 27,000 men altogether.] Therefore, there would be 9,000 able-bodied men to draw upon from the Mercantile Marine, and surely that could not be considered a large reservoir from which to draw the necessary reserves. He had before, on more than one occasion, expressed his opinion that there ought to be some system of interchange between the Royal Naval Service and the Merchant Service; and he had really heard no answer to the recommendation he had made, and the arguments by which he had supported it. His proposal was that a certain number of men, after serving some years in the Navy, and becoming able seamen, should be allowed to go upon furlough into the Merchant Service. The effect of that would be that they would be able largely to increase the number of men; at least 5,000 men could be rendered available by that system. He would suggest that the time the men were allowed to work in the Merchant Service—say two years—should count for all pensions; but, of course, whilst the men were away their pay would cease, for they would be receiving what was generally supposed to be a somewhat higher pay from private employers. He was not sure that they would be able to get in that way so many as 5,000 men; but, at any rate, they would be able to get a large number, because many men would like the temporary change into the Merchant Service, where they would receive slightly higher pay; and, although the advantages to the country would be great, the cost would be little or nothing except prospectively in the matter of pensions. On this Vote it was customary for hon. Members to touch on all matters relating to the *personnel* of the Navy. He was rather diffident in what he had to say on those matters, as they had been warned by the Secretary of the Admiralty that he had laid down as a principle, that in all matters of pay and redress of grievances, hon. Members who brought those matters before the House of Commons must remember that, after all, the question was one of the market value of the men whose claims they were bringing forward—that it was a question altogether of supply and demand. Well, no doubt, that was a sound principle to a certain extent; but he did not think it was altogether a principle upon which the Committee ought to go. He would illustrate what he meant in this way. A good deal had been said this evening about the grievances of the medical officers, which the Admiralty were about to redress. Here, clearly, was a matter of supply and demand. The Medical Profession, from its very nature, from the etiquette that prevailed in it, from a sort of freemasonry that existed amongst its members, was able at any time to bring pressure to bear on the Department on a question of this kind. Medical men had only to say amongst themselves they felt it undesirable for young medical practitioners to enter the Navy, because the inducements held out were not sufficient, and the supply at once ceased. The Medical Profession had thus a powerful lever in their hands, and they had certainly used it on former occasions—they had used it lately; and now as a result they were going to have their grievances redressed. But would it do for that system to be carried on in all branches of the Service? For instance, when the engineers represented their grievances to the Committee, would it do to tell them this—"The best thing you can do is to persuade your friends who may think of joining the Engineer Department of the Service, not to take the step at present, as the inducements held out are not sufficient—stop the supply and then you will get what you want?" He did not think that course would be a right one to take; but, at any rate, that was the principle which the argument of supply and demand would suggest. It naturally struck him as being the best thing to do. He had been struck by the fact that the case of the engineers had formed a leading part in the debate, nearly every hon. Member who had spoken having referred to that subject. It was natural for them to do so, if only from the conspicuous absence of any reference to the condition of the engineers in the speech of the Secretary to the Admiralty; and also because, since 1875, the engineers had been waiting to hear whether the recommendations of Admiral Cooper Key's Committee were to be carried out. He did not want to go into the details of this matter; but five or six years ago, it was distinctly stated that the steps then being taken for the amelioration of the engineer officers were only an instalment. After five or six years it was high time that there should be another instalment, and he thought this matter was really deserving of the greatest attention. So little had been done towards the fulfilment of the recommendations of the Committee, that it was not too much to say that not one-fourth of them had been carried out. There were many points that had not been touched at all; and he could not help pointing out one small detail which appeared to be almost absurd. Under the present regulations, chief engineers were allowed to count their junior time for pensions after having served 11 years in the rank of chief engineer. The average age at which an engineer officer was promoted to being chief engineer was between 40 and 45—as a matter of fact, nearer 45—and he was compulsorily retired at 55. What, then, was the good of telling a man at 45, that if he served 11 years he might count his junior time, when he was also told that at 55 he must leave the Service? If he was fortunate enough to be made chief engineer at 44, he could by serving every minute of his time just secure his pension. That showed the ridiculous manner in which the matter had been treated. Then with regard to navigating officers. The question of the market value did not apply to them, because we were not getting any more of that class. The principle had been changed, and we now drew navigating officers from the sub-lieutenants and lieutenants. As to the old navigators, who were abolished some years ago, he hoped that the Admiralty would find some means of compensating them for the loss of their appointments; for although it was quite true that there were not so many of them unemployed now as there were in former years, they were being replaced by a great number of qualified lieutenants. As a matter of fact, there were at the present time 40 lieutenants employed in navigating duties, and thus 40 navigating officers were out of employment. He believed that, some years ago, the principle had been laid down that the number of navigating officers of all kinds ought to be 250. There were now 58 in excess of that number, and no less than 60 were on half-pay. If the 40 lieutenants he had referred to had not been placed on navigating duties, 40 of those 60 would not now be unemployed. He was not going to express his opinion of the regulations; but as they had been approved of, and the navigating officers were being displaced, he thought it only right to ask for compensation and good retirement grants for them. He was glad to hear that the case of the Marines would be dealt with. The Committee were asked not to say much about that matter at present, because they were told that the mouth of the spokesman of the Admiralty was, to a certain extent, shut. The matter, they were told, was under consideration, and they were to shut their eyes and open their mouths and see what would be put into them. If they did that, the matter would be settled at the Admiralty; and when they were told what had been done, it would be too late to say anything about it. The late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) had expressed a hope that the Marines were to have proportionate advantages to those proposed for the Army. He did not quite like that suggestion. They were told they must not draw a parallel between the two Services, and that the Marines had advantages which the Army had not. That was a new doctrine altogether to him, and had only recently cropped up. How was it they were only now told the Marines had advantages which the Army had not? The advantage seemed to be that they had permanent barracks when they were at home. That had never been heard of years ago, although the question had not altered in any way. As a matter of fact, the Marines had always had that advantage over the Army; and, considering the character of the two Services, he thought it was only right that they should have it. The Marine was, as a rule, an older man and of longer service and of better physique than the Line soldier—he was better all round, and worth more than the Line soldier. But now it was said that the pay of the Marines was not to be assimilated to that of the Army, because they had the advantage of the permanent home. They had no more a permanent home than the

Guards, and, indeed, not so much. The Marines were at least half their time at sea; and although they had barracks to go to when they came home, the Guards had that permanently. At all events, he hoped that this question of the Marines would be dealt with in a generous and satisfactory manner. He also hoped that the officers of Marines would be dealt with on the same lines as the officers in the Army. He understood from the speech of the Secretary of State for War that a very great increase was to be made in the number of field officers in the Army, each battalion having two lieutenant-colonels and four majors—that was, an additional lieutenant-colonel and two majors. If that principle was carried out in the Marines, it would give them 24 majors in addition. In 1884 there would be 25 captains of Marines compulsorily retired; but if the Marines had 24 additional majors, there would be only one retired, and there would be 24 live majors, costing the country £300 in place of 24 dead captains costing the country £275 a-year. That was a matter which he put forward as typical, and he hoped the case of those officers would be duly considered. The Statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty on the whole showed that, although we were not to have as efficient a Navy as most of us would like to see, the programme was not a bad one. He should like, however, to see more ships in the Navy.

Mr. T. BRASSEY said his hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) had drawn in fair line a sketch of the policy which the Government were now proposing, and he only ventured to interpose in order to supply a few additional details. He thought the Government had no reason to complain of the tone in which the Estimates had been discussed. The right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) had remarked that the whole of the interest in the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year was absorbed in ship-building expenditure. He ventured to say that it was to the *matériel*, rather than to the *personnel*, that it was most important that they should address themselves. Then the right hon. Gentleman referred to the diminished expenditure in regard to repairs by contract. There could be no doubt that it might be desirable, under certain circumstances, in order to meet pressure or emergency, to call in the assistance of contractors; but such a step must necessarily be expensive, the labour employed by contractors being much more expensive than that of ordinary labour in the Dockyard. Therefore, he thought the system of repairs by contractors should only be resorted to in exceptional circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman had also expressed his regret that one or two vessels were not included in the programme for repairs. He (Mr. Brassey) wished it was possible to keep every ship at all times in a perfect state of repair; but, in view of any possible emergency which might arise at the present time, he thought the ships were in a full state of preparation. There would be completed and ready to send to sea in the present year no less than 10 iron-clads, 1 frigate, 24 corvettes, 15 sloops, 19 gun-vessels, 2 paddle-boats, and 1 survey-vessel; and he thought that represented a force sufficient to meet any emergency that might arise. The right hon. Gentleman had characterized the policy of having recourse to overtime. So far as the Admiralty proposed to have recourse to overtime, they were following the advice of those high officers in the Navy who had had the greatest experience in those matters; and it was only proposed to resort to overtime to a very limited extent. He understood from those who had had the most practical experience in those matters, that there were machines used in the construction and repair of ships which it was sometimes advantageous to keep in motion for a longer time than the ordinary Dockyard hours. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that it was not intended to resort to the extravagant and unsatisfactory practice of employing labour for a length of time which involved expense and was not conducive to economy. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) had spoken with satisfaction of the change that was about to be made in the armament of the *Shah;* and when he remembered the controversy between the hon. Member and others who did not share his views with reference to the armament of that vessel formerly, he thought it was a matter for congratulation that the Admiralty were enabled, by the great improvements that were taking place in modern gunnery, to give to such large and noble ships that power of fighting which it was very desirable they should possess. With regard to the engineer officers in the Navy, he was sure that the immense importance of their duties in the modern Navy was appreciated. With ships of complex structure, armed with guns mounted upon mechanical carriages, and worked by hydraulic gear, and containing an infinite number of steam-engines carrying out almost all the important work on the ship, it was obvious that the engineers had acquired a position of immense importance; and he could assure hon. Members who had spoken on the subject that there was no disposition on the part of the present Board of Admiralty to deny what was just to the engineers. A great deal had been done to improve their position in late years. Some points had been alluded to by his hon. and gallant Friend opposite with which he, as a sea officer, knew it was very difficult to deal. But, in saying that it was difficult to deal with them, he (Mr. Brassey) did not mean that the Admiralty ought not to make an effort to meet the just claims of those officers; but when the hon. Member referred to the question of cabin space, he must have known that he was dealing with a subject of a very difficult nature. The late Government had instituted a very improved system of training for the engineers; and he ventured to hope that that would be regarded, to some extent, as a real and lasting benefit to the class of officers for whose benefit it was intended. Of late years the tendency had been to advance materially the position of the engineer officers, and he could not doubt that that tendency would continue in the future. He thought, however, it was the duty of those who were responsible for the administration of the Naval Service to take care that the number of those officers, who were already receiving considerable emoluments, did not exceed the strict requirements of the Service; and he observed, by a comparison of numbers from year to year, that while the increase in the number of engineers had not been very marked, there had been a very great increase in the number of engine-room artificers. The claims of those men to an improved position were constantly pressed upon the Admiralty, and he had no doubt they would have to recognize those claims. It was by a combination between the engineer officer in command and the skilled engineer under his orders that the duties of the engine-room could best be conducted; and he felt confident that the movement in regard to the men in the engine-rooms would lead to the improvement they desired. With regard to the pensions of the engineers, that was, no doubt, one form in which their services could be rewarded; but there were various other forms of stimulating their zeal and efficiency. Those points would have to be considered, and a decision ought not to be hastily arrived at. In answer to the numerous demands which had been made on them, the Board had said they did not think it was wise for a Government, as soon as it acceded to Office, to make considerable changes in the scales of pay and pensions; and he did not think it would be fair and right that it should go forth to the artificers employed in the Dockyards that they might look for some improvement of pay as soon as a change took place in the Government of the country. Such an idea would interfere most seriously with the spirit of loyalty which ought to animate the Service, and he did not think it ought to be encouraged. The hon. Member for Cardiff had criticized, as it was natural he should, the ship-building policy of the Admiralty. He did not deprecate that criticism; on the contrary, he was thankful for it, and he considered that his hon. Friend was doing a public duty in criticizing the Admiralty, even with severity; and certainly he should not venture to enter on the task of meeting his hon. Friend on a controversy on professional matters; but, so far as he could supply information on the points raised, he should endeavour to do so. The Secretary to the Admiralty had drawn attention to one prominent feature in that policy. That was the unprecedented speed of 16 knots an hour, which it was proposed that the armoured cruisers which had been designed under the instructions of the present Board, and the high speed of the four *Leanders* projected under the late Board, should attain. No demonstration could be needed to show the great importance of strengthening the British Navy with vessels of great speed. He remembered Sir Spencer Robinson saying, in his speech on Mr. Barnaby's Paper on the *Nelson*—

> "Here, and repeatedly, I have spoken warmly about the speed of our ships; it is the question of all which I have most insisted on."

The Admiralty were now proposing to make a serious effort to strengthen the Navy with fast ships, which were necessary to the protection of British commerce, and they hoped their proposal would be regarded only as an instalment of what they hoped to accomplish. The hon. Member for Cardiff had only one really serious criticism with regard to the armoured ship. He said she was too costly. Well, he (Mr. Brassey) regretted that she was so costly; but the Admiralty had done their best to obtain technical advice on the subject, and it seemed to be inevitable that she should be costly; and it might be of interest to the Committee to have a few figures, in which he would make a comparison between the armoured cruiser which the present Board were proposing, and the last armoured cruisers which had been completed—the *Nelson* and the *Northampton.* The displacement of the new armoured cruiser was, he believed, within a few tons the same as the displacement of the *Nelson* and the *Northampton.* The cost of the *Nelson* was £278,000. In the new vessel £20,000 had to be added for the additional cost of the steel-faced armour, and £10,000 represented the additional cost of substituting copper for the zinc sheathing of the *Nelson.* Those additions made a total of £308,000, as compared with £278,000 for the *Nelson.* The total estimate for the cruiser was £325,000; and he understood that the additional sum was due to the great cost of the torpedo fittings, for the machine guns, and the more expensive character of the labour caused by the ship being built of steel. He thought he might fairly say of the new cruiser, that in the design a great stride had been made in naval architecture. She was designed for the protection of commerce; to be a terror to slower and less formidable vessels; and looking to the fact that she had a speed of 16 knots an hour, and a powerful armament, elevated above the water, distributed *en barbette* instead of two batteries or a crowded central battery, and had six light armour-piercing guns under cover on the main-deck, and a considerable number of machine guns and torpedoes, with ample room for the accommodation of a large crew when at sea, he ventured to say that she possessed a combination of features, some of them of a novel character, which it gave the Admiralty great satisfaction to have the privilege of bringing under the notice of the Committee. With reference to the manning of the Navy, that could be presented from a variety of points of view; and, perhaps, he might be able to give a few figures which would complete the Statement made by his hon. Friend. He understood that the total number proposed for the Service for the ensuing year was 35,200, as against 35,700 last year, and 35,150 for the two preceding years. The number of seamen now proposed would equal the average number provided in the four years from 1875 to 1879; and he thought a comparison of figures established the fact that the number of seamen was not being diminished, but that it was proposed to maintain the average for a considerable number of years. While the number of seamen remained stationary, the number of the non-seamen class showed a marked increase. The total of that class was, he believed, in 1865, 10,047; but now we had 11,731; and, no doubt, in the Steam-Navy a constant increase. Taking the seamen and the non-seamen class together, by comparing the totals for the last five years, there was an aggregate increase from 29,125, in 1875, to 30,988 for the ensuing year. For the last year, the total number was 31,433. He quite admitted the force of what his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay) had said with regard to the accumulation of seamen in the home ports; but he must remind the Committee that the accumulation was not due to a reduction in the number of seamen in the ships in commission. On the 1st May, the total complement of the ships in commission was 33,755, and on the 1st February last, 33,649, which was practically the same figure. He looked upon the training of the Navy with the deepest interest, and he fully realized the essential importance of giving our seamen an adequate portion of time at sea. The system of training was, he believed, in its initial stages, perfect; but there was reason to regret the considerable delay occasioned in passing boys into sea-going ships. The Admiralty were doing their best to reduce the period of detention in the harbour. The Flying Squadron afforded the best means of training boys for the Navy, and the Admiralty had sent a powerful fleet, on an extended voyage, under the command of Lord Clanwilliam. The Estimates now proposed included a list of ships for cruising under sail; and he thought he might give an assurance that thequestion of training would be watched with the greatest care, and if it should be found necessary, an additional vessel would be commissioned for that purpose. With regard to the Royal Naval Reserve, to which his right hon. Friend had referred, since 1868 it had an average strength of 15,705, and at the present time there was a large increase on the average of many years, and an increasing number of prime seamen were trying to enrol themselves in the Reserve. The Admiralty had watched with great interest the question of training merchant seamen, and they had been accustomed to hear deplorable accounts of the deterioration in that class of seamen. He was glad, however, to be able to say that the interest which the public and shipowners had taken in the improvement of merchant seamen had begun to take effect, and he had received, a few days ago, a report of a meeting of shipowners at Liverpool in connection with the management of sailors, at which a number of shipowners of high authority concurred in the opinion that a distinct change and improvement had taken place in the character of our merchant seamen. He hoped the advance already made in the numbers and efficiency of the Naval Reserve would continue, and that should there be any necessity for increasing the strength of the Reserve, they would find no difficulty in doing so.

SIR JOHN HAY: What is the character of the 5,496 men in the Second Class of the Reserve?

MR. T. BRASSEY said, he had only seen a Parliamentary Paper on the subject, and on looking at the last Report he found that the Second Class of the Reserve was satisfactory. It was not pretended that the character of these men was the same as the men of the First Class Reserve. There was one or two collateral points to which, in justice to the Navy, he wished to refer. In the first place, he would remind the Committee of the numerous services which were rendered by the Navy outside the strict line of their duty. In the recent gales the services of the Coastguard in saving life were conspicuous; and during the last five years the number of lives saved by the gallant exertions of the Coastguard were numbered by many hundreds. Another service which ought to be mentioned was that of our surveying officers. They were promoting and facilitating navigation in every quarter of the globe. The Reports of the Hydrographer for the past year, which had been laid on the Table of the House, contained a statement of the work which had been done in the last 12 months, reflecting the greatest credit on our surveyors. They had been at work on our own coasts, in the Sea of Marmora, in the West Indies, in Fiji, in the Pacific, on the coast of Newfoundland, in Queensland, China, and Japan; and, at the present time, a survey was being carried on in the Straits of Magellan and the channels leading to the Gulf of Penas, which promised the most useful results in enabling ships to double the continent of South America in sheltered waters, and thus avoid the high seas experienced in more Southern latitudes. With regard for the necessity for additional lights on the great highway to the East, arrangements were now in progress for placing lights at Melita and in the Red Sea under arrangements similar to those in the Cape Spartel Convention. It had been the intention of the present Board to avoid organic changes, and they believed that economy and efficiency would be best secured by preserving the continuity of our naval administration. They had entered upon their task in a spirit of reverence for the traditions of the Service; and he ventured to hope that they might not be less successful than their Predecessors in creating and maintaining a good Navy for the country.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, it was in 1877 a Committee sat to take into consideration the position of naval engineers. That Committee recommended, amongst other things, a considerable increase of pay, and he admitted it was quite true that if a Committee had made certain recommendations, and those recommendations had not been carried out in their integrity, a great deal of dissatisfaction would, no doubt, exist. If the recommendations of the Committee of 1877 had been carried out in full, the amount required would have been £28,000. He need not remind hon. Members that the Admiralty had not despotic power to give away money just as they pleased, for there was another power above them. What the Admiralty did was to endeavour to modify the recommendations of the Committee, and instead of giving £28,000 a-year, they only gave £18,000. The hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had referred to the recommendations concerning cabin accommodation. A cabin had always been given to the senior officer, but cabins were now provided where practicable for the two next senior officers. Engineers, too, had had a grievance with respect to mess; but this had been remedied, and their charge pay was considerably increased by the late Board of Admiralty. He need not tell the Committee what was done by his late right hon. Friend (Mr. Ward Hunt) with regard to the engineers. He established the College for them at Devonport, and had filled up the *Marlborough* for them at Portsmouth until a College was built, and had done much to improve this branch of the Service. Formerly, engineer students were solely selected from the sons of mechanics in the Yards; but his right hon. Friend recommended that they should be selected by competition and from a much larger field. The result had been that now there were applications from the sons of clergymen, doctors, and professional men generally, and in a very short time the status of this body would be raised to that level which all must desire to see it attain. If hon. Gentlemen had seen the work now being carried on by the students in the College at Devonport, they would be of opinion that the late Admiralty had accomplished very much to improve the position of engineers.

ADMIRAL EGERTON desired to refer to what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) with regard to the cadets. It seemed to him there was a great advantage in having a certain amount of competitive examination; but there was some danger in the case of young lads who were still, he understood, to be entered. A competitive examination, in the case of a lad between 13 and 14, might have some dangerous results; but he thought any objection that might exist would be removed if boys were not entered under 14. He would like to have heard from the hon. Gentleman whether it was intended to disestablish the *Britannia*, whether it was intended to keep the lads on board a stationary ship in harbour, or to educate them in a College on shore. He knew there were many difficulties in the way of a Naval College on shore. Whenever the thing was understood to be contemplated, every borough on the sea shore immediately put forward its claims. This had been the great stumbling-block; but the point would have to be settled if it be true, as he had been informed, that the *Britannia* was very likely to disestablish herself by falling to pieces. They had heard a great deal concerning the engineers. The case of these men was one of very long standing. It began from defective management something like 35 or 36 years ago. He was temporarily appointed to the command of a small steamer about that time. There was some difficulty as to mess, and the chief engineer was transferred from the stoke-hole to the only mess in the ship. He was a most excellent engineer, and a very good man in many ways, but he appeared extremely uncomfortable in the society in which he found himself. One engineer was transferred from the stoke-hole to the officers' mess, and all the rest were left below in their original position. That had been, more or less, maintained, and he was very glad the status of these officers was being gradually raised. Before long it would be found requisite that engineers should form a distinct class of officers; that they should hold similar positions to the engineers in the sister Service. A great deal, also, had been said about the Marines. In his opinion, the Navy could not have a better Reserve; and he was convinced that if they had a much larger force of Marines than at present, they would hardly be in want, to the extent they now were, of Naval Reserves, the small numbers of whom they were so constantly lamenting. It would have been well if the Marines had come within the purview of the present Vote, as it would be well if some of our great seaports were garrisoned by Marines. He could not see why they should not follow the example of the French Government, and place the government of the whole place or fortress in the hands of the naval commander of the place. However, the question of Marines was not one upon which he could now enter in detail, and he would content himself by expressing the hope that the requirements of this body would receive every attention, for it was one of the most valuable branches of the English Service. The right hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir John Hay) had said a good deal upon the training of our seamen; but he had not said one word more than he ought. There was considerable difficulty, no doubt, surrounding the training of seamen at present; but it seemed to him they might with advantage adopt, to a certain extent, the system which, during a short visit to Russia, he found obtained in that country. At that time there were no large iron-clads, but there were line-of-battle ships; and every one of these in the Cronstadt Division had attached to it a frigate and a brig, and the crews of the three vessels formed a brigade. The men got their turn of exercise in the different ships, and it seemed we might adopt some such system in our own Service. Although there could not be a frigate or a brig, there might be attached to all our heavy iron-clads, and especially to flagships on foreign stations, a vessel which might with advantage be used for surveying purposes. In that way they could combine a great deal of seamanship and useful training both for officers and men. There was one thing which might very well be avoided, and that was the practice which was now becoming rather general—namely, that of landing seamen in any skirmish that might take place, and calling them a naval brigade. He would not say that it was not a very proper thing to do in an emergency; but he was afraid it was becoming very popular amongst both officers and men, and it seemed to him to be a proceeding which could not be too much discouraged. In conclusion, he would only offer a few remarks with reference to shipbuilding. The hon. Member for Cardiff had rather found fault with the size of the iron-clads proposed to be built, and suggested the construction of a small class of iron-clads for the protection of our lines of commerce. He would like to see a fleet of such vessels if it were possible to have one. No one was more competent to design such a vessel than the hon. Member for Cardiff himself; but he (Admiral Egerton) had never seen a ship, or the design of a ship, which would combine small size with gun power, large storage for coal, and the power of keeping the sea for a considerable period; and what ironclad which did not possess these advantages would be of much use for the protection of our lines of commerce? He was very glad to find, from the programme which had been announced today, that there were to be constructed a number of partially protected cruisers of very great speed, because the more vessels they could have of this class to protect our lines of commerce the better. On the whole they might congratulate the Secretary to the Admiralty upon the clearness of his Statement, and upon the way it had been received by the Committee.

MR. GORST said, the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey) was good enough to say just now that he welcomed any criticisms, from any part of the House, on the Admiralty programme. That was a very sagacious and wise observation, because nothing would strengthen the hands of himself (Mr. T. Brassey) and of his political Colleagues more than that the Committee of Supply should become a reality instead of being a sham. Discussions upon the Naval Estimates were looked upon by the Admiralty authorities with the most profound contempt, and the proceedings of this evening were only an example of the sort of proceedings that had taken place in Committee of Supply on the Naval Estimates for a very large number of years past. They consisted of an address by the First Lord of the Admiralty or his Representative, and of a number of compliments passed between the Members of the two Front Benches; he hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would not think him insincere when he said that this evening they were unusually well deserved. Very few private Members of the House ventured to make any independent observations upon the Estimates, which, they knew full well, were treated with more or less contempt, and which did not produce the slightest effect whatever on the administration of the Admiralty. He would like to give the Committee one significant illustration of what he meant. Some years ago he was told by a naval official of his acquaintance that one of the greatest jobs of the Admiralty was the expenditure upon the Island of Ascension; and when the late Conservative Government were in Office, he ventured, in the timid and hesitating manner usually adopted by an hon. Member when his own political Party was in power, to call attention to the Island of Ascension, and to move for a Return of all the expenditure incurred by the Admiralty in relation thereto. A Return was voted and ordered by the House of Commons; but it was never made. He spoke to the Secretary to the Treasury, his hon. Friend the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), and he failed to give a satisfactory reason why the Return had not been made.

Mr. T. BRASSEY: A brief Return was placed on the Table last Session.

Mr. GORST said, that was not in consequence of anything that took place in the previous Parliament. Last Session, being in Opposition, and therefore able to express himself with more freedom, he took the liberty, when the House was in Committee of Supply, to call attention, on every Vote, to the unknown expenditure on the Island of Ascension, because in some way or other, either in the Medical or the Store Vote, or the Vote for New Buildings, the Island of Ascension cropped up. They were at last told by the Secretary to the Admiralty that the Island was treated as a ship, and that if they wished to understand the expenditure on the Island they also must regard it as a ship. Though the Secretary to the Admiralty thought the accounts were presented in a very irregular and improper manner, he said the Government had no wish to conceal the expenditure on the Island, and promised that a Return should be presented. He observed that the whole of that interesting discussion had not produced the slightest effect, and that the accounts of the expenditure on the Island were furnished this year in the same fashion. He mentioned these matters in order to show what a slight effect discussions in that House had upon the Admiralty. Now he came to the speech of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and he was inclined to assist him in the way pointed out by the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey) —that was, by criticizing to the best of his ability that part of the speech which seemed to call for criticism. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) would allow him to express the profound regret with which he heard his statement with reference to the entry of Naval Cadets. Last Session there was a discussion upon this subject, and from the remarks made on that occasion by the then Secretary to the Admiralty, and from the known liberality of sentiment and principle of the present Secretary to the Admiralty on this subject, many of them were in hopes that some more liberal and more worthy scheme of entering cadets in the British Navy would have emanated from the Board of Admiralty. He heard with some surprise and, he confessed, with some amusement, an expression from the Secretary to the Admiralty which he should scarcely have expected to hear from the Secretary of Admiralty of a Liberal and popular Administration. He understood there was some "social qualification" necessary for the admission of a boy to serve the Queen in her Navy, and that it was for the purpose of securing this social qualification that the system of nomination was now to be kept up. He would have thought that the present Administration would have had the courage to throw open the Naval Service to the boys of Great Britain, without any distinction of class. Have what educational qualification they thought necessary to secure, as far as they could, the best boys, physically and intellectually, to serve the Queen in the Navy; but do not let them have a Liberal Administration impressing upon the House of Commons the necessity of keeping up a social qualification for cadetships. There was no "social qualification" needed for officers in the Army, or for officers in the Civil Service. There was not a single public school in the country which would venture to impose a "social qualification" as a condition for the election of boys for its foundation; and if the foundationers of Eton or Winchester could associate with the sons of gentlemen, on equal terms, surely boys chosen as cadets on account of their intellectual qualifications could associate with the sons of gentlemen. That the present Government, and especially a Member of the Government of the known liberality of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan), should maintain this social qualification was extremely novel; and if the hon. Gentleman would allow him (Mr. Gorst), he would sympathize with him that he should have been obliged, in his official position, to advocate a scheme which must to him, in his heart of hearts, be thoroughly and utterly distasteful. He was very much disappointed that the Admiralty should persist in appointing their naval cadets at the extremely immature age they were now appointed. When boys were sent to sea in sailing ships, as in former days, there was a good deal to be said in favour of sending them at a very early age; but now-a-days they did not appoint boys in order to send them to sea, but for the purpose of sending them to school, and sending them to a very bad school. A boy did not now go to sea until he was 16 or 17 years of age; and they had the testimony of very eminent naval men and of his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Wigton (Sir John Hay), and of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Admiral Egerton), that boys would make more efficient officers in the Navy if they were appointed at a later age. He said just now that the *Britannia* was a very bad school. The House of Commons was not much favoured with the Reports of the examiners as to the state of education on the *Britannia*. He would like to place the school under the inspection of examiners from Oxford and Cambridge, in the same way as the public schools, and have the Reports laid before the House of Commons. Last Session he quoted in Committee of Supply from the few and meagre Reports which had been laid before the House concerning the *Britannia*, and he remembered that in one of them it was said the boys did not know how to use their dictionaries. In the last Session of Parliament, too, they had the advantage of listening to an extremely interesting speech from an officer of great distinction who had been the commander of the *Britannia*, then Lord Ramsay, now the Earl of Dalhousie. Had that noble Earl praised the *Britannia* they might have regarded his testimony as influenced, to some extent, by prejudice; but the noble Earl was certainly an unimpeachable witness, when he said, as he did last Session, that as an educational establishment the *Britannia* was a very great failure. He (Mr. Gorst) should have thought, after that declaration of Lord Ramsay, the Admiralty would either have abandoned the scheme of the *Britannia* altogether, or, if they had continued it, they would, at least, have come down to the House with some valid excuse for prolonging an experiment which one of their strongest supporters had so signally condemned. Last Session reference was also made to the great expense of the *Britannia*. It was, without doubt, the most expensive school to which they could possibly send a boy; and the question was very properly asked, why on earth did the Admiralty persist in taking little boys of 13 and sending them to a bad and expensive school at the cost of the nation, when it was quite certain that if they would throw open Cadetships for competition to boys of 16 or 17 they would get the very pick of the youth of the country, and have an entry of at least six or seven times as many boys as at present, from which number they could take their choice. Officers for the Army were chosen at the age of 18 or 19 from the general youth of the country; and why should not the Admiralty choose for the officers of the British Navy boys at the age of 16 or 17, whom the public schools of the country could supply in indefinite numbers, and then send them for such technical or peculiar training as might be necessary? That was a common sense scheme; it was a scheme which was supported by naval officers themselves; and he ventured to say if the Committee of Supply in that House on Naval Estimates were a reality it was one which would be immediately enforced upon the Government. The reason why the Admiralty would not listen to any suggestion made by hon. Members was that they regarded the Committee of Supply as a delusion and a sham. Now, he would like to observe that the Naval Estimates of this year showed an increase, and that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty was kind enough to say he felt compassion for future Boards of Admiralty, because he saw that the item for pensions was one which must cause a continual increase of the Naval Estimates from year to year. He should never blame the Government for an increase of their expenditure with regard to the Navy; but he thought it would be becoming if, either upon the Budget Statement, or upon the Appropriation Bill, or upon some other appropriate occasion, an apology of some kind were offered by the Prime Minister, or by some distinguished Member of the Party now in power, for the unreserved abuse which they, upon every possible occasion, lavished so abundantly on their Predecessors, because their Estimates were what they—the present Government—were pleased to call extravagant. He supposed that the Government must now discover that the expenditure which they had denounced when in Opposition was really necessary for the safety of the Empire; and it would be but graceful in them to offer some apology for the denunciations in which they had indulged. He would not enter into any details in regard to the Votes now; but he should like to say one word in answer to an observation which had been made respecting the grievances of the engine-room artificers in Her Majesty's Navy. It was said that what the Admiralty looked to was whether they could get a supply of persons for a particular service for the pay and advantages they offered. In regard to the Medical Service, the hon. Gentleman admitted the necessity of some improvement and reform, owing to the fact that it was found impossible to get good men to enter the Service. But they must also recollect that upon the terms they offered must depend the sort of men they would get. On their present terms, no doubt, they could get engine-room artificers; but the question was, what kind of engine-room artificers they would get? His (Mr. Gorst's) opinion was that they should give such terms as would give them picked men—the best men who could be obtained. They should not be content with getting ordinary artificers; but they should try to secure very first-class men indeed, because, in these days of complicated machinery on board ship, the possibility of the ship keeping the sea might depend upon the character of the artificers they had on board. If they had inferior men, the ship might have to go into dock to be repaired at considerable expense, and it would also be necessary for her to leave her station at a time probably when it was of the utmost importance that she should keep it. Therefore, it was bad economy to offer any other terms than those which would secure the services of the very best men. The same remark applied to the Marines. The Royal Marines had always hitherto been a picked class of men—the very best corps in the British Army—and, no doubt, if they offered to the Marines the same terms they were offering now, they would get men of some sort to join that corps; but the question was whether they would get the right sort of men. He was of opinion that it was an advantage not only to get men, but to get a class of men who would compare with the best men in the Army. It always used to be the principle that the pay and position of the Royal Marines while on shore should be equal to that of the Army, and when they were afloat the extra pay and extra advantages which they gained from their sea pay and their sea position were considered to be equivalent to the wear and tear of health and clothes, and the expenses they were put to consequent upon being at sea. But now he was told that last year the Admiralty abandoned that idea, and established a new principle—that the Marine must be satisfied if, on the average, with his sea pay when at sea and his shore pay when on shore, he found himself, on the whole, in a position equal to that of the Army. He (Mr. Gorst) ventured to say that, if this principle was carried out, they would get Marines, but not the same sort of Marines they had had in the Service hitherto. He was very reluctant to differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith); but he must protest against the doctrine which the right hon. Gentleman had laid down, that the Government were to be blamed for lessening the amount of repairs that in future were to be done by contract. There was a good deal to be said in favour of building a certain number of ships by contract; but there was nothing to be said in favour of repairing ships by contract. It was most important that every kind of repair should be capable of being executed in the Royal Dockyards, because in times of war they would be the only safe places in which to conduct such operations, as the ships could only be repaired where they were protected from hostile attack. They could not send a ship to be repaired at Newcastle-on-Tyne or in the Clyde if there was a hostile fleet at sea. Therefore it was necessary that the Royal Dockyards should be provided with every appliance for the repair of ships; and he was strongly of opinion that all the repairs should be done not by contract, but in the Royal Dockyards. He wished next to support what had been said by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) in reference to the conduct of the Admiralty in having, for the first time, cavalierly refused to give any kind of information as to the type of ship it was intended to build. On former occasions, the Committee had frequently been asked to vote large sums of money for the construction of ships, with the promise that, in a later part of the Session, some information should be given to the House as to the kind of ship it was intended to build; but he did not think there was a precedent for asking the Committee to vote the money to build a ship with an intimation that the First Lord of the Admiralty had no intention of determining the type of ship until the winter. He thought that was a demand which the Committee ought not to sanction, if there was any disposition on its part to exercise a will of its own. He should feel no difficulty in advising the Committee to stand out on this point, and refuse to vote the money until some information was provided to it as to the mode in which the money was to be spent. He did not think that laying before the Committee some information as to the type of ship was so entirely useless as some hon. Members might think. It was quite true that there were not more than half-a-dozen Members, of whom the hon. Member for Cardiff was no doubt one, who were qualified to criticize the designs of the Admiralty; but there was nothing more wholesome for a Public Department than that it should have to submit its designs to criticism in a public Assembly like the House of Commons. It made them a great deal more careful in regard to their work and designs. The whole of the work of naval construction at the present moment was an experiment. Nobody knew what would occur if the ship went into action. Everyone admitted that the able theorists by whom the ships of the present time were designed would be very much benefited by a little practical experience, if practical experience were possible; but as in such a matter as the behaviour of ships in naval warfare no experience was as yet possible, it was desirable that they should have the next best thing to actual experience—and that was public criticism in that House. Although hon. Members themselves were not competent, probably, to criticize the designs of the Admiralty, there were plenty of persons who were able to do so, who would look into the designs if they were laid upon the Table of the House, and would make their views heard and felt by the Admiralty. He must say himself that he thought it would be very much for the advantage of the country, and very much for the safety and efficiency of our iron-clads, if the Admiralty gave an opportunity for criticizing the designs they intended to carry out. He did not think what happened in the case of the *Inflexible* was of a character to induce the House of Commons to place the blindest possible faith in the designs of the Admiralty. He presumed that many Members of the Committee were acquainted with the story of the *Inflexible*, and he would tell it in a few words. The *Inflexible* was a ship designed by the Board of Admiralty, with a centre citadel, and unarmoured ends; and she was to be constructed so that if the unarmoured ends were shot away, so that the centre citadel alone remained, the ship would still possess sufficient stability to extricate herself in action, and get to a place of safety. Five years ago, the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) pointed out to the House, with the great knowledge he possessed in regard to matters of that kind, that the Admiralty promises would never be fulfilled, and that when the unarmoured ends were shot away, the *Inflexible*, instead of maintaining her stability, would capsize. Now, that was a startling statement—so startling, that the Admiralty was constrained to appoint a Committee of experts, who reported not that the hon. Member for Cardiff was wrong, but that such a thing was not likely to happen. At the same time, they were obliged to confess that if the unarmoured ends were shot away the statement of the right hon. Member for Cardiff was substantially correct. But the Report of the Committee revealed an entirely new and unexpected danger to the *Inflexible*—namely, that if the unarmoured ends were not shot away, but only seriously damaged, and if she was driven through the water, not at a great speed, but at about eight knots an hour, she would be extremely likely to go down head first. That was what the experts found out. This story ought to be remembered by the Committee and the country, and the moral he drew from it was, not to put blind confidence in the Constructive Department of the Admiralty. He thought, under these circumstances, the Committee should be in a position to form an independent opinion of its own, and that, after the case of the *Inflexible*, they might, at least, ask that the designs for a new ship of war should be laid on the Table.

Mr. STUART RENDEL said, he was afraid that, in addressing the Committee that night upon one of the subjects which had come under debate, he must accept the position of a partizan. He referred to the question of gunnery, which, he understood the Chairman to intimate, ought to be discussed now or not at all. Probably he might not have thought it necessary to address the Committee if it had not been for a remark which fell from his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty. In summarizing, in one of the most lucid passages of the brilliant Statement he had made, the qualities of the new vessel he proposed to lay down, his hon. Friend spoke of her as combining the speed of the *Leander* with the gun power possessed by a first-rate battle-ship, such as the *Dreadnought*, the *Devastation*, or the *Thunderer*. Yet the guns of the new vessel, while of equal power, would be of no more than half the weight of the guns of the *Dreadnought*, *Devastation*, and *Thunderer*. Therefore, it was now officially declared that it was possible to arm our ships with guns of double the penetrative power of the existing armaments while keeping within the same weight. That statement should give considerable food for reflection; for it thus appeared that, as far as armament was concerned, the whole British Navy might be considered only at half power according to the existing state of artillery. It was admitted that the gun was a primary element in the value of the ship; and it would seem indeed, now agreed that the ship was to be made for the gun, and not the gun for the ship. These admissions gave importance to the circumstance he wished to impress on the Committee—namely, that the advance of artillery rendered our existing naval armament obsolete. That being so, he was among those who had waited with great anxiety to hear what the Admiralty proposed to do in order to rehabilitate the Navy with respect to its guns; and he heard, with regret, the comparatively meagre measures which were to be taken, and the small extent to which the required re-armament of the Fleet was to be carried. It was proposed to re-arm the *Shah*—at any rate, the statement to that effect of the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) had not been negatived—and the Secretary to the Admiralty spoke of 14 guns having actually been ordered for the Admiralty. But it must be remembered that there were no less than 1,000 guns of one calibre alone of this obsolete character afloat; and that our newest and most costly unarmoured vessels were depending exclusively for their power on the feeblest of such guns. It must further be remembered that the cost of the armament of a ship constituted but a small proportion of the total cost of the ship, probably amounting, in an iron-clad vessel, to no more than from 5 to 10 or 12 per cent. Moreover, the cost of maintaining the ship on service was always the same whatever the armament. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) spoke truly of the willingness with which the Admiralty adopted costly improvements and additions in ships under construction, and instanced the case of torpedo launches and electric lights. An illustration of enlightened enterprize afloat even more pointed might be drawn from the Mercantile Service. Not many years ago, there was a great revolution in the type of marine engines. At once the advantage was realized by the Mercantile Marine. The owners of merchant ships, within the last three or four years, had entirely re-constituted all the leading lines of steamers so far as engines were concerned, and that, too, at a cost and an inconvenience relatively far greater, compared with the value of the ship, and compared with the disarrangement of the affairs of the shipowners, than would be incurred by the Admiralty in order to effect a re-armament of the Navy. If a great and similar revolution had, as was now officially admitted, taken place in those engines of war which constituted the present armament of our ships, one would fairly expect to have the matter of armaments at once revised and dealt with. No doubt, the Admiralty was influenced by the consideration of what was going on in the foreign Navies; and he admitted the force of the observation which had been made that night, that too pointed allusions should not be made to what our neighbours were doing in relation to artillery and ships. But the Admiralty must be aware, and the Comittee ought to know, that one Continental Power alone was now making 116 guns, every one of which was equal in power and superior in weight to the heaviest gun of the new cruiser, and all of which were being constructed for ships actually building or afloat. He would, however, venture to trouble the Committee with facts nearer home. This great revolution in the character of artillery was first accomplished, not abroad, but in England, and, now, fully three years ago. As long ago as June, 1878, full accounts were authoritatively published of the remarkable results then already attained with guns of precisely the same character as those which the Secretary to the Admiralty had alluded to that night. The serious and powerful comments which were then made in the public Press undoubtedly showed what must be the inevitable course of artillery in the immediate future. But the benefit of the progress accomplished these three years back did not appear to have been secured to the British Admiralty. Not a single gun of the new character had been, as yet, put afloat in the British Navy, and the three years' start obtained in this country had been lost as far as the Admiralty was concerned. He would not speak further of what was being done abroad; but he would venture to state what was being done within his own knowledge in one workshop at home. The total number of guns actually made and mounted, or now in course of construction, equal or superior in power to the broadside guns of this new armoured cruiser which they hoped to see afloat in the next three or four years, was now already not less than 176. He could give the details if he were not afraid of wearying the Committee; but the broad fact was that there were 176 guns of that character actually afloat, or likely soon to be afloat, and in all 373 guns of the new type were already made, or were now in the course of construction in this country alone. He thought the fact that so many large guns, possessing double the power, weight for weight, of those of the British Navy, were now in the course of distribution all over the world was one that should influence the opinion of this country and the action of the Admiralty. He did not refer to the subject in any spirit of hostile criticism. He was well aware that, in relation to the question of ordnance, the Admiralty was not its own master. The business of the Admiralty was to design the ships, but not to design the guns. By ancient tradition and usage the gun question came under the control of the War Office. The Committee would, no doubt, agree that the demand for guns in the Fleet was greater and more critical and important than the demand made by the Army itself. The question of ordnance was not only more vital and critical to the Navy than to the Army; it was also, in many respects, different in character; and yet the Navy was unable to exercise an independent initiation and control. He hoped the knowledge of these facts would stimulate the demands of the Admiralty upon the War Office, and induce it to ask for something more of what the hon. Member (Mr. Trevelyan) called the generous treatment of the War Office.

SIR WILLIAM PALLISER said, the question of steel-faced armour plates was one which, notwithstanding its importance, had not received sufficient attention; and he therefore desired to say a few words on the subject. Many years ago experiments had been made with steel armour plates, and great expectations were formed of the results to be derived from their use; but it was found that, although it was very difficult to perforate them, they broke up on being struck. But experiment had also shown that armour formed by rolling steel on iron armour plates had very great power. He reminded the Committee of the engagement which took place between the *Huascar* and the Chilian vessel. He thought there were many ships in the Navy, the resisting power of whose armour was no stronger than that of the *Huascar*, and that it was worth the while of the Constructive Department of the Navy to consider whether the inefficient wrought iron plates might not be replaced by something more substantial, in the shape of steel-faced armour plates. With regard to breech-loading guns, however opinions might differ as to the exposure of breech and muzzle-loaders for a number of years to the action of the weather, there could be no two opinions as to our ships being armed with the most powerful breech-loading guns, and those which would give the greatest velocity.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, two or three years ago he called attention to the situation of the junior lieutenants, and the then First Lord of the Admiralty admitted the justice of his appeal, and was good enough to promise that the matter should be taken into consideration. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the subject that evening, and stated how he had dealt with it; and he was bound to say that he had done so in a manner likely to tend to the benefit of the Service, and to give satisfaction to the officers concerned. But with regard to the proposal that senior lieutenants of eight years' standing should have a rank equal to that of major in the Army, he must point out that *inter se,* in the Navy this gave them no rank at all, and the lieutenant of 40 years of age would be in precisely the same position as the young man of 21 years of age, while his pay of £125 a-year would remain the same as that of the veriest tyro in the Service. There could be no doubt that a hopeless feeling existed amongst some of our best officers with regard to promotion, and that the hardship they suffered was detrimental to the Public Service. The question was, therefore, well worthy the attention of the Admiralty ; and he trusted they would deal with it in the same fair and generous spirit which had been shown in the case of the junior lieutenants.

Mr. D. GRANT said, the Navy of this country had passed through a series of changes. We had first the sailing ship, next the steam ship, then the armoured steam ship and the battery, and now we had the torpedo vessel. He agreed with the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) that the scientific knowledge possessed by naval engineers should have its representation at the Board of Admiralty. Most of the recent applications of science in naval affairs had originated with foreign nations. For instance, iron-clad armour had originated in France, turret ships in America, torpedoes in Austria, and pebble powder in Germany. In each case there was a marked utilization of scientific and engineering skill, and a distinct advance in the relative importance that science bore to the final result. Scientific knowledge was evidently the issue upon which war would in future be decided; and if England took up her position in this respect to which the genius of her people entitled her, we should undoubtedly be able to hold our position as a great Naval Power. Quite lately he had read of a machine called "Erichsen's Destroyer," which, if all that was said of it was true, must produce an entire revolution in the conditions of naval warfare. It was, therefore, most necessary that the Admiralty should avail themselves of the scientific knowledge of the day, which went to the root of the whole question of our naval supremacy.

Mr. PULESTON cordially congratulated the Secretary to the Admiralty on his interesting speech ; the only fault he found with it was that his hon. Friend stopped just at the place where certain specific statements as to the position of some of the classes in the Dockyards and in the Service were to come in; and he (Mr. Puleston) thought it was unsatisfactory, and calculated to create a great deal of disaffection amongst officers and men employed in the Service, that constant reference should be made in a mysterious way to probable changes that might take place hereafter, and that the matter should always remain indefinite and undecided. With reference to the Royal Marines, for instance, the subject had been discussed on many occasions in that House, in Committee, and elsewhere ; but no other point had been arrived at than that their case was being considered, and that the present First Lord would take it into consideration some time during the year. That sort of information, going amongst the persons concerned, naturally interested in their own welfare, was certainly not calculated to make them more contented, or to make them better understand their real position. The same remarks applied, in a stronger sense, to the naval engineers, of whom a great deal had been justly said that evening. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty had referred to the effect of supply and demand in speaking of the medical officers of the Navy; but he had not mentioned one word on the subject of naval engineers, to which his attention had been lately drawn in more ways than one. Several years ago their case was considered at great length by the Admiralty, and a very competent Committee was appointed to discuss the questions which it was thought necessary to bring forward in the interest of the Service and in the interest of the engineers themselves. That Committee was presided over by the present First Sea Lord; and, notwithstanding that the distinguished Admiral had occupied this position for several years, very little concession had been made on the lines of the Report. The case having been thoroughly considered by so competent a Committee, presided over by one who occupied so prominent a position at the Admiralty, it was, he thought, not unreasonable that the officers in question should be furnished with some information as to what their position in the Service was to be. At all events, he hoped his hon. Friend would say either that something of a definite character was to be done, as a step in the direction of the recommendation of the Committee, or that it was decided that at present no further concession would be made. He ventured to say the question of repairs, and giving out repairs to private dockyards, had been already discussed at such a length as to render it presumably quite unnecessary again to refer to it. The Committee would remember that not long ago, with all the appliances at our Dockyards, contracts were freely given out to private yards, and the men accustomed to the work were discharged at a moment's notice. That time had gone by, and he was the more surprised to find so much stress had been laid upon the question of giving work to private yards, when Her Majesty's Dockyards had the means necessary to do all the repairs essential to the Service. He felt there was some disposition to go too far in giving contracts for shipbuilding. That might be to some extent necessary; but repairs should certainly not go outside the Dockyards under any circumstances. Upon all these points he trusted that the views of the Admiralty would be definitely stated. He again thanked the hon. Gentleman for his speech, which was extremely interesting, and rejoiced in the fact that he was able frankly to say that the present Board had adopted so much of the reforms inaugurated by their Predecessors.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) took some exception to the general discussion which preceded the Navy Estimates. But as for himself, he (Mr. Trevelyan) never realized before the benefit which that discussion gave to Departmental officials, even when those officials enjoyed the advantage of a little Parliament of their own, for each person was able to give the result of his own mature experience, instead of making isolated reflections as suggested by chance items in the Votes. The hon. Member for Cardiff had commented with great force on the fact that the *Inflexible* had taken so long to finish. But the present Admiralty were in the proud position, alone among Boards of Admiralty, of having finished the *Inflexible.* The ship would be completed by the 31st March, and commissioned in June. The hon. Member for Cardiff approved of the theory of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, that ships were machines for carrying guns. Well, the Admiralty were pushing forward the completion of those machines, and he was glad to say the hon. Member for Cardiff had approved their conduct in so doing. The hon. Member objected to their taking ships out of the programme; but no ship in this year's programme would be taken out. Then the hon. Member went on to complain that an iron-clad had been placed in the programme about which no explanation had been given to Parliament; but it was the intention of Lord Northbrook that before the end of the Session the desired explanation should be given. If hon. Members looked to the Estimates they would find that only £1,100 had been taken for the labour on the ship in question. The hon. Member for Montgomeryshire (Mr. Stuart Rendel) complained that he had not spoken in sufficient detail of the steps taken to provide the Navy with guns; but his hon. Friend showed that he was not entirely responsible. Money had been taken for eight 9-inch breech-loading suns, four 8-inch breech-loading guns, and no fewer than 103 6-inch breech-loading guns, £57,000 more had been taken for the purpose this year than last year, and the *Shah* and the *Raleigh* would be armed with two 8-inch guns and 24 and 26 6-inch guns respectively. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) asked what had become of the scheme for inducing men to re-engage after many years' service; and to that he (Mr. Trevelyan) replied that the scheme had certainly proved unsuccessful, only 40 or 50 men having joined under the circumstances. However, a Departmental Committee was then sitting to consider this long service question. The number of boys in the Service on the 1st of February, 1880, was 4,999, and at the corresponding period of this year it stood at 4,953. The stokers and artificers now numbered 7,459 as against 7,480 in the previous year. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had made a rather sharp attack upon him for an unfortunate observation which he made with regard to the social qualifications of officers in the Navy. What he said was that one great objection to open competition had always been that it did not provide for the social qualifications of the candidates, and that under the system as altered those social qualifications had been provided for by the way in which the nominations were made. He utterly denied that by that observation he could be supposed to imply that open competition would introduce a class with inferior qualifications. He had never said that the *Britannia* was the most expensive school in the world. He held that, expensive as the system was, it might be worked in a less expensive manner. He desired not to express any opinion with regard to the Royal Marines. The question of the engineers had been quite recently decided by the late Government, and the present Board of Admiralty did not think it advisable to re-open the matter, at the same time they fully recognized the change going on in the status of the engineers; the nature of that change was carefully watched, and if any reforms were considered necessary they would be carefully noted by the Admiralty. At the same time, he thought their position was looked upon as a good one, for he saw that in 1877, for 42 posts they had 142 candidates; in 1878, for 60 posts they had 214 candidates; in 1879, 42 vacancies attracted 230 candidates; and in 1880 they had 188 candidates for 65 posts. And what was the character of those candidates? The hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) said they were just the kind of young men they wanted; therefore, he must say, he felt very doubtful whether, with those facts before them, they would be justified in raising the scale of payment of the engineers. At the same time, their status deserved careful attention, and it was admitted that those officers deserved somewhat different treatment from that which they had hitherto received. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) that as long as he was at the Admiralty he should carefully watch over the requirements of the engineers. As to a separate mess, that recommendation had been carried out in all sloops, gunboats, and corvettes, and arrangements were still in progress with regard to it. The vessels in commission in which there was no engineers' mess now numbered 96. As to cabin accommodation, it was difficult to build more for want of space; but the recommendations of the Committee on that subject were always kept in view, and as new ships came in commission the special cabins would be fitted for the two senior engineers. It now only remained for him to thank the Committee for the great attention and extreme courtesy with which they had received the Estimates, and to request them to get through as many of the Votes as they could that night. There was an understanding that they should not press Vote 2, as an interesting point would arise upon it as to the question of rum, which point it would be well to have discussed on going into Committee. Nor would he, at that time of night, think of pressing forward Votes 6, 10, or 11.

Mr. W. H. SMITH wished to say just one word with reference to the design of the new armour-clad ships. He ventured to think that the designs for these vessels should be approved this year. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Trevelyan), when he gained a little more experience — and no one could have profited more by his experience than had the hon. Member so far— would see the absolute necessity of arriving soon at a decision with regard to the design which was to be carried into effect next year. He understood that no considerable progress was to be made with the new vessels this year; but unless the design was fully considered and decided by the Board of Admiralty this year—and by "this year" he meant this year ending with the Session—there would be no hope of making progress with it during the coming year, and there could be no greater extravagance, if he might so say, than to leave the Dockyards without the proper amount of work. There should be ships in the Dockyards in every stage of building; and it was, therefore, as necessary to commence a ship as to finish one. He agreed with the principle laid down that ships should be completed as soon as possible; but it was also necessary that ships should be in course of progress. Unless the ships were begun this summer, so that the proper orders could be given to the Dockyard authorities to enable them to commence next year, the Government would find themselves several months in arrear.

MR. TREVELYAN: I am sure the observations which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman will be carefully considered by Lord Northbrook and the Board, as also the suggestions and general recommendations that have been made by the Committee.

MR. GORST asked the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) whether he could clear up the point to which reference had been already made—namely, as to the three ships which were in the programme of last year; but which had now, apparently, dropped out of the programme? It had been said that one of the ships which had been agreed upon by the late Government had been abandoned by the present Government, so that there had only been two left to be constructed. Had these two, then, dropped out of the programme?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thought he had better answer the question. When the late Government, last year, produced their Estimates, they proposed three new iron-clads for the current year; but when he had submitted the revised Estimates, on behalf of the present Government, later in the year, he had told the House that it was more important to complete the vessels in hand. Lord Northbrook had decided upon dropping one, so that he was proceeding with only two. These vessels had been commenced during the present year, and with one of them—the *Collingwood*—considerable advance had been made. The other one was the new-armoured cruiser described by the Secretary to the Admiralty; therefore, two of the vessels which were proposed last year had been commenced.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £2,704,226, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.

(3.) £180,583, Admiralty Office.

CAPTAIN PRICE wished to know if he understood correctly from the Secretary to the Admiralty that they were to go through with all the Votes, save Votes 2, 6, 10, and 11? He thought the understanding was that they were to take only the Votes for men and wages, as they had done in the case of the Army last night. If they were asked to do more than that, he should certainly move to report Progress.

MR. TREVELYAN said, there had been an understanding that the Votes on which there was likely to be an important discussion should be postponed; but this was not a Vote of that nature. As to the other Votes, he did not think it was necessary that the Committee should stop their consideration at that period of the evening. The Committee might go on, at any rate, an hour or two longer.

MR. W. H. SMITH hoped Votes 6 and 10 would not be taken that night; but, irrespective of these, he did not see why the Committee should not go on with the Votes up to 14. Perhaps it would be agreeable to the Secretary to the Admiralty to take the Votes up to Vote 14.

SIR JOHN HAY said, that with regard to Vote 3, he observed that there was an increase in the charge, and he should be glad if the hon. Gentleman would point out how the increase had occurred. A great deal more was spent under this head than was spent before the changes took place 10 years ago, although great efforts had been made to reduce the expenditure under this particular Vote. The Pension List had been largely increased, with a view of reducing the Vote; but to no avail. He hoped the hon. Member would tell them what the amount would be if the increase of the Pension List were included in it.

MR. TREVELYAN replied, that the charges on the Pension List and the Votes came nearly to an equilibrium at the present moment.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £194,481, Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

SIR JOHN HAY wished again to urge upon the Committee the necessity for adding training ships to the Coastguard ships at the various ports. If a small recruiting ship were attached to each of the Coastguard stations, the men who were now supernumerary, at Sheerness, for instance, could pass in gunnery on the Coastguard ships during the summer season. The Government should not lose sight of the advantage to be gained to the Service in that way.

CAPTAIN PRICE wished to know what was the exact position with regard to the Coastguard. They had been told this evening that there was no difficulty in getting men, and that the number was only 70 short of the number voted; but Admiral Phillimore complained in his Report of the lack of candidates, and said that as a consequence the number had been reduced. If the number had been reduced in consequence of the lack of candidates, it was hardly correct to say there was no lack of candidates. It appeared to him that they only voted according to the number of men they could get.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the Report referred to was made in 1879, and referred to a time when there had been some difficulty in getting the requisite number of men; but of late the recruiting had gone on more briskly, and they were within 16 of the requisite number.

MR. JENKINS thought that it would be well to recruit amongst the able seamen, and not to include men of the second and third class any more than was necessary.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the subject was under the consideration of the Board of Admiralty, and steps had been taken to encourage the enlistment of men of the first class, rather at the expense of those of the second and third classes.

SIR JOHN HAY did not think any difficulty in keeping up the Coastguard could be proved so long as they had the requisite number of men; but he would point out that the reason petty officers were not ready to enlist in this Service was because they were anxious to serve in the Navy for pensions.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, seamen could enter the Coastguard after eight years' service, and the petty officers served their 20 years in the Navy. He had no doubt that, with sufficient care, it would always be possible to keep up the numbers of the Coastguard.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £120,382, Scientific Branch.

MR. GORST wished to know whether care was taken to properly apportion the expenses of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich between the Consolidated Fund and the Greenwich Hospital Fund. He did not wish to raise once more the old question of the rent of Greenwich Hospital, although he saw that, notwithstanding the discussion that occurred last year, the Admiralty still persisted in paying only the meagre sum of £100 a-year for the magnificent buildings at Greenwich which were used for the purpose of a College. This Vote was full of instances in which salaries and expenses were apportioned between the Royal Naval College and the Greenwich Hospital Fund, and one was disposed to fear that, unless the Admiralty took great pains to do justice between the two, Greenwich Hospital would suffer in the apportionment. There was, for instance, an allowance to the medical officer to Greenwich Hospital School—a sum of £80 a-year. That was paid for services rendered to the Naval College, and, no doubt, it would be stated that the remainder of the salary was paid out of the Greenwich Hospital School Fund. This, according to the Estimate, was to be found on page 228; but when they turned to page 228, they found there no further information respecting the salary of this medical officer. Therefore he was unable to tell from the Estimates what proportion was borne by the School, and what proportion was borne by the College. He should like to know by whom the salary of this medical officer was apportioned between the two departments, and on what principle that apportionment was made.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that the financial arrangement to which the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) referred were in the Estimates which the Government found prepared when they came into Office last year. He did not think there could be many instances of the kind the hon. and learned Member referred to. He saw that in this particular case it had been found convenient that the College should avail itself of the professional services of the medical officer of the Greenwich Hospital School. This, he understood, had actually been the case. With regard to the rent paid for the occupation of the buildings for the purposes of a Royal Naval College, they had a full discussion on the subject last Session; and the Committee generally agreed that, under the circumstances of the case, the arrangement was not inequitable. If the Royal College had not been placed in these noble buildings, no doubt they would have been deserted. The maintenance of the buildings was a very expensive matter; and, therefore, on the whole, the Committee ought to feel very satisfied with the arrangement that existed. After all, the occupation of Greenwich Hospital for the purposes of a Naval College was subject to revision; and if, at any time, a great war occurred, and it was found necessary once more to use the building for the purpose of a hospital, it could be, without much difficulty, put to that use.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, that when the late Admiralty came into Office they found the same officers doing duty for both the School and the College. They found that a very inconvenient arrangement; they therefore altered it, and at present each had its own staff, with the exception of the medical officer, who acted for both.

MR. GORST said, his complaint was that in one part of the Estimates they were told that the details of a Vote would be found in the Appendix; but when the Appendix was referred to nothing about the Vote was to be discovered.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that was the mistake of those who drew up the Estimates.

MR. GORST said, the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey) had answered an attack he had never made, because he had expressly stated that he did not wish to raise the old question of the rent of the Greenwich Hospital Buildings. He did not wish to take the Admiralty by surprise; and he, therefore, in view of future discussion on the question, pointed out that there were a great many officers connected with the Admiralty—clerks of the Admiralty itself and officers employed in the Naval College—part of whose salaries were paid, or who had gratuities paid out of the Greenwich Hospital Fund. When they came to the Greenwich Hospital Vote, he should ask a question as to that—namely, what was the proportion paid out of the Hospital Fund, and what proportion came from the ordinary source?

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that when a favourable opportunity arose, and the question was gone into, he would give the hon. and learned Member the information he desired.

CAPTAIN PRICE wished to have some information as to the regulations under which the next examination in June would take place. It seemed that as matters now stood some candidates ought to be examined under the old system and some under the new system; but a person writing to him from one of the large schools for training cadets had written to him saying that the candidates were all to go up under the new system. Were they to understand that those cadets, whose nominations were granted previously, would come under the new regulations or not?

MR. R. W. DUFF wished to know whether any attention had been paid to the question of sailing ships for training purposes?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR inquired whether the series of experiments instituted with regard to navigation and shipbuilding under Mr. Froude were to be continued; and whether any sum was included in the Estimates for their continuation?

SIR JOHN HAY asked why there should be no longer any instruction in Latin?

MR. GORST observed that, although instruction in Latin was abolished, a salary was to be paid to the examiner in Latin.

MR. TREVELYAN said, his opinion was that all the names of cadets down on the First Lord's List would have to go through an open competition, except the Service cadets—the sons of officers killed in action or drowned—who would require, however, to obtain 660 marks, and the Colonial cadets. Instruction in Latin on the *Britannia* had lately been laid aside, all the teaching having been required to get the cadets through the scientific course.

MR. W. H. SMITH referred to the experiments under Mr. Froude, and mentioned that provision was made in this Vote for only £250 for rewards; although, he believed, the cost of the experiments at Torquay was very much larger. It was understood that there would be a new arrangement for this year, but he could not detect any trace of it; and it would be very satisfactory to know that provision was made in the Estimates for carrying on those experiments from time to time with regard to ships of the best form and stability. Provision had been made for their continuation, and he had directed that the matter should be mentioned to his successor at the Admiralty.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, there was a sum of £200 every month provided for the experiments under Mr. Froude. That came under sub-head H, Section 2, Vote 10, in which £18,000 was taken for experimental purposes, as against £12,000 last year.

Mr. JENKINS urged the importance of good sea-going ships being attached to the *Britannia* for training purposes, instead of training brigs, so that there should be no more terrible disasters such as they had had to deplore in the past two years.

Mr. T. BRASSEY stated that that subject had been constantly and carefully considered by the Naval Members of the Admiralty. The present view of the Board was that the cadets were too young to be sent out at once in sea-going vessels in attendance on the *Britannia*. The brigs attached to the *Britannia* were managed with great skill and success, and under the arrangements made there was no reason to apprehend danger.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR complained that there were no details given as to the experiments to be made.

Mr. TREVELYAN explained that the amount set down in Section 2, Vote 10, related to all matters of shipbuilding and guns.

Mr. R. W. DUFF, again referring to the training of cadets, said, that, as he understood, cadets were not to be sent to sea until they were 17 or 18 years of age. He thought, however, that they should have some preliminary training in a sea-going vessel before going to sea, in order to get their sea-legs. They were to have three years' instruction on the *Britannia* before going to sea; but he wished to know what the Admiralty would do during that time to train them as seamen?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, there was no intention to alter the arrangements in this respect. He did not think anyone had urged that boys were to be turned into seamen before they were 15 or 16 years old, and the Board of Admiralty were of opinion that up to that age the cadets required education to prepare them intellectually for the life they were to lead.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £71,917, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £65,969, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(8.) £22,138, Marine Divisions.

(9.) £70,460, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.

(10.) £10,069, Martial Law, &c.

Captain PRICE wished to know why there was an increase of £650 for the subsistence of prisoners in prisons abroad?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the increase was merely a nominal increase, for a corresponding reduction had been made in Vote I., Sub-head D.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he thought some provision was necessary in various parts of the world for dealing with prisioners who had not been received in Consular prisons. There were very few prisons abroad in which naval prisoners could be confined; but as corporal punishment was to be abolished, such provision was more necessary than it had hitherto been. It would be inhuman to keep prisoners on board ships in hot climates; and it would not conduce to discipline if there was no possibility of inflicting the real punishment which the sentences implied. And to defer punishment until a prisoner was brought home, allowing him, in the meanwhile, to discharge his ordinary duty, was unreasonable.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the Admiralty had given orders for careful inquiries to be made by the Admirals in command of the various stations abroad as to the accommodation in the prisons.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £127,421, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of various Miscellaneous Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882."

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he found, under sub-section C, a reduction of £5,000 for the passage money of officers, &c., and he should like some information upon that. He was aware that, as a rule, the actual cost of the passage of officers, seamen, and marines was rather in excess of the amount voted; and from time to time the deficiency had to be made up as the circumstances seemed to require. It was true that during the last year the reliefs for the ships of the Australian Squadron were sent out by the *Raleigh*, and that reduced the average cost for the year; but he should be glad to know whether the Admiralty had sufficient information to justify the conclusion that the average cost would be reduced, because, although reliefs for Australia would not be required this year, other reliefs would be required; and he was afraid the average was not likely to be diminished.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked whether it was true that the Suez Canal tolls were higher than they were before this country bought its shares in the undertaking?

MR. TREVELYAN thought the Secretary to the Admiralty was less likely to be able to answer the last question than some experienced owner of merchant vessels. With regard to subsection C, the Admiralty thought the arrangements proposed by the Transport Department were satisfactory. They consisted in minute details, and on every effort being made to send out as many sailors as possible in troopships and transports instead of paying for passage by other vessels.

MR. JENKINS said, complaints had been made some years ago with reference to the charges for pilotage in the Suez Canal. He did not think much alteration had been made; and the charges were excessive. He hoped the attention of the Admiralty would be called to the matter; and that some recommendation would be made to the English Directors in the Company in order to obtain a reduction of the excessive rates, which amounted to one franc per ton.

MR. STUART RENDEL asked for some information as to whether the proposed Committee would sit at Woolwich or not, observing that, in a matter of this kind, the locality of the Committee was of importance.

SIR JOHN HAY wished to know what had been done with regard to war medals for marines and sailors engaged in South Africa? The Secretary of State for War had stated recently that, with a few exceptions, the soldiers had received their medals. He thought it was desirable to distribute the medals to the Marines and Navy as soon as possible.

MR. GORST desired information respecting the Metropolitan Police who were engaged in the Dockyards. Subhead U applied not only to the Water Police, but to the Metropolitan Police employed in the Dockyards. Properly speaking, he ought to raise his present question on Vote 6; but, inasmuch as there were usually a large number of interesting questions raised on that Vote, he had never been able to intrude upon the attention of the Committee when Vote 6 had been under discussion in order to ask for particulars in relation to this very important matter. The Committee was, no doubt, aware that under 23 & 24 *Vict.*, c. 139, the old Dockyard police, who were servants of the Admiralty, and who were paid for entirely as Admiralty servants, were turned over to the Metropolitan Police Force, and became available for all Metropolitan police purposes. The old Dockyard police were appointed and discharged by the Admiralty, and were only expected to perform Admiralty duty. They, however, could now be transferred by the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police from one Dockyard to another, or they could be sent up to the Metropolis to be employed in the regular divisional work of police. That was to say that, for all the purposes of service, the old Dockyard police were absorbed in the Metropolitan police; but their pay and pensions remained distinct. They were still paid by the Admiralty, and their retiring allowances were regulated by the old Dockyard scale, and were charged upon the Navy Votes. He did not believe they were paid directly by the Admiralty; but by the Commissioners of Police out of funds provided by the Admiralty. Now, the scale was somewhat inferior to that under which the Metropolitan police were paid; and, therefore, there was this state of things—that the old Dockyard police, having been turned into Metropolitan policemen, and having now to perform all the duties of such policemen, found themselves in an inferior position as regarded their pensions. This matter was brought before a Committee which sat some years ago under the presidency of the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin Ibbetson), upon the pensions of the Metropolitan police. Of course, it was shown that the Metropolitan police were paid out of the superannuation fund of their own, and that they could not be expected to share that fund with the Dockyard police. The Admiralty being unwilling to augment the pensions of the latter, and the Metropolitan police being also unwilling that they should share in their superannuation fund, they were in the disagreeable position of finding they had an inferior pension to that granted to a class of men amongst whom they were serving. He thought it only fair that these men should be placed upon the same footing as the Metropolitan police; and what he now desired to ask was whether the Admiralty had considered the matter, and, if they had not, whether they would do so; and whether there was any probability that they would be able to recommend such an augmentation of the pensions of the old Dockyard police as would place them in the same position with regard to retiring allowances as the Metropolitan police?

CAPTAIN HERON-MAXWELL said, the Government ought to give them some valid reason why medals had not been issued to the Naval Brigade engaged in the recent campaigns.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that with regard to the question of the Dockyard police, which had been raised by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), he had to say it was a matter which concerned the Commissioners of the Metropolitan police. He did not think it ought to have been brought before that Committee; but he would undertake that it should be inquired into. With regard to the war medals, undoubtedly a grievance existed; but he hoped he would be able to give what the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Heron-Maxwell) would consider a valid reason why the medals had not been issued. The reason of the delay was that a proper record of services had not been kept at the time of war, and that now the Admiralty were under the necessity of ascertaining from Commodore Richards what men were entitled to medals. He was sorry for the delay; but the medal was now in preparation, and the work was being pushed forward. As a proof that the Admiralty were alive to the importance of the matter, they had ordered that whenever a Naval Brigade was sent on shore a careful record of services should be kept; and it was expected that, in any future war, Naval Brigades would be rewarded as promptly as the Army.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. W. H. SMITH supposed his hon. Friend would not now object to report Progress. There were two other Votes which might give occasion to some observations. On the Transport Vote, for instance, some explanation might be required.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was quite ready to accede to the suggestion of his right hon. Friend.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next;

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SEA FISHERIES (CLAM AND BAIT BEDS) BILL.

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ashley.*)

[BILL 83.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

LORD ELCHO said, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not in his place, as he would like to thank the right hon. Gentleman for having brought in the Bill. Fishermen in his county were greatly interested in the question. They were great sufferers from the action of trawlers upon their bait beds, and he had been in communication with the President of the Board of Trade with regard to that matter. The right hon. Gentleman received the proposals of the fishermen most favourably, and undertook to bring in this Bill, on the understanding that no Amendment should be moved upon it, either to make it more stringent or to extend its operation. Having assented to that, he (Lord Elcho) felt himself precluded, when the Bill was introduced, from taking any steps to enlarge the scope of the measure. He hoped that, some day or other, another Bill would be introduced, if it were found necessary; but, in the meantime, he would express his thanks to the President of the Board of Trade for the good he had done, although, perhaps, some day the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to effect something further in the same direction.

MR. WARTON did not quite understand what the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) had just said; but it related, no doubt, to some understanding between the noble Lord and the President of the Board of Trade. However, he wished to say something which related neither to the noble Lord nor to that understanding. He wished to recommend to the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) not to be deterred by any understanding between the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman from repeating the Amendment which he moved on the previous occasion. He made that suggestion in justice to the herrings, or rather to that large portion of the population that lived by the herrings. If it were in Order, he should like to see that Amendment again moved, in order to give to the herring beds the blessings of protection. The independent Members of the House appeared to be all in favour of such an extension of the Bill, and it was voted against only by the Government officials and those who voted with them because they were Government officials, and who did so without going into the merits of the case at all. He believed that those who opposed the Amendment did so without the slightest concern for the benefit of the people, but chose to vote like obedient troops for a Government measure, to which they had not given much attention. On the other hand, those who were alive to the importance of extending the food of the people knew that there was no food more nourishing than herrings, or more wholesome. They saw that exemplified in the very kitchen of that House, and they knew that whatever *régime* they were living under, whether it was dinners *à la carte*, or dinners at a fixed price, they always found on the table fresh herrings, when they were in season; and those herrings were always eaten with considerable pleasure and satisfaction. He hoped the lower classes would always have herrings to eat, not at the prices which was paid for them, but at prices in accordance with their means; and he again appealed to the hon. Member for Aberdeen to move his Amendment. He thought he saw the hon. Member opposite, with an assenting expression on his countenance.

MR. WILLIAMSON observed, that the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) appealed to the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster), who was not now in his place.

MR. WARTON explained that he had mistaken the hon. Member himself (Mr. Williamson) for the hon. Member for Aberdeen.

MR. WILLIAMSON would only say that, personally, he did not intend to oppose the third reading of the Bill; but he cordially supported the suggestion of the noble Lord, in the hope and expectation that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would, in a separate Bill, next Session protect the herring beds.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (SCOTLAND) BILL—[*Lords*]—[BILL 107.]

(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. R. W. DUFF said, he quite approved of the object of the Bill; but he was not quite clear that the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate was going the right way to work to get the information he wanted. Some years ago he succeeded in getting Returns of local taxation in Scotland, in reply to a private circular to the county officials, asking them to send the Returns to the Crown Office at Edinburgh. He would suggest that the Bill should be so altered as to require the Returns to be sent through that Department. When the Returns were first moved for the difficulty was to get the Clerks to the Commissioners of Supply to give the Returns, because they said they were paid by the county, and not by the Government. They said the Government had no authority and no jurisdiction over them; and this Bill would enforce that authority.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN) remarked, that when the debate was adjourned he had no opportunity of explaining the provisions of the Bill. In answer to the question raised by the hon. Member for Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff), he might say that the practice in regard to Returns had been that the information was forwarded through the Crown Agent in Scotland,

and was officially laid before the House by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Therefore, the Bill, in requiring that the Returns should be laid before the House by the Home Department, was quite in accordance with the practice in such matters. It was necessary to ask for Parliamentary powers to enable them to produce these Returns. Various Members during the past six months had asked for Scotch local Returns of the same character as were laid before Parliament annually for England and Ireland; but on inquiry it was found impossible, without Parliamentary authority, to compel the clerks or officers of the local bodies to give the information that was required. The Returns for England and Ireland were obtained in pursuance of an Act of Parliament requiring the local officials to give the information, and therefore it was necessary to have such an Act for Scotland. It was particularly desirable at the present time that the information called for by the Bill should be obtained. The House was aware that the subject of local government had been repeatedly referred to as a matter that might be expected to be brought before Parliament on an early occasion. One important element in the consideration of any reforms in the local government of the country would be the amount of taxation and expenditure under the control of local bodies; and it was quite evident, in the absence of any Return of revenue and expenditure from the local authorities, that Parliament would be without one of the most material elements to guide them in any future legislation. He therefore hoped that the House would consent to give the requisite authority for obtaining this information, the information itself being precisely of the same character as that which, for the last 10 or 12 years, had been laid before the House from other parts of the United Kingdom. As he had already stated, it was absolutely necessary that this should be done, in order that there might be materials to enable Parliament to judge of the requirements connected with other reforms which were in contemplation in regard to county expenditure.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the object of this Bill was to enable the Government to collect information in order to enable them to legislate on questions connected with local governments and taxation. He trusted that when the Return was laid before Parliament it would be in such a form that hon. Members would be able to compare it with the items of expenditure for similar purposes in England and Ireland. He was sorry to say that hitherto Returns of this nature were not easily comparable with each other.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MAINTENANCE LAW AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 110.]

(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Mr. Serjeant Simon.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the measure had the merit of brevity, seeing that it consisted of only one clause of four or five lines. He had endeavoured, as far as possible, to consult those Members of the House who were connected with the Legal Profession in order to ascertain what their views were upon the question; and he had received from them a unanimous concurrence that it was desirable to have the reformation which he proposed in the existing law attempted. He would explain in a sentence or two, to the non-legal Members of the House, what it was that the Bill proposed to do. At present, in order to prevent what was supposed to be improper litigation, if a benevolent gentleman put his hand into his pocket, and subscribed a £10 note in order to enable a poor widow to bring an action at law, he might be committing an illegal act, unless he could say it was absolute charity. He believed that these were benevolent acts, but they were none the less illegal; and when actions arising out of this illegal course came before the Courts of Law the Judge invariably reprehended the practice. He (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) had now taken upon himself, with the concurrence of his legal Friends in that House, to attempt this modest instalment of Law Reform. He begged to move the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan.*)

MR. WHITLEY did not regard the explanation of the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) as altogether satisfactory. He could not help feeling that, whatever inconvenience was sustained under the existing law, the effect of the Bill would be to encourage litigation to an alarming extent, and to induce unscrupulous attorneys, supported by collections raised in different ways, to undertake questionable actions at law. In that way it was possible that the Bill might produce far greater evils than it was calculated to prevent. He was quite aware that under the present law there might be individual cases of hardship; but, speaking from very long experience, he had never found that any respectable solicitor was unwilling to undertake a proper case. He did not think he could overrate the evils which might result from the Bill in promoting litigation; and he would therefore beg to move, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words, "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) had very well pointed out what an evil-disposed solicitor might do in the way of promoting litigation; but the hon. Member seemed to forget that these disreputable solicitors were the very class of persons who might do it as the law stood at present. The hon. Gentleman had exactly put his hand on the blot which the Bill intended to remedy. At present a solicitor might go round and induce people to commence actions, and he was supposed by the law to be a party who had a legitimate interest in carrying on litigation. It was notorious that, in many cases, that practice was followed. The solicitor would put his hand in his own pocket and find the expenses of the law suit, and those expenses would form a legitimate item in his bill of costs afterwards. But the law positively forbade persons who were not solicitors, or, in the language of the law, persons who had an interest professionally, or otherwise, in the suit before the Court from giving in any way that assistance which might be necessary to a plaintiff in instituting an action. If the hon. Gentleman persisted in his Amendment, of course it would have the effect of dropping the Bill, as he (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) would not feel disposed to press it, unless he had the unanimous consent of the House. He had been induced to introduce it, and put it down for a second reading, with the concurrence of some 15 or 20 legal Gentlemen, whom he had been able to consult. Under the circumstances, he would appeal to the hon. Member for Liverpool to allow the Bill to pass a second reading; and, in the meantime, he should be glad to hear what the Law Officers of the Crown had to say upon the subject.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to say a word or two before the House came to a division. He did not mean to say that the Law of Maintenance was at present in a satisfactory state; but certainly it was a very old law, and, if he understood the matter rightly, it was founded on the Roman law. Hon. Members must not run away with the idea that all assistance, where assistance was really needed, was forbidden. As he understood the law—and he would be corrected by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General if he were wrong—in the case of a master and servant, or of men helping a poor neighbour, the assistance in maintaining an action was permitted by the present law. The law said that a suit for any kinsman, servant, or poor person out of charity or compassion might be maintained. That was the existing law; but he was not at all prepared to say that there were no hardships even in the present state of the law. They were not, however, hardships they could remove all in a moment, in the way proposed by the hon. and learned Member who had charge of the Bill. He thought the best course would be to refer the Bill to a Select Committee; and, on that understanding, he should be willing to read it a second time. He hoped the hon. and learned Member for Meath would consent to that course. If it were found necessary to alter the existing law, it would certainly be necessary to provide some safeguard. They could not possibly abolish the law in the crude way suggested by the hon. and learned Member, without imposing a safeguard to prevent certain evils. If the hon. and learned Member would consent to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, he would advise his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) to withdraw the Amendment.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he would certainly not encourage any alteration of the law which might have a tendency to enable people improperly to promote litigation. He could not conceive that there could be any greater evil than an alteration of the law to that effect. He held that, as the law at present stood, it was hardly ever used against people who did improperly interfere; but, at the same time, it was held up as a hindrance in the way of persons doing that which many other persons might desire to see them do. He did not fully agree in the definition which his right hon. Friend opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had given in regard to the law. He knew of cases in which people had been deterred from assisting other persons in recovering their rights, and the consequence was that such persons had been driven into the hands of solicitors, who took up the case, and were, too often, not solicitors of the most reputable character. These solicitors conducted the case to a successful issue, and then pocketed all they got out of it. That was a most undesirable state of things; but, at the same time, it might be necessary to provide certain limits and safeguards, which were not in the Bill at present. He would accept the suggestion of his right hon. Friend opposite, that the Bill should be read a second time, and then referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. WARTON thought that a great deal that had fallen from the hon. and learned Solicitor General was worthy the attention of the House. He was inclined to believe that the Law of Maintenance was at present in a somewhat unsatisfactory state; but he thought that there were far greater evils than any that were guarded against by the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Meath—namely, in the existence of associations which were established for the purpose of putting the law in force. When the Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee, he hoped that something would be introduced into the measure to provide a check against the operation of these societies.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA thought there ought to be an Instruction to the Committee, to provide that gentlemen who encouraged this kind of litigation should be liable, in costs, to the extent to which the judgment went against them. A case of this nature might arise—A pauper might be put forward to bring a serious action, which action was really maintained by a spiteful neighbour. When a spiteful neighbour had nothing to suffer, he could afford to spend £100 or £200 in litigation, knowing that, if worsted, he would not be responsible for the costs. But, in such cases, there ought to be a provision that the costs should fall upon the person who promoted the action. He hoped it would be understood that attention would be called to this point, either in the shape of an Instruction from that House, or an intimation from the hon. and learned Solicitor General that the matter would not be lost sight of.

Mr. WHITLEY said, that, upon the understanding that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time.

Mr. A. M. SULLIVAN said, he was quite prepared to act on the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and would now move that the Bill be committed to a Select Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

TEINDS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to amend the Law of Teinds in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 118.]

House adjourned at a quarter
before One o'clock till
Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 21*st March*, 1881.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) * (53).
Second Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * (48).
Royal Assent — Peace Preservation (Ireland) [44 *Vict.* c. 5].

AFGHANISTAN (MILITARY EXPENDITURE)—CANDAHAR.—STATEMENT.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: With your Lordships' permission I wish to make a short statement on two matters connected with Indian affairs. First, in laying on the Table of your Lordships' House the further Correspondence relating to the Estimates for the Afghan War. It will be in your Lordships' recollection that on the 8th of March my noble Friend behind me (Lord Waveney) asked me a Question on this latter subject, and that in reply I stated that further Papers would be laid on the Table in a few days; but I believed they would show no material difference as to the Estimates from those laid before Parliament in the month of January. That very afternoon a telegram was received from the Viceroy mentioning that the Estimate would be increased. It has been included in the Papers now presented. The revised figures now show an estimated expenditure, to the 31st of May 1881, as follows:—Military operations, 1,862 lakhs of rupees (at 1*s*. 8*d*. the rupee, £15,516,000); Frontier railways, 487 lakhs of rupees (£4,058,000); total, £19,574,000.

A further statement, which I crave permission to lay before the House, is on the subject of Candahar. The noble Earl, the late Prime Minister, asked a Question on Friday evening of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who in reply stated that he thought he would be able to make a statement on the subject early this week; and my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India is most anxious that your Lordships should be fully informed on the subject. Immediately after the decision had been taken not permanently to occupy Candahar, communications were opened with Ameer Abdurrahman, informing him of the intention of the Government to re-consider the arrangements which had been made for the Government of Southern Afghanistan, and expressing the desire of the Viceroy to act in the matter in consultation and in concert with him. There was great delay in the transmission of this letter to Cabul, and the Ameer's reply was also detained on the road. The Ameer, however, expressed his gratitude to the British Government, and his strong desire for a personal interview with the Viceroy to confer upon the affairs of Afghanistan; but this, on account of the Viceroy's illness and for other reasons, was deemed at the time impossible. He, however, sent an Envoy to Calcutta, to confer principally on Cabul affairs, who had several interviews with the Viceroy, and has returned to Cabul. In the meantime, the Viceroy had intimated to Abdurrahman that the British Government would contemplate with satisfaction the restoration of Candahar to the dominions of Afghanistan, and would agree to the extension of His Highness's authority over that Province, recognizing his Government when established, and generally assisting him, as they did at Cabul, by a limited material help. The Ameer has made the purport of the Viceroy's letter generally known at Cabul, and has accepted the offer. The Viceroy has since informed Abdurrahman that it was necessary that the Cabul troops, with a Governor authorized to receive charge from British officers, should reach Candahar early in April. The Ameer replied that he was desirous of taking charge of Candahar at once; that his troops were all ready, his carriage being his principal difficulty, and that he hoped his forces would reach Candahar about the time named. The latest information received from the Viceroy is to the effect that the Cabul troops have started, or will shortly start, from Cabul, and will reach Candahar early in April; and that all arrangements for our withdrawal are completed. At the same time, measures have been taken at Candahar in preparation for the withdrawal of the British troops, and several leading Sirdars have written to the Ameer tendering their allegiance. That is all the information which the Secretary of State thinks it possible to give at the present time. The situation is, as your Lordships' will see, a somewhat critical one; and to enter into further details would not add much to the information of your Lordships, while it might do some harm in Afghanistan. The Correspondence is in an extremely incomplete form, the more so as, by some accident or oversight, a great part of the despatches which ought to have been received by the last two mails has not reached the India Office. Among these are the Minutes of Members of Council, which were expected to have been received three weeks, or at latest a fortnight, since, but which are still wanting.

LORD WAVENEY was surprised to hear that Her Majesty's Government proposed to take that dangerous course, which had already cost us two armies and two Envoys, and which was likely once more to lead us into difficulties. The Ameer of Cabul, though we might give him every credit for good faith, was in the hands of his turbulent nobles and the people of Cabul. He (Lord Waveney) was not prepared at present to take exception to the course proposed by the Government; but on a future occasion he might consider it necessary to take the sense of the House with regard to it.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I do not think this is an occasion for discussing this matter, and I should not have risen but for the remark of my noble Friend behind me (Lord Waveney). In regard to that I have only to remind your Lordships that the cause of the murder of our Envoys and the destruction of our armies has not been the coming out of Afghanistan, but the going into it.

SOUTH GARSTON DOCK AND RAILWAY BILL.—MOTION.

EARL CADOGAN moved—

> "That the order made on Thursday the 3rd instant 'that the Bill be not further proceeded with during the present Session' be discharged and the Bill re-committed to the same Select Committee for the purpose of considering the question of awarding costs to the petitioners who appeared before the Committee."

The noble Earl said, that he made the Motion as Chairman of the Select Committee, the Bill having been withdrawn without notice to that body, or to the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee as opponents of the measure. He, however, left their Lordships to deal with the matter as they might think fit.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he had received a Petition signed by 72 leading merchants of Liverpool requesting that the Bill should be re-committed on its merits.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) thought the Motion should be agreed to as a means of showing promoters of Bills that they could not evade their responsibility for costs by withdrawing their Bills.

EARL CAIRNS pointed out that there was a technical difficulty in the way of dealing with the Motion in consequence of the course taken by the promoters of the Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR did not see how their Lordships could assume an independent jurisdiction as to costs.

EARL CADOGAN moved that the further consideration of the Resolution be adjourned.

Motion *agreed to.*

Further debate upon the said motion adjourned till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before
Six o'clock, till To-morrow,
half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 21*st March,* 1881.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, £446,000; NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, £210,000; CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1881-2—Class I. —PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Votes 1 to 5.

Resolutions [March 18] *reported.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—£1,536,571 4*s.* 2*d.*, Consolidated Fund; £11,819,046, Consolidated Fund.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Dundalk Water, *put off.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Inclosure Provisional Order (Thurstaston Common) * [122]; Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) * [123]; Union Justices (Ireland) * [124].

Second Reading—Poor Law Officers (Scotland) Superannuation [113].

Committee—*Report*—Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) * [107].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DUNDALK WATER BILL (*by Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan.*)

Mr. CALLAN said, he had requested the hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Forster), who usually moved the second reading of Private Bills, to lend the aid of his official position to the present stage of the measure. Although that course had not been taken, he had certainly hoped that the hon. and learned Member who volunteered to move the second reading of the Bill would, at the very least, have favoured the House with some of the reasons which, in his opinion, rendered it desirable that the House should pass such a measure. He (Mr. Callan) had given Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Bill, and it was alleged against him by the promoters of the measure that, although he had given Notice to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months, he did not represent the constituency that was interested in the Bill; but was merely Member for the County of Louth. If that was a fair charge to make against him, it would apply with double force to the hon. and learned Member who moved the second reading of the Bill, seeing that the only connection of the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) with the town of Dundalk, or with the county in which it was situated, was that the solicitor, whose name appeared on the back of the Bill, was the expenses agent of the hon. and learned Member in the county of Louth at the last General Election. Indeed, he found that in consequence of the neglect of this gentleman the hon. and learned Member for Meath had been rendered liable to penalties amounting to something like £500, for not having filed his Election Accounts, and for not having given a complete return of the payments made on behalf of the hon. and learned Member. So far as he (Mr. Callan) was concerned, he believed he would be able to give the House a satisfactory explanation of the course he was now about to take. The authority by which he was acting in moving the rejection of the Bill was the request of a considerable number of his constituents; for many of his constituents in the county of Louth were resident in the town of Dundalk, and among them were the principal inhabitants of that town, merchants and magistrates, the Chairman of the Town Board, all the Town Commissioners, and many other persons officially connected with the locality. He held in his hand a letter, which, with the permission of the House, he would read—

> "At a special meeting of the Dundalk Town Commissioners held to-day, the following resolution was adopted:—Resolved that the Private Water Bill now before Parliament, and awaiting second reading, being, in the judgment of this Board, an attempt to supersede the authority of the Dundalk Town Commissioners as the sanitary body, it is our duty to petition Parliament against the Bill; that the Petition now laid on the table be adopted and forwarded at once to Mr. Callan, M.P., for presentation to Parliament, and that we beg him to do what he can to prevent the passing of the Bill."

He found that an assertion had been made by the promoters of the Bill that no Petition had been presented against the measure by the Town Commissioners of Dundalk, or the ratepayers of that town. He had not observed that statement until half an hour ago; and in reply to it he had to say that he held in his hand a Petition from the town of Dundalk, largely and influentially signed by the principal ratepayers of the town, which Petition, as well as that of the Town Commissioners, was also against the Bill. It was necessary that he should now state what the facts of the case were. In 1854 the Town Commissioners of Dundalk were authorized to proceed with the construction of water works as a sanitary work; but the machinery had not yet been supplied, and, of course, as the machinery had not been supplied, the Act was not available. In consequence of the expense which attended an application to the House of Commons for a Private Bill, combined with the lobbying and jobbery that went on between the promoters, and solicitors, and Parliamentary agents, Parliament, in its wisdom, passed a general Act in 1878, which provided machinery by which the Town Commissioners in any town in Ireland could promote works for the public advantage, not by going to that House for a Private Bill, but by petitioning for a Provisional Order from the Local Government Board. If, upon such a Petition, a Provisional Order were granted, the local authorities were able to raise the money for carrying out the necessary works, at 3½ per cent. In the month of August last the Town Commissioners of Dundalk advertised for plans for supplying the town with water, and offered a prize of 100 guineas for the plan that should be selected. He believed that 13 plans were sent in, and the Town Commissioners engaged the services of one of the most eminent water engineers in England—Mr. Hassard. It was to Mr. Hassard that the honour belonged of suggesting the water supply of the City of Dublin, as far back as the year 1854. Mr. Hassard went over to Dundalk to inspect the different plans, and presented a Report upon the subject. He (Mr. Callan) had read that Report, and he could only say that it would appear from that Report that the Bill now submitted to the House was the scheme of a disappointed adventuring engineer, who had, no doubt, had some experience in connection with the promotion of Private Bills in that House, but whose plans were rejected by Mr. Hassard, and who was substantially and in reality the only promoter of the present Bill. After receiving the Report of Mr. Hassard the Town Commissioners of Dundalk applied to the Local Government Board for an inquiry; and the inquiry, which was to be preliminary to the issue of a Provisional Order for supplying Dundalk with water, was held the week before last. These gentlemen, the Town Commissioners, would have come before the House long before this if it had not been in consequence of the declaration of urgency with regard to public measures, which declarations had led to the postponement of all Private Business that was contested. He would now state the grounds upon which the Town Commissioners asked the House to adhere to the spirit of the legislation passed by Parliament in 1878. It was stated by the Town Commissioners, in their Petition—

> "A Bill has been introduced and is awaiting a second reading in your Honourable House to incorporate a Company for supplying with water the town of Dundalk, and for other purposes. The main object of the Bill is to incorporate a Company, and to empower such Company to trade in water, which it is proposed to supply to your petitioners and the other inhabitants of Dundalk. The promotion of the Bill is a pure speculation on the part of the promoters, who have brought the same forward, not only not with the sanction of, but in direct antagonism to, and in rivalry with, your petitioners, who are the local governing body, and who are themselves now seeking from the Local Government Board (Ireland), under the above recited Act and by virtue of its provisions, powers to establish a water supply for the said town and district. The speculative character of the Bill is shown by Clauses 39-48, which empower the proposed Company to sell and your petitioners to purchase the undertaking and powers of the Bill, if the same should become law, on the terms therein mentioned; and your petitioners allege that one of the objects of the promoters of said Bill is to force upon your petitioners the adoption of their pet scheme of water supply, which is not alone repugnant to the great majority, if not every member of your petitioners' Board, who are the sanitary authority, but to the great bulk of the inhabitants whose representatives your petitioners are—and, therefore, to supersede the authority of your petitioners. Another object of the promoters is to make perforce a profit out of this speculation by compelling your petitioners under the above Act, should the Bill pass into law, to purchase up their scheme (which your petitioners *bonâ fide* believe will prove an abortion), and by that means make profit on the transaction at the expense of the ratepayers. Under the circumstances above mentioned, and having regard to the whole tendency of modern legislation, which has been to vest the supply of water and gas and market management in the hands not of private Companies, but of the local governing bodies, it would not only be opposed to public policy and against the interests of your petitioners, but also be a reversal of the principles of modern legislation in such matters to pass the said Bill into law."

No doubt it would be said that the Town Commissioners might oppose the Bill when it came on in the usual form. That was not, however, the case, because, as the petitioners themselves pointed out, they had no power to apply any of their funds to the opposition of any speculative scheme that might be promoted in Parliament by any enterprizing professional gentleman. Having no power to apply their funds in the opposition of a Private Bill in Committee, the Town Commissioners felt themselves called upon to oppose the present measure upon the second reading. He had already stated that there had been an inquiry in Dundalk. That inquiry was held the other day, and one of the gentlemen who was interested in the promotion of the Bill stated distinctly in his evidence that there was no pressing necessity for the measure. He himself (Mr. Callan) was not wedded to any particular scheme for the supply of water to Dundalk. He knew every inch of the country, and what he wanted to see was a satisfactory scheme modelled and cast upon the suggestions of Mr. Hassard. Mr. Hassard's suggestions for modifying the scheme for supplying the City of Dublin with water had the effect of postponing the supply for some years, but had also the effect of securing for Dublin, in the end, one of the best water supplies at present existing in the United Kingdom. He had no doubt that if the House would consent to accept his Amendment for the rejection of the Bill the defeat of the measure would be for the benefit of the town and inhabitants of Dundalk. As he had said, the Petition presented to the House in support of the Bill stated that the hon. Member who had given Notice to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months did not represent the constituency of Dundalk. That was quite true; but he was well acquainted with the borough of Dundalk and its wants and requirements, and had formerly represented it in Parliament. He had not the honour of representing that borough now, having been promoted to the higher position of representing the County of Louth, in which Dundalk was situated. The Bill itself was opposed by the principal owners and occupiers in Dundalk, and the gentleman who occupied the position of lord of the soil had also presented a Petition against it. The Town Commissioners, the Poor Law Guardians, the large majority of the respectable inhabitants, and all the representative bodies in Dundalk, opposed the Bill. Under these circumstances, he would move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Generally speaking, I am prepared to admit that it should require a very strong case to induce the House to refuse to allow a Private Bill of this nature to go before a Committee. But in this particular case I cannot help thinking that it would be better to postpone the Bill until another year. I do not say this from anything that I know personally of the matter; but I am informed by the President of the Local Government Board that the position of the case is this—The Town Commissioners of Dundalk, who are opposing the Bill, have applied to the Local Government Board for a Provisional Order, and there has not yet been time to have their application considered. I certainly think that that matter ought to be decided, and that on principle it ought to be accepted, for there are very strong reasons why the Town Commissioners should have such matters as these in their own hands. Under the circumstances, it will certainly be advantageous to postpone the consideration of the present Bill for a year rather than to proceed with it now. It is, I believe, the policy of this House to place all questions of this sort, as far as possible, in the hands of the corporate authorities of a town; and it is quite true that in this instance the Town Commissioners, who are the local authorities, oppose the second reading of the Bill.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, he had himself a feeling in the direction just expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and it was one of the reasons why he had abstained from offering any observations to the House in moving the second reading of the Bill. At the same time he thought that, *primâ facie*, the Bill was entitled to go before a Committee upstairs; but he quite concurred with the Chief Secretary that the local authorities, wherever it could fairly be done, should have the control of the water supply. His only anxiety was to secure a proper hearing of the case before a Committee upstairs; and he would, therefore, point out to the consideration of the Chief Secretary that probably the wisest course would be to defer the second reading of the Bill for a couple of weeks. An inquiry had already taken place at Dundalk, and the decision of the Local Government Board upon that inquiry would be made known in the course of a few days. If it should turn out that the scheme laid before the Local Government Board by the Town Commissioners of Dundalk was an objectionable scheme, he thought it would then be fair that the proposal contained in the present Bill should go before a Committee, where its merits could be discussed; and, if desirable and necessary, the whole matter might be transferred to the local authorities upon an equitable arrangement. He should like to hear a word in regard to this suggestion, which certainly went in the direction of the view expressed by the Chief Secretary, from the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees. A word from the right hon. Gentleman, bearing in mind his experience in matters of this kind, might have considerable weight in finding the opinion of the House.

Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR: I have had the advantage of seeing the promoters and opponents of this Bill this afternoon, and there are certainly some considerable difficulties in regard to it. It is quite true that the Commissioners, at the present moment, have a scheme before the Local Government Board, and it is desirable that that scheme should be considered by this House; but I should be very much inclined to recommend the House to allow the Bill to be read a second time, and also to allow the Provisional Order to be read a second time, and then refer both to the same Committee. But the Town Commissioners, I believe, have lost their right to appear before the Committee. They ought to have petitioned within 10 days after the first reading of the Bill, which took place on the 10th of January; but they failed to do so. The Standing Orders Committee might allow the Standing Orders in this respect to be suspended; but, of course, that is by no means certain. Although I should have been inclined to recommend such a course as I have suggested, still, after the statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the intimation he has conveyed of the feeling of the President of the Local Government Board, I am not prepared to say that there might not be great inconvenience in reading the Bill a second time at the present moment. On the whole, perhaps, the best course will be to allow the matter to remain over for another year.

Mr. MELDON was very much opposed to the principle of preventing a Private Bill from going before a Committee upstairs in order that its merits might be inquired into. There were, however, special circumstances in the present case which rendered it exceedingly desirable that the second reading should be postponed. In the first place, the Town Commissioners of Dundalk had not petitioned against the Bill, and therefore, could not be heard before the Committee in opposition to it; and if the second reading were now assented to, the measure, in the ordinary course, would become an unopposed Bill. Perhaps this difficulty might be met by allowing the Town Commissioners an extension of time for the purpose of presenting a Petition. There was, however, another difficulty — namely, that the Town Commissioners had no power to apply any of the local rates towards the cost of opposing any Private Bill that might be promoted in Parliament. This was a very wise provision, for it would be a monstrous thing that the Town Commissioners should be allowed to go to Parliament and spend the money of the ratepayers without stint in opposing speculative Bills. He felt inclined to ask if such a Bill as this would be for an instant tolerated in England. The whole course of legislation for years had been to vest in the local authorities all powers of this kind, and in England it would not be tolerated that private persons should be entitled to ask for powers directly proposed to the requirements of the Public Health Act, and the other Acts which conferred all powers in regard to sanitary matters upon the local authorities, and in this case it should be recollected that the Town Commissioners were themselves applying for power to supply the town of Dundalk with water. At the present moment their application was under consideration by the Local Government Board, and there could be no hardship in determining that the Bill of a private speculative company like this should be postponed until another year. For these reasons he would support the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan).

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

QUESTIONS.

—○—

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875—BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

Mr. E. W. HARCOURT asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the sufferings endured by many deserving persons through the constant failure of so-called benefit societies; and, whether, in the event of any private legislation being initiated with a view of insisting upon more stringent certificates in the case of all future benefit societies, and of restrictions in the case of intended public-house benefit societies, the Government would be inclined to give such assistance as might be practicable towards the furtherance of these objects?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Without more definite information as to the character of the proposed legislation I am afraid it is impossible to say whether the Government would be inclined to assist it. We have not yet had full experience of the results of the Friendly Societies Act of 1875 with respect to Benefit Societies, and I think we should have clear proof of their necessity before we impose the suggested additional restrictions upon such Societies. So far as I am informed, the failures of Benefit Societies are not more constant than those of other classes of Companies; and it is very doubtful whether any move in the direction of greater stringency would not defeat its own object. As to putting restrictions upon intended public-house Benefit Societies, it must be remembered that in many places there is no other accommodation available for Benefit Societies, and a great number—I hope the large majority—of such societies, are perfectly respectable. It may be interesting to the hon. Member to know that the bulk of the Societies which have reached 100 years of age and upwards meet at public-houses, among them the oldest English Society, founded in 1687, and the third oldest, founded in 1708, with others ranging in age from 147 to 194 years.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT gave Notice that, in consequence of the answer he had received, he should, on a future day, move for a Return from each Poor Law Union in England, stating the number of the inmates of the workhouses whose presence there was owing to the failure of any Benefit Societies to which they might have belonged.

POST OFFICE—LETTER-CARRIERS' CHRISTMAS-BOXES.

MR. SCHREIBER asked the Postmaster General, Whether, by one of their rules, Letter-carriers are "allowed to receive, and indeed respectfully to ask for, Christmas Boxes;" whether, in the Circular Memorandum of the 22nd of March, 1865, the Metropolitan Letter-carriers were reminded that—

> "They received from the public in gratuities at Christmas a sum which, if divided and spread over the whole year, would produce on an average 5*s.* a week for each man;"

whether he is aware that these gratuities are, in a great number of cases, asked for and paid with equal reluctance; and, whether, under the circumstances, he is prepared to abolish a system of private gratuities in part payment of public services, and to replace it by an equivalent addition to the weekly wages of the Letter-carriers?

MR. FAWCETT: It is the case, as stated in the Question of my hon. Friend, that a Circular was issued in 1865, in which it was estimated that letter-carriers received on an average 5*s.* a-week in Christmas-boxes. I think this estimate was formed on very insufficient data, and I really feel it is impossible for me to say whether the estimate was or was not correct. I believe that in the majority of cases these Christmas-boxes are not given reluctantly. I certainly think that, even if they were prohibited, the public would still continue to give them. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to advise their prohibition. However, I fully recognize that it would be most undesirable for any letter-carrier to solicit Christmas-boxes with importunity; and I, just before last Christmas, issued a Circular expressing this opinion to the letter-carriers throughout the country. I believe they acted upon it, because not a single complaint has reached the Post Office from any member of the public that they had been solicited with importunity.

STATE OF IRELAND — THE LAND LEAGUE — PROHIBITED MEETING AT ROCKCORRY, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state why a properly constituted Land Meeting proposed to be held on 18th January last, at Rockcorry, county Monaghan, was proclaimed by an order emanating from four magistrates; and, if the information on which the meeting was prohibited was founded on the sworn evidence of either of the four magistrates above referred to; and, if not, was it on the sworn evidence of any other person?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that the meeting at Rockcorry was prohibited by proclamation signed by four magistrates resident in the district. The proclamation was issued on the informations sworn by eight other magistrates that a breach of the peace was likely to occur if the Land League demonstration and the counter demonstration were permitted to proceed. None of the magistrates who signed the proclamation swore informations on the subject.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ALLEGED MISMANAGEMENT OF THE BELFAST WORKHOUSE.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the following allegations are well founded:—That at the late sworn inquiry held into the management of the Belfast Workhouse, by Messrs. Bourke and Brodie, Local Government Board Inspectors, evidence was given by a witness named Porter, who had been employed by the guardians as a temporary clerk in the master's office, that the names of 75 persons were enrolled in the workhouse books, for whom dietary was charged, although said persons were not in the house at all; that the inspectors at said inquiry ascertain how long this practice had continued in order to know what loss, or probable loss, the ratepayers may have sustained; that the system of book keeping was so imperfect that the assistant master, with the view to regulating the books, periodically issued to the gate-porter mythical discharge dockets bearing the names of persons who were not in the institution, and their keep charged for; and who, consequently, could not pass through the gate; that the assistant master and the gate-porter referred to, admitted on oath to this system being practised; that neither censure nor rebuke was given to either of these two persons, and that the Local Government Board still continue to permit them to hold office; that at the last stock taking by the guardians deficiencies in stock amounting to about £700 were found to exist, and that although these discoveries have been made several months ago, and the Local Government Board repeatedly informed of the facts, no action has yet been taken; that the Local Government Board has permitted the Belfast Workhouse to remain without a master for a period of two months, although aware that the institution was overcrowded during all this time; that the Limitation Order of the Local Government Board sets forth that not more than 2,500 persons can be accommodated in the Belfast Workhouse, whilst they are in possession of the fact that at the present time and for several weeks past, as many as 3,180 persons, 1,400 or 1,600 of whom are sick and unsupplied with beds, are inmates of the institution; that the Local Government Board have knowingly permitted the school rooms of the Belfast Workhouse to be converted into hospitals; and, if the foregoing assumptions be correct, if he is prepared, on behalf of the Government, to take into immediate consideration the urgent necessity and importance of a remodelling of the present constitution of the Local Government Board in Ireland?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: The hon. Member has asked me 10 Questions in one, relative to the evidence taken at the recent inquiry into the management of the Belfast Workhouse. With respect to the first three or four of his Questions, I find that though no sworn evidence was given on the inquiry tending to show that frauds had been committed in reference to the dietary, still it did appear that the books had been kept in a manner so imperfect and irregular as to necessitate the resignation of the assistant master, and he had resigned accordingly. Deficiencies had been found in the stores, but I am unable to say to what extent. That is a matter which must be dealt with, not by the Local Government Board, but by the auditor of accounts. It is not the fact that the Local Government Board permitted the assistant master and the porter to retain their offices. The workhouse provides accommodation for 2,500 inmates, but new buildings are in course of construction; and, pending the construction, temporary accommodation has been provided for 150 additional inmates. It is not the fact that the schoolroom has been converted into an hospital. The inmates have been supplied with proper bedclothing, and the house has been cleaned and is free from epidemic disease. The hon. Member's assumptions being incorrect, I am not prepared on behalf of the Government to take into immediate consideration re-modelling of the present constitution of the Local Government Board in Ireland.

SCOTLAND—OFFICE OF SASINES, EDINBURGH.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the scheme for the improved remuneration of the Commissioned Clerks in the Office of Sasines in Edinburgh has yet been adjusted; what steps it is proposed to take with regard to the Engrossing Clerks; and, whether it will take effect from the beginning of the next financial year?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN): The Report of the Committee is now under the consideration of the Treasury and Home Office, and the Deputy Clerk Register is at present in attendance at the Treasury settling with the officers of the Departments the details of the proposed new arrangements. It is hoped that the Report, with the decision thereon, will be laid before Parliament, if not before the Recess, at all events, immediately afterwards; and the new rules will, if not published before the 1st of April, date back to that day. The question of the position of the engrossing clerks is under the consideration of the Treasury at the present time.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

MR. BAXTER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, On what day he proposes to make the Financial Statement?

MR. GLADSTONE: I may be permitted, in answering this Question, to make the statement which the House expects me to make to-day as to the probable course of Business, and to state what we propose to do. I assume that to-night we shall dispose of the necessary Business in Supply, as well as, possibly, obtain several Votes which are not so pressing if it should be convenient to the House to consider them. That being so, it is generally understood that the Motion with regard to Candahar will come on on Thursday, and, as the debate is likely to be prolonged to a second night, it is desirable we should endeavour to continue the debate on Friday; that is the arrangement we should endeavour to promote. I will not say anything about particular days next week, excepting that we have the Mutiny Bill on hand, and should that require time for discussion, no doubt the proper time will be found. That carries us to the end of the month, and I should propose to make the Financial Statement on Monday, the 4th of April. I should then hope that on Thursday, the 7th of April, we may be able to introduce the Irish Land Bill. On Friday, the 8th of April, we shall propose to adjourn the House two or three days earlier than the usual time, involving the loss of one day or a day and a-half in business; but, after the very long Sittings of the House, I think that this is an arrangement which will meet with general approval. We shall propose to meet again on Monday, the 25th of April, which relatively is a little late, as the 17th would be the usual date for re-assembling. As the Irish Land Bill will have been in the hands of Members and before the country for a considerable time, and as it is desirable not to lose time in the prosecution of it, we should propose—and I am anxious this should be understood in fixing the introduction for the 7th—to commence the debate on the second reading when the House re-assembles on the Monday.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT said, he had a Motion relating to Local Taxation which stood for Friday, which it was proposed to appropriate for the adjourned debate on the Candahar Question. The matter was as important to the British farmer as hares and rabbits and malt liquors, and he had pledged himself to his constituents to bring it forward; therefore, before he could express his readiness to give way, he must ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he could give the farmers another chance of having the subject discussed?

MR. GLADSTONE: I hope the hon. Member will be so kind as not to press me for a positive answer until we see our way a little further. Undoubtedly, if hon. Members are asked to allow their Motions to be displaced, that in itself will give plausibility to claims for consideration; but I naturally refrain from giving a positive answer. The hon. Member will see that the Mutiny Act may be a matter of the extremest urgency.

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT (RETIREMENT).

MR. FINDLATER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the cases of wounds and sickness which have occurred amongst medical officers during recent campaigns, he will take into consideration the justice of extending to the Army Medical Department the privilege now enjoyed by all combatant officers of counting as full-pay service towards retirement any time on half-pay, not exceeding one year, when such half-pay has been necessitated by sickness incurred in and by the Service; also such half-pay as results from reduction of the Department, not exceeding two years, as laid down in Army Circulars, March 1st 1880?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. Friend, I fear that I cannot undertake to lay down the broad proposition that non-combatant officers are to have all the advantages of combatant officers, unless the converse be also accepted—that is to say, that they are to have all the disadvantages. The regulations as to the retirement of medical officers have been so recently settled that I cannot undertake to re-open the question; but when I have more leisure I will look into it.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SPALDING SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

Mr. MELLOR asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to a Memorial from Spalding, stating that before the last School Board Election there an agreement had been come to between all parties that the old Board should be returned; that the returning officer, without any notice, treated the chairman, vice chairman, and one other member of the old Board as disqualified, although they were duly nominated, and did this without hearing them in support of their claims, declaring three other candidates duly elected in their stead; and, whether the Department can investigate the matter under section 33 of the Act of 1870?

Mr. MUNDELLA: My attention has been directed to the Memorial from Spalding to which the Question of my hon. Friend refers; but I cannot undertake to make the investigation suggested. I agree with the opinion first expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and followed by my immediate Predecessors, that the Education Department does not possess the machinery necessary for satisfactorily trying Election Petitions; and that any person who complains of the action of the returning officer must adopt the ordinary remedy of an information in the nature of a *quo warranto.*

CUSTOMS' BENEVOLENT FUND—THE "BILL OF ENTRY."

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, since the late proprietors of the "Bill of Entry" had secured by their own exertions an advertising connection, any compensation has been made to them for surrendering this part of the property; and, if not, whether the Treasury will consider the expediency of paying to the Customs' Benevolent Fund such amount as upon inquiry may prove equitable?

Mr. J. HOLMS (for Lord Frederick Cavendish): No compensation was given to the Customs' Benevolent Fund at the close of their tenure of the "Bill of Entry," as all their rights in its publication ceased by lapse of time; and I may add that it is probable that advertisements in the "Bill of Entry" will be discontinued altogether after the expiration of the present tentative period of six months.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Vice President of the Council, If his attention has been directed to the proceedings of a Conference of Burgh School Boards held in Edinburgh on the 24th January last, at which sixteen School Boards were represented, including those of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, and almost all the large burghs, and at which resolutions were adopted in favour of further legislation to secure the education of destitute and neglected children in cities and populous districts; and, whether it is his intention to bring in a Bill to make better provision than now exists for the education of such children?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I have seen the Report of the proceedings of the Conference of School Boards in Edinburgh, and I find myself in general agreement with the resolutions arrived at. The whole of the questions referred to have been carefully considered by the Government, and I hope they will be shortly dealt with either in a general measure or by separate legislation for Scotland.

POOR-LAW GUARDIANS (METROPOLIS) —NOMINATED GUARDIANS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the President of the Local Government Board, What number of guardians in each of the metropolitan unions the Board have power to nominate, and how many gentlemen are now serving as nominated guardians; and, why the Board does not now proceed to exercise the power they possess to the full extent to make such nominations?

MR. DODSON: The Local Government Board have power to nominate such a number in each Union as would bring the number, together with the *ex officio* Guardians, to one-third that of the entire Board. My right hon. Friend will therefore see that the number varies with the total number of Guardians and the number of *ex officio* Guardians in each Union. There are now 29 gentlemen serving as nominated Guardians. The reasons why the Local Government Board have not exercised to the full their power of nomination are—first, the difficulty in some cases of finding qualified persons willing to undertake to discharge the duties regularly; and, secondly, the fact that in other cases the number of Guardians is already quite sufficient, or more than sufficient, for the transaction of the business of the the Union. In the case of Unions where nominated Guardians are really required —and these are, for the most part, the poorer Unions—the Board are always ready to consider with favour recommendations for the nomination of desirable persons.

JURIES (IRELAND)—LIMERICK ASSIZES.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at the assizes for the county of Limerick on the 14th instant, in the trial of a case before Mr. Justice Barry for taking forcible possession, the jury disagreed, and whether the following is a correct report of what then occurred:—

> "His Lordship—You say that there is no chance of agreement, although the prisoner admitted that he had been put forcibly in possession, and that he has retained possession up to this moment. Is that so?—Foreman—Yes, my Lord. His Lordship—Well, I can only say it is another of the discreditable scenes that we have witnessed during this assizes. It is now plain that what has been stated all over Ireland is perfectly true—that trial by jury has become a farce and a mockery in the county of Limerick, and I, as a Limerick man, say with pain, with regret, and with humiliation that the parties who come into the jury-box in Limerick are either perfectly incapable of understanding evidence, or determined, while understanding it, to violate their oaths and not act upon them. It must be for those who have the guidance of the legislation of the Country to consider this state of things;"

and, whether, if correct, and in view of the repeated similar opinions expressed by other judges, Her Majesty's Government propose to introduce any measures to amend a system which fails to vindicate the supremacy of the Law?

LORD ELCHO asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following paragraph in the "Times" newspaper of the 18th instant:—

> "At Tralee Assizes yesterday, in a prosecution for remaining in forcible possession of a farm, all the prisoners were acquitted. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald thereupon said to the jury,—'This is your unanimous verdict, delivered by your foreman. All I can say is that it is a verdict against the evidence and against your oaths, and if that sort of verdict continues to be given it will sweep away the present jury system;'"

and, whether he will take steps to bring about a better administration of the Law?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: In answer to the hon. Member for Leitrim and the noble Lord, I have to say that I have not received copies of the Judges' Charges; but I have no reason to doubt that the learned Judges made the statements referred to. I think it a very serious fact that it should have been necessary for them to make such statements. The hon. Gentleman asks me whether the Government intend to take any steps in consequence of these statements, by which I suppose they mean when we intend to bring in a Bill affecting trial by jury in Ireland. In reply to those Questions I have to say that the Government was influenced by the existence of the state of things spoken of by the learned Judges when they prepared the Protection Bill and the Arms Bill, and the House, no doubt, was also influenced by them in passing those Bills; but though the matter demands the most serious consideration, the Government has not come to any conclusion that would warrant any statement that they would bring forward any further measure on the subject this Session.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether he has read the report of the proceedings at the recent Limerick Assizes, and the observations of Judge Barry, as recorded in the "Limerick Chronicle" of the 15th instant, namely:—

> "The jury in Denis Murphy's case came into court and said that they could not agree. His Lordship—Well, I can only say it is another of the discreditable scenes that we have witnessed during those assizes. It is now plain that what has been stated all over Ireland is perfectly true, that trial by jury has become a farce and a mockery in the county Limerick; and I, as a Limerick man, say with pain, with regret, and with humiliation, that the parties who came into the jury box in Limerick are either perfectly incapable of understanding evidence, or determined, while understanding it, to violate their oaths and not to act upon them. It must be for those who have the guidance of the legislation of the Country to consider this state of things. The jury was now discharged. The jury in James Walsh's case having agreed to a verdict of not guilty, His Lordship said, 'Gentlemen, I regret very much that you were not here in Court at the time I was addressing some observations to the jury in the last case on the manner in which the juries of the county Limerick discharge their duties. You have put the climax on the discreditable conduct of the jurors. You are now discharged, and you can consider how you can reconcile your verdict with your oaths and your consciences;'"

and, whether, in the face of the repeated declarations of Irish Judges as to the impossibility in many cases of finding juries who are "willing to reconcile their verdicts with their oaths," he is prepared, by legislation, to remedy such a state of things?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): I can only refer the noble Lord to the answer just given by the Chief Secretary.

MR. GIBSON asked the Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it was not the fact that on Saturday last the Judge, on the application of the Crown Counsel, was obliged to postpone the trial of the remaining prisoners at Tralee on the ground of the state of the jury panel?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): I am not aware that all the cases were postponed; but I am aware that one case of a serious nature was postponed for the reason stated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND)—DEAL AND DOVER RAILWAY.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can state why the line between Deal and Dover has not been opened, although for many months past its construction has been nearly complete; if he can state the latest date for the completion of the line; and, whether, in the event of its not being then opened, the penalties will be put in force?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have not received any information which will enable me to say why the line has not been opened. The Companies have to send a month's notice of their intention to open the line, and a second notice of 10 days of the fact that it is ready for inspection. We received the first notice from the two Companies concerned in November; we have not yet received the second notice. The last day for the completion of the line is May 23. If the Companies fail to have it ready by that date they will jointly and severally incur a penalty of £50 for every day during which the line is not open; but it would be a matter for consideration at the time whether the penalties would be enforced.

STATE OF IRELAND—RIOTOUS CONDUCT OF SOLDIERS.

THE O'DONOGHUE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lietenant of Ireland, Why the military authorities do not take steps to prevent the soldiers quartered at Castleisland, in Kerry, from night to night assembling in the streets, whirling their belts, and calling on the "Irish cowards to come out and fight;" and, why it is that the police remain passive spectators of proceedings highly calculated to provoke a breach of the peace?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: In reply to this Question, I may just state that a very strong charge is made by the hon. Gentleman against the military and police, without giving the slightest authority for it. He does not even refer to a newspaper article as an authority. I can only that I have no information on the subject.

THE O'DONOGHUE: As the right hon. Gentleman insinuates—or, perhaps I may say, absolutely states—that I have no authority for putting the Question, I beg to say that I have it on the most undoubted authority that the occurrences stated in my Question have taken place, and also that the police are most grossly neglecting their duty in Castleisland.

Subsequently,

THE O'DONOGHUE said: In consequence of the answer of the Chief Secretary to my Question with reference to the misconduct of the soldiery at Castleisland, I beg to give Notice that I shall repeat the Question on Friday, in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of making inquiries on the subject, and so as not to give grounds for the supposition, which I am sure is not warranted, that he is anxious to screen the military and police.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I may say at once, and I think the House will agree with me, that it ought not to be made a custom to put Questions on the Paper containing serious charges against individuals, without the slightest appearance of an attempt in the Question to give any authority for them.

THE O'DONOGHUE: I put the Questions on information which satisfied me thoroughly, and which I have no doubt would satisfy the House. I shall renew the Question on Friday.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY ACT, 1881—SERVICE OF WRIT IN KILMAINHAM PRISON.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (for Mr. SEXTON) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether it is true, as stated in the public press, that a writ for rent was served on the 16th instant, in Kilmainham Prison, on Mr. Patrick Fury, a person detained in the prison in question by virtue of a warrant of the Lord Lieutenant, issued under the authority of the Act for the better protection of Person and Property in Ireland; whether, if the fact be as stated, this proceeding took place with the knowledge and sanction of the prison authorities; and, whether it was a legal proceeding?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. LAW): It is true that a writ for rent was served on the 16th instant, in Kilmainham Prison, on Mr. Patrick Fury, a prisoner under the Act for the Better Protection of Person and Property in Ireland. This proceeding took place with the knowledge and sanction of the prison authorities, and is quite legal.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT—DRAINAGE, &c., WORKS AT DUHALLOW, CO. CORK.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What arrangement has been made to secure to the tenants who have effected drainage or other works, the money advanced by the Board of Works, and, with reference to the lands of Islandaff, barony of Duhallow, county Cork, whether he can say how much of the money advanced for those lands has been paid to the tenant, John Daly, and how much has been retained by the landlord in payment of rent; if he will inform the House the rate per English perch allowed by Board of Works' inspector, and how much per Irish perch was allowed the tenant by the landlord; and, whether the landlord who has applied for and been granted advances to supply money to the tenants has the power to refuse from the fact that the tenant is a member of the Land League?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: With respect to the first Question, I have no precise information; with respect to the second, the rate allowed per English perch is 1*s*. 10*d*.; with respect to the last Question, I think the hon. Member has misinterpreted the Relief of Distress Act.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—STRATFORD-ON-AVON SCHOOL BOARD.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Vice President of the Council, If his attention has been directed to a Memorial addressed to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education by the mayor and inhabitants of Stratford on Avon, praying their Lordships to suspend the institution of a School Board for that town, until inquiry shall have been made into the grounds of the prayer contained in the Memorial?

MR. MUNDELLA: A Memorial was drawn up by the Mayor and inhabitants of Stratford-on-Avon; but it was received by the Department after the

Order for a school board had been issued, and I believe the election will take place next Thursday. But even if the Memorial had been presented earlier, it would not have been possible to suspend the Order, as the whole circumstances of the case had been fully considered before the Order was issued.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether, considering the importance of the debate on the subject of Candahar, which has been announced to take place on Thursday, Her Majesty's Government could, on their own responsibility, either make a statement or lay further Papers upon the Table of the House, so as to place the House in full possession of all the facts of the case?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I stated on Friday, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, that I would to-day, after communication with the Viceroy of India, endeavour to make some statement on the subject of the position of affairs in Afghanistan; and, having made that communication, I may as well take this opportunity of making a very short statement to the House on the subject. Immediately after the decision had been arrived at not permanently to occupy Candahar, communications were opened by the Government of India with the Ameer Abdurrahman, informing him of the intention of the Government to reconsider the arrangements which had been made for the government of Southern Afghanistan, and expressing the desire of the Viceroy to act in the matter in consultation and concert with him. There was great delay in the transmission of this letter to the Ameer, and the answer of the Ameer was also delayed some time on the road. However, when it was received, we found that the Ameer expressed his gratitude to the Viceroy for the communication which had been made to him, and his strong desire for a personal interview in order to confer with him on the affairs of Afghanistan. That, however, on account of the illness of the Viceroy, and for other reasons, was deemed impracticable at that time. The Ameer, however, had subsequently sent an Envoy, General Ahmed Khan, to Calcutta, to confer principally on Cabul matters. He has had several satisfactory interviews with the Viceroy, and he has returned to Cabul. In the meantime, however, in the month of January, the Viceroy intimated to Abdurrahman that the British Government would contemplate with satisfaction the restoration of Candahar to Afghanistan, and would agree to the extension of His Highness's authority over that Province, recognizing his Government when established, and generally assisting him, as they did at Cabul, by a limited material help. The Ameer has made the purport of the Viceroy's communication generally known at Cabul, and has accepted the offer. The Viceroy has since informed Abdurrahman that it was necessary that the Cabul troops, with a Governor authorized to receive charge from the British officers, should reach Candahar early in April. The Ameer replied that he was desirous to take charge of Candahar at once; that his troops were all ready, his carriage being the principal difficulty, and that he hoped his forces would reach Candahar about the time named. The latest information received from the Viceroy is to the effect that the Cabul troops have started, or will start shortly, for Candahar, and will reach Candahar early in April, and that all arrangements for our withdrawal are completed. At the same time, measures have been taken at Candahar in preparation for the withdrawal of the British troops; and several of the leading Sirdars at Candahar have written to the Ameer of Cabul tendering their allegiance. That, I think, is all the information which it is possible for me to give to the House at the present moment. The House will see that the position is a somewhat critical one, and that to enter into any further detail would not add very much to the information of the House, while it is possible that mischief might be caused in Afghanistan. I am sorry that it is not in my power to lay any Papers on the Table. The Correspondence is in an extremely incomplete state. That would be so under any circumstances; but it is more incomplete than it otherwise would have been in consequence of the circumstance that, owing to some extraordinary accident or oversight, many of the despatches in the Political Department which ought to have arrived by the last and previous mails have not yet been received. Amongst these are the Minutes by Members of the Council, which I expected to have received three weeks or, at the latest, a fortnight ago, and which I had hoped to be able to lay on the Table of the House. Although the Government of India telegraphed that they were sent, they have not yet reached me. Under these circumstances, I regret that it will not be in my power to lay any further Papers on the Table before the debate on the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope).

Mr. BOURKE: The noble Lord will recollect that he promised to lay on the Table Mr. Lyall's Report on Candahar; and perhaps he will inform us whether that is amongst the despatches which have not yet been received. If it has been received, will the noble Lord lay it on the Table?

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: The noble Lord says there are certain Minutes of Members of the Council which have not yet arrived. Will he have any objection to telegraph to India asking what is the purport of those Minutes?

Lord ELCHO: I would ask whether the whole of the British troops are to be withdrawn from Candahar as soon as the troops of the Ameer of Cabul arrive there?

Mr. ONSLOW: I would ask whether there has been any communication with Ayoob Khan at Herat with regard to the retention of Candahar?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: No communication whatever has been made to Ayoob Khan at Herat with regard to the retention of Candahar. It is not intended that any British troops should permanently occupy Candahar. What will be the precise arrangments for the withdrawal of the troops I am not able at present to say. I have no recollection of having made any reference to the Report of Mr. Lyall at Candahar, or having promised to lay it on the Table. I believe, however, that it has been received, and I will see whether it can be presented before Thursday. I do not think it possible to ask for the substance of the Minutes of Members of the Council by telegraph. Documents of that sort are not generally capable of being abbreviated without losing a great deal of their value.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: I beg to ask whether arrangements have been made for the security and protection of those inhabitants of Candahar who have favoured British rule during the last year or two?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am perfectly aware that that is one of the subjects which have been occupying the attention of the Viceroy and his Government. I am not, however, able to state what the exact arrangements are that have been made for the protection of those persons.

ARMY—LONG AND SHORT SERVICE.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will allow, in future, that men enlisting into the Foot Guards and the Infantry of the Line may enlist for either long or short service as they prefer?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I am not prepared to say that the Infantry and Foot Guards shall be in future recruited either for long or short service at the option of each recruit.

INDIA—MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for India, To mention the amount of the War Expenditure to the latest date, and to what date; and, for a further series of Papers relating to the Military Expenditure of India, and to the issues from the Treasuries for Military purposes?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: A further series of Papers relating to the war expenditure, and the issues from the Treasuries for military purposes, including the Viceroy's telegram, is now presented to the House. The latest estimate of the war expenditure is that contained in the Viceroy's telegram of the 8th of March, which gives the military expenditure proper as 1,930 lakhs of rupees, or, excluding gain from railways and telegraphs, 1,862 lakhs, to the 31st of May, 1881, besides 487 lakhs on the Frontier railways. Converted into sterling, at 1*s.* 8*d.* the rupee, these sums are £15,516,000 for military operations, and £4,058,000 for railways, making a total of £19,574,000.

AFGHANISTAN—FORTIFICATION OF CANDAHAR.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been drawn to the plans for the garrisoning and fortification of Candahar, which were prepared, under General Roberts' orders, by the chief engineer officer of the Cabul-Candahar Army, Colonel Perkins, R.E.; whether, according to those plans, a garrison of the total strength of seven thousand eight hundred men, half to occupy the fortifications, and half to operate beyond the walls, was considered to be ample for the retention of the place; whether the annual cost, as well as the original outlay required under those plans, would not be very much less than the figure stated in estimates which appear to be based upon the maintenance of a garrison of twelve or twenty thousand men; and, whether Her Majesty's Government can lay the plans in question, or any other plans prepared under the orders of General Roberts, upon the Table of the House?

Mr. CHILDERS: No, Sir; I have no knowledge of the plans to which the hon. Member refers; and I am also assured that there is no official information on the subject in the Indian Military Department.

COMPANIES ACTS, 1868—TRINITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

Mr. J. COWEN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether any decision has been arrived at respecting the amended application for a licence on the part of Trinity College, London; and, if not, whether the existing licence of the College is in any way affected by the delay; and, whether the application has been referred to the Education Department, and with what result?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he was not in a position to state officially whether there was an existing licence of Trinity College; but if there was, he did not see how it could be affected by the delay referred to in the Question of his hon. Friend.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—STATUE OF EARL RUSSELL.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the statue of Earl Russell lately erected in the Central Hall is to remain permanently on its present site; whether the site has been approved by the Department of Works, and whether before approval the Department of Works has asked or obtained the opinion of the Royal Institute of British Architects, or of any other competent architectural authority, whether such a statue could be placed in the Central Hall without detriment to architectural effect; and, whether the statue has been set up in the Central Hall at the public cost; and, if so, whether the sum necessary to defray this charge has been included in any Estimate which has been laid before Parliament?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The statue of Earl Russell was erected in the Central Hall in pursuance of the authority given in May, 1879, by the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, on the application of the then First Commissioner, the right hon. Member for Rutlandshire (Mr. Gerard Noel). Before that authority was given a model of the statue was erected on the proposed site, and received the approval of a Committee composed of a number of distinguished persons, including the then Prime Minister and the present Prime Minister. The site was also approved by the late Mr. Edward Barry, the son of the architect of the building, and himself a distinguished architect, and who was generally consulted on matters affecting architectural changes in this building. No expense has fallen upon the Government in the erection of the statue. Under these circumstance, it is not my intention to make any suggestion for the removal of the statue of this distinguished statesman.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is in a position to communicate to the House any information with respect to the negotiations between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boer leaders, or in regard to the position of affairs generally in South Africa?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sorry to say that since I last said a few words to the House on this subject, we have not received any information of any importance. We are given to understand that there are two causes for this. One is—I cannot say that we know this officially, we merely fall back on what we see stated as the cause—that the rains and floods have greatly impeded the movements of the persons concerned; and the other is that the illness of Mr. Kruger and another of the Boer leaders has prevented their arrival. I have no information in the slightest degree enlarging the means of judgment possessed by the House; and, therefore, I am certain it would be very unsatisfactory that we should have glances and glimpses on subjects of this kind, where everything depends on full and definite knowledge. As the Vote which will be proposed by my right hon. Friend depends on the enlargement of our military means in South Africa, and is perfectly separable from the subject of our policy, although the two might be discussed together, I hope the House may be disposed to postpone altogether from to-night the discussion of policy, unless on any particular point any hon. Gentleman thinks it necessary to state any matter that may occur to him as separable from the rest. I hope there will be a general disposition to postpone it. Of course, I adhere to the pledge I have given, that the information will be communicated to the House at the earliest possible moment at which it can be done without damage to the public interest, and also that we shall be ready, as, indeed, will be our plain duty, to make the best arrangements that may be practicable for the discussion of the subject, should it be desired by the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the right. hon. Gentleman whether he contemplates moving a Vote of Credit for 1881-2 in respect of the services in the Transval?

MR. CHARLES LEWIS asked whether the telegraph service was still open with the Transvaal?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the whole of the expenses incurred in the present year were included in the Vote to be submitted that night, or whether there would be another Supplementary Vote?

MR. CHILDERS: With respect to the last Question, I think the proper time to put it will be when we are in Committee, and I shall then be able to give full information on the subject. With reference to the Question of the hon. Member (Mr. Lewis), I received this morning a telegram of no importance, which I think was dated this morning, but I cannot say so with absolute certainty. As to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, if he refers to the Estimates for the coming year, he will find that they include between £500,000 and £600,000 on account of the Transvaal expenditure, and these items are shown distinctly as money proposed to be voted on that account.

PARLIAMENTARY OATH — MR. BRADLAUGH.

EARL PERCY asked, Whether the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had been called to a speech of the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), setting forth that, while it was his duty to sit and vote in the House of Commons as long as he remained Member for Northampton, he should prefer to resign his seat in order to again test the opinion of the constituency? Also, Whether he had seen it stated in the public prints that the hon. Member had applied for, and been refused, the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds?

MR. GLADSTONE: No application has been made to me for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds by the hon. Member for Northampton.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, Whether in case the Votes in Supply were obtained that night, he intended to make his Motion to-morrow with respect to the alleged vacant seat for Northampton?

MR. GORST said, it had been his intention, as soon as he could do so without interfering with Supply, to take the sense of the House as to whether the judgment of one of the Divisions of the High Court of Justice was to be treated as a complete nullity; but he observed, from the usual channels of information, that an appeal on the subject was likely to be heard very shortly, and as there was some reason to hope that the decision of the higher Court would be treated with greater respect than had been that of the inferior Court, he did not think it his duty at present to proceed with his Motion.

THAMES RIVER BILL.

In reply to Mr. RITCHIE,

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, as it was probable Friday next would be occupied with the Candahar debate, he should postpone the next stage of this Bill—he hoped for the last time—until the following Tuesday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PRIVILEGE—THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.—RESOLUTION.

Mr. O'DONNELL, in rising to call attention to the proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, on Tuesday March 8th, with regard to Order; and to move—

> "That Mr. Chairman of Committees was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair;"

said, that he understood that an hon. Member in his absence had taken occasion to reflect upon the course he had taken in leaving the Motion of which he had given Notice standing so long upon the Notice Paper. He desired, in the first place, therefore, to explain that he had postponed his Motion from time to time purely out of respect for the convenience of the House; and that he should greatly regret if the fact of his having kept his Motion so long upon the Notice Paper were to be interpreted into an act of discourtesy to the Chairman of Committees. He also desired to say that in placing that Notice upon the Paper he had carefully avoided language which could, in any sense, be regarded as conveying an imputation upon the justice or the righteous intentions of the Chairman of Committees. Under the stimulus and spur of the exasperation which he had felt at the most unprovoked and undeserved indignity which was put upon him, he admitted that he did use towards the Chairman of Committees words implying that that right hon. Gentleman had made an unjust and unfair use of the power which was intrusted to him. He now wished that it should be clearly understood that he by no means persisted in that statement, and that he was convinced that the conduct of the Chairman of Committees was not actuated by a desire to act unfairly or unjustly, but that it arose entirely out of an erroneous impression as to the course he was about to take on the occasion. Having regard to the importance of the question, and to the necessity of having it answered fairly, he would state, in as few words as possible, the part he took in the proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill on Tuesday, the 8th of March. So far from taking any active part in the discussion of the 8th instant, he only spoke once during the whole evening, and that was for five minutes, in support of a suggestion of an hon. Member to make an Amendment in the clause before the Committee, and which was substantially accepted by the Home Secretary, who had charge of the Bill. Therefore, upon whatever ground his persistent action against the Coercion Bills might have led to the supposition that he was engaging in obstructive tactics, or disregarding the authority of the Chair, on this particular occasion, at all events, there was no ground for any such supposition. It was in support of the Amendment he had previously spoken to, and in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary—who had, he believed, been most constant in his attendance and most conciliatory in his demeanour to the Irish Members—it was in the temporary absence of the right hon. Gentleman that the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Finigan) rose, and it was in connection with the speech of that hon. Member that he (Mr. O'Donnell) came in conflict with the Chair. Directly the hon. Member rose he was received with persistent cries of "Oh, oh!" "Divide!" and other clamorous expressions from hon. Members on the other side of the House. He did not intend in any way to justify the words then used by the hon. Member for Ennis, neither did he intend to contravene the ruling of the Chairman of Committees. He merely rose to a point of Order, and he believed he would have been able to place some valuable evidence before the Chairman of Committees. He rose, according to the report in the *Standard*, to speak to a point of Order, and said that—

> "Mr. O'Connell, in this House, applied to Members of the Tory Party (cries of Order). I am speaking to Order. Mr. Chairman said, 'I have already given my ruling that the hon. Member (Mr. Finigan) must withdraw the two words which he has used.'"

He (Mr. O'Donnell) instantly sat down, although he considered that he had important evidence to give upon the very language which was used by the hon. Member for Ennis, and evidence which would have prevented any serious misconception afterwards. He, however, sat down, and consequently there could be no blame resting on him with regard to his rising on a point of Order. He accepted the ruling of the Chair; but he was still under the impression that if he had been allowed by a cessation of clamour to state his point, the Chairman would have seen the appropriateness of his remarks. The hon. Member for Ennis then sought to offer some explanation of his conduct, and he was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman would gladly have listened to his explanation; because he believed that when an hon. Member was accused of making certain statements, the Chairman of Committees always pushed indulgence towards the accused to the extreme, and allowed him every opportunity of explaining his conduct. The Speaker would recollect that upon a recent occasion he (Mr. O'Donnell) rose to Order with regard to the words applied by the Solicitor General for Ireland to the Irish Members. That hon. and learned Gentlemen had said that some expressions used by Irish Gentlemen were insolent. The Speaker, however, declined to act upon his (Mr. O'Donnell's) statement that such words were used. He asked the hon. and learned Gentleman when he had used the words. It was only on the admission of the Solicitor General that he ruled that the phrase "insolent" was out of Order, and must be withdrawn. In the same way, he was quite sure that the hon. Member for Ennis, if he had succeeded in causing his words to reach the Chair, would have had most courteous indulgence on that occasion. The hon. Member, however, was received, as he, (Mr. O'Donnell) was received a few moments before, by a continuous clamour from a body of hon. Members below the Gangway on the opposite side of the House. Since the adoption of the Urgency Rules, hon. Gentlemen opposite had adopted a new phase in which to express disapproval of the observations of an hon. Member; whenever an hon. Member on the Irish Benches rose they now shouted, "Name him, name him, name him!" Now, that was not only most distracting and confusing to an hon. Member seeking to address the House, but it was most disrespectful and discourteous to the hon. Gentleman who was speaking and to the presiding authority; for it should be left to this authority alone to decide at which moment the penal powers placed in his hands by the judgment of the House should be exercised; and cries of "Name him, name him!" proceeding from every quarter of the House had the appearance of dictation to the Chair. He had, therefore, on that occasion sought to point out to the presiding authority that, however disrespectful and discourteous the language of the hon. Member for Ennis might have been, it had been provoked by the discourtesy and disrespect of hon. Members opposite; and it struck him (Mr. O'Donnell) that hon. Members sitting in their seats ought to be reminded of their duties to the House quite as fully and quite as clearly as any hon. Members who happened to be standing up to address the Chair. On this point, he desired to call the attention of the House to the very clear Rule on this subject, which was dated the 22nd of January, 1693, which was to this effect—

> "To the end that all the debates in this House should be grave and orderly as becomes so great an assembly and that all interruptions should be prevented, be it ordered and declared that no member of this House do presume to make any noise or disturbance whilst any member shall be orderly debating, or whilst any Bill, order, or other matter shall be in reading or opening; and in case of such noise or disturbance that Mr. Speaker do call upon the member by name making such disturbance, and that every such person shall incur the displeasure and censure of the House."

He thought that those who made uproarious noises while Irish Members were orderly debating questions before the House ought to be reminded that they were themselves at least equally liable to their favourite punishment of being named. When the incident raised by the hon. Member for Ennis had been closed, he rose to call attention to the persistent interruptions as being most discourteous to the Chair and most obstructive to order in the House. In his very first words, on rising to a point of Order, he took care to say he was not in any way going to contest the authority of the Chair. On the contrary, he was going to appeal to the Chair, and was not going to discuss in any way the question which had been raised by the hon. Member for Ennis. His very first words, according to the report in *The Standard*, were, "Now that that question is settled, I rise to Order." He could quote reports which were even more favourable to his point of view than *The Standard* report. For instance, *The Standard* report stated that the Chairman of Committees actually named him; whereas other reports, as well as the recollection of several hon. Members, bore out the statement that in the hurry of the moment the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair forgot the formality of absolutely naming him. However, he was by no means desirous of resting any portion of his case on technicalities. His complaint was that he was never allowed to state any portion of his point of Order. He could not even finish a quarter of a sentence before he was violently interrupted by a continuation of the outcries and uproar which had proceeded from the portion of the House he had before referred to. He was greeted with the loudest uproar, and ceaseless cries of "Name him, name him!" This disorderly shouting accompanied him from the very first moment he rose until he finished speaking. He had gone no further than to call attention to the words "beastly bellowing," admid loud cries of "Order!" when the Chairman said he had already decided as to those words. He (Mr. O'Donnell) then said—

> "Precisely. ('Order.') I am not objecting to your ruling. (Loud cries of 'Order,' and great confusion.) I am speaking to a point of Order. (Uproar.) The Chairman.—The point of order is already settled."

But that, he contended, was said by the Chairman when it was impossible for him to have caught what was stated, though, of course, the point of Order as to the words "beastly bellowing," had been already settled as long ago as Mr. O'Connell's time. Then the report in *The Times* continued—

> "Mr. O'Donnell.—I have a new point. (Irish cheers and cries of 'Name.') I am speaking to a new point of Order, and I will conclude in the fewest number of words. I shall be entirely guided by your ruling, but until I state my point no ruling can be given. As to the use of discourteous expressions, Mr. O'Connell in this House—— The Chairman.—That point has been already settled."

What he wished to do at the time was to call attention to the persistent and most disorderly and discourteous interruptions to which he was subjected, and he, therefore, replied to the Chairman that he rose to a new point of Order—a statement that was followed, according to *The Times* and *The Standard*, by violent interruptions and cries of "Name!" From first to last he was hounded down at every syllable by shouts that were contrary, not only to the Order of the House, but to the common courtesy of less august Assemblies; and then, without a single word of warning, without telling him to sit down, and without giving the slightest hint that he was doing anything but what had been done by thousands of Members of the House during all the centuries of its existence, the Chairman said—"I now name the Member for Dungarvan as disobeying the ruling of the Chair." And yet there was no ruling of the Chair at the time, and there could be none, as he had not been allowed to complete his first sentence. If the time of the House had at all costs to be saved, it would have been better for the Chairman to have heard him, and then, if proper, to have decided against him; but, as things were, two divisions, one of the Committee and one of the House, were rendered necessary. The fact was that the Chairman misunderstood him, and he had no opportunity of explaining his point of Order, while hundreds of clamorous deputy-chairmen named him unofficially. He had been treated with very great injustice; but he attributed no such intention to the Chairman, who, he was sure, found himself in a very difficult position. He was tempted by the fact that the Home Secretary had moved his suspension for the crime of not being able to finish a sentence to remind the House that that right hon. and learned Gentleman had on a former occasion expatiated on the danger of preventing a speaker from finishing at least one sentence. In the last Parliament, under the courteous leadership of the present Leader of the Opposition, a dispute arose in Committee in the course of the debates on flogging in the Army. It was on the memorable night when the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) deposed from his leadership the noble Lord who then sat for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington), and who held unpopular views on the flogging question. On that occasion, while warmly advocating the abolition of the cat, he had spoken of the assembling of 500,000 men in Hyde Park; whereupon there were cries of "Order!" and a Motion was made to take down his words. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, however, with all the chivalry that was always at their service until his Party came into Office, interposed, and by an anecdote of George III. illustrated the possibility of finishing sentences in a manner not expected. In the end the Motion was withdrawn, on the assurance that no un-Parliamentary language was intended. Now, however, it seemed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, being in Office, had forgotten his former prudence and wisdom. In repeating the complaint he had to make, and with respect to which he wished it to be clearly understood that he brought no personal charge against the Chairman of Committees, he had only to say that he had risen to a point of Order; that he had distinctly stated that he regarded the previous point of Order as settled; that he was rising to a new point of Order; and that he had professed himself ready to submit to the decision of the Chair. Instead of being allowed to state his point of Order, he was instantly interrupted by a storm of shouts of "Order!" and "Name!" which went on unceasingly until he was named. He thought he might fairly complain, as a Member of the House and as representing an Irish constituency; that in a debate on a Bill specially affecting Ireland, he had been turned out of the House with the most undeserved stigma of having disregarded the ruling of the Chair. If reference were made to his conduct on other occasions, he was sure it would not be in the spirit of the Kerry juryman, who procured a verdict of guilty against an obviously innocent man, who was being tried for murder, and justified his conduct on the ground that the prisoner, though innocent of murder, had stolen his horse at Christmas. He regretted no part of his conduct in opposing the Coercion Bills; he was only doing his duty to his constituents. He was not prepared to make any apology or to lie under the stigma imposed upon him. He had asked one of the most respected Members of the House whether the House would vote fairly, though it was only the Member for Dungarvan who appealed to it, and he was told that it would. In the confidence, then, that that House would act towards him exactly as it would in similar circumstances towards the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition or the Leader of Her Majesty's Government, he would leave his case in its hands.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Mr. Chairman of Committees, in the proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, on Tuesday March 8th, was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR: I have no remark to make except approval for the hon. Member having delayed this Motion, on account of the urgency of Public Business, although it is obvious that a Motion of this character should not be allowed to weaken the authority of the Chair by remaining undetermined. The hon. Member has given to the House his impression of the proceedings on Tuesday, 8th March. This impression is, however, largely formed from the inner consciousness of his intention, and is not that which the Committee or the Chairman received by any audible expression of them. I ask now the House to go back and consider the actual facts of the proceedings, instead of the hypothetical representation derived from the inner consciousness of the hon. Member for Dungarvan. During the discussion an hon. Member used an expression which the Chair deemed to be discourteous to Members sitting opposite to him, and his attention was called to the fact, and to the necessity of using courteous language. The hon. Member did not act upon the advice of the Chair, but increased the strength of his expression, and said that the noise opposite to him resembled "beastly bellowing." That was not the first time those words had been used in the House. They had been applied by Mr. Daniel O'Connell on a well-known occasion, and had then been ruled out of Order. Acting upon that well-known ruling, the Chairman desired the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Finigan) to withdraw the expression.

Upon that, the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) intervened before the withdrawal of the words, and said—

> "Mr. O'Donnell: There is a point of Order, and I wish to speak to it. (Cries of 'Order' and 'Name him.') Mr. O'Connell in this House, replying to Members of the Tory Party —(Cries of 'Order, order.') I am speaking to Order. (Cries of 'Name him.') The Chairman: I have already given my ruling that the hon. Member must withdraw the two words which he used."

After a little resistance the hon. Member for Ennis did withdraw the words objected to, and he was then called upon by the Chair to continue his speech. The hon. Member for Ennis rose to resume the debate; but the hon. Member for Dungarvan for the second time intervened between him and the Chair, and spoke as follows:—

> "Mr. O'Donnell: I rise to Order, now that question is settled. I rise to Order—(Cries of 'Order, order.') On the point of Order—(uproar.) I must remind the Committee that the words 'beastly bellowing'—(uproar.) The Chairman: I have already decided upon those words."

Again the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Finigan) was called upon by the Chair to resume the debate. Upon this the hon. Member for Dungarvan intervened, and said—

> "Mr. O'Donnell (amid cries of 'Name him'): Decidedly. I am not objecting to your ruling. I am speaking to a point of Order. (Cries of 'Order, order.') The Chairman: The point of Order on that subject is already settled."

Again the Chair called upon the hon. Member for Ennis to continue his speech, but the hon. Member for Dungarvan, spoke a third time—

> "Mr. O'Donnell: A new point is raised. (Cries of 'Order.') I am speaking to a point of Order, and I will in the fewest possible words state the point. I will be guided entirely by your ruling; but until I have stated my point of Order there is no point for the Chairman to decide. With regard to the use of discourteous language, Mr. O'Connell in this House - (uproar.) The Chairman: That point of Order is already settled. Mr. O'Donnell: No, Sir. The Chairman: I now name the hon. Member for Dungarvan, Mr. O'Donnell, as having disregarded the authority of the Chair. Mr. O'Donnell remained on his feet, saying something which was inaudible in the Gallery owing to the din."

These are the facts of the case, and the report which I have quoted from *The Scotsman* is, I believe, verbally accurate. I would draw the attention of the House to this circumstance—first, that the hon. Member for Dungarvan intervened between the Chairman's direction for the withdrawal of the objectionable words, and the hon. Member who was called upon to withdraw them. When these words were withdrawn, the debate ought to have been immediately resumed, and accordingly the Chairman twice called upon the hon. Member in possession of the debate to continue his speech; but each time that he did so the hon. Member for Dungarvan intervened between the direction of the Chairman for the resumption of the debate and the hon. Member for Ennis, who rose to continue it. On both these occasions he referred to the expression "beastly bellowing," which had been withdrawn, and was no longer under discussion. The hon. Member for Dungarvan says that he intended to have drawn the attention of the Chair to the unruly conduct on the other side of the House, which had exasperated the hon. Member speaking, and brought forth the expression "beastly bellowing." At an earlier stage of the debate this would have been quite in Order. When, in the first instance, the hon. Member for Ennis was disturbed by exclamations from the other side of the House, it would have been quite competent for him to direct attention to them, and ask the protection of the Chair. And at that time it would have been equally competent for the hon. Member for Dungarvan to direct the attention of the Chair to the alleged disorder, and ask whether it could not be subdued by the action of the Chair. But when the hon. Member for Ennis took the rebuke into his own hands by the use of un-Parliamentary expressions, the case became entirely altered. When he was called upon to withdraw the words "beastly bellowing," the intervention of the hon. Member for Dungarvan between the Chair and the hon. Member for Ennis became irregular and out of Order, because it prevented that Member from at once conforming to the ruling of the Chair. It was also irregular and out of Order, when the Chair called upon the Member in possession of the House to resume the debate, for the hon. Member for Dungarvan twice to intervene between the Chair and the resumption of the debate, while on both these occasions he spoke with reference to the words "beastly bellowing," which had been withdrawn, and were no longer before the House. There is nothing of which the House is more properly jealous than when Members intervene between the Chairman and a Member who has called forth the censure of the Chair. Such interruptious almost invariably lead, as they did in the present case, to renewed disorder. On several occasions you, Mr. Speaker, have intimated that you would treat such interruptions as disorderly; and on the occasion under discussion, when the hon. Member for Dungarvan not only intervened between the ruling of the Chair for the ultimate withdrawal of the expression "beastly bellowing," but again twice after the Chairman had called upon the hon. Member for Ennis to resume the debate, he appeared both to the Committee and to the Chairman as having the deliberate intention of obstructing the course of the debate. The strong impression upon my own mind, as Chairman, was that the hon. Member for Dungarvan desired to prevent the resumption of the debate, in order that he might have an opportunity of discussing the words "beastly bellowing," to which he referred in all his three speeches. As these words had been declared to be out of Order, and were withdrawn, it would have been a direct defiance of the Chair to permit their further discussion. I had, therefore, with this conviction on my mind, no other course than to inform the Committee that the hon. Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair. The protection of that authority then devolved upon the House. The House has not given to the Chair any power even to make a Motion for the suspension of a Member when a Member has been named to the Committee. It is for the House to determine whether it considers the case as one requiring the grave punishment of suspension; and it is only upon Motion made that the House is called upon to decide whether the Member named by the Chairman should be suspended or not. The Motion made for suspension in Committee was carried by 127 Ayes to 27 Noes. It was then confirmed by the House itself by 143 Ayes to 32 Noes. The Committee and the House which had heard the original un-Parliamentary language, and listened to the interruptions, thus confirmed the opinion of the Chairman that the authority of the Chair had been disregarded. I may remind the House that on the suspension in Committee beigh reported, the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell) took exception to the suspension, not upon the ground now taken, that a new point of Order had not been listened to, but upon the mere technical point that he had not heard the Chairman call the hon. Member for Dungarvan by the name of Mr. O'Donnell. That was an altogether insignificant and unimportant issue, even if it had been true; but it is important to observe that the challenge of the action of the Chair was not that it had refused to listen to a complaint of the disorderly conduct of certain Members; but that the Chairman had failed in a mere point of technicality. In this the hon. Member for Cork City was entirely mistaken, for the words used by myself were—"I name the hon. Member for Dungarvan, Mr. O'Donnell, as disregarding the authority of the Chair." I now have stated the facts of the case as they appeared to myself, and to the great majority of the Committee and the House itself, on the 8th of March. After the statement made to-day by the hon. Member for Dungarvan, I am bound to believe that he intended to draw my attention to disorderly conduct on the other side of the House. He was unfortunate in his mode of doing so, and was out of Order all the three times which he selected for the purpose; and he was additionally unfortunate that he gave to the Committee no hint even of his intention, for in each of his three short speeches he put in the forefront an apparent intention of discussing the words "beastly bellowing," upon which a distinct ruling had been given, and final action had been taken. I have read carefully every report of the speeches which I could find, to see whether any other intention had been expressed that might have escaped my ear in the noise and confusion of the scene; but I have found no such indication. I contend, therefore, that with the evidence before him, the Chairman was bound to use the Rule of the House against the apparent obstruction to the resumption of the debate; and that the Committee, and subsequently the House, which had heard the whole proceedings, were justified in the vote which they gave upon the Motion for suspension.

Mr. BENTINCK, having been present on the occasion in question, must express his conviction that the whole case arose from a misunderstanding between the Member for Dungarvan and the Chairman of Ways and Means. What had just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman showed distinctly that he was under the impression that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvan meant to refer to a subject which had been already under discussion, and upon which he had, from the Chair, already given his decision. If, however, his own impression of what occurred was correct, that was not the object of the hon. Gentleman, who rose to a fresh point of Order entirely apart from the subject which had been discussed; and if he understood anything of the Rules of that House, the hon. Gentleman was perfectly justified in rising to Order. It seemed to him, with all due deference to the House, that the time of the House ought not to be employed in discussing a case which arose entirely through a misunderstanding. He would further express his opinion that, as a matter of justice to the hon. Member for Dungarvan, the decision which was come to under a misapprehension ought to be rescinded.

Mr. CAINE, as one of those who voted against the suspension of the hon Member for Dungarvan, appealed to him whether, after the statement which he had been able to make, he would not consent to withdraw his Motion?

Mr. BIGGAR said, he was not disposed very much to blame the Chairman of Ways and Means, if at all, because he knew very well that very great coercion was brought to bear upon him by the Ministerialists to get him to give a decision different from what he probably would be inclined himself to give; but seeing that the right hon. Gentleman had, in point of fact, given up the whole case, he thought the House would do well to give its decision unanimously in favour of his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan.

Mr. ONSLOW thought this was a very serious matter, as the hon. Member for Dungarvan had been a second time suspended, and the House well knew the severity of the penalty should the hon. Member at some future time commit another offence. Hon. Members ought to support the ruling of the Chairman on every occasion; but the right hon. Gentleman's observations that evening showed that he misunderstood the purport of the remarks of the hon. Member for Dungarvan. There was very good reason why he should misunderstand them. The noise in the House was so dreadful at the time that he defied any Chairman of Ways and Means rightly to have understood what the hon. Member said unless, in the first place, he called the hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to Order. Although it would be a strong point for them to vote against the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, yet, as a severe penalty attached to the vote they gave somewhat under a misapprehension the other night, he would appeal to the Prime Minister as to whether they had not better, in all the circumstances of the case, agree to rescind that vote? This would not be casting any stigma on the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman who was in the Chair, for they all knew the difficult position he was placed in—a position at all times one of some difficulty, but which had become this Session still more difficult. He thought it would be desirable not to come to a vote on the present occasion. If the hon. Member for Dungarvan would accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck), matters would be very much simplified.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I stand rather in a different position from the hon. Member who has just addressed the House. I was present on the occasion, and I think he was not. I wish to speak of this matter with good feeling, and in the temperate tone with which it has been treated on both sides. As the hon. Member for Dungarvan has correctly stated, when the circumstances to which he referred unfortunately arose, I was not in the House. When I re-entered the House, which I had left very quiet, I found it had got into a rather lively condition. I understood that the words "beastly bellowing" gave rise to a great deal of strong feeling in the House. Thereupon, the Chairman of Committees called upon the Member who had used these words to withdraw them; and then, according to my recollection, the hon. Member for Dungarvan interposed. Now, as I understood the hon. Member, he most distinctly rose to point out to the Chairman of Committees that these words were not objectionable, and that he ought not to call upon the hon. Member to withdraw them. I do not think the hon. Member will dispute that.

MR. O'DONNELL: I am sure the right hon. Gentleman would not wish to misrepresent me; but I thought I stated clearly in my opening observations that I rose to offer evidence upon a point of Order, and sought by no means to in any way justify the use of the words "beastly bellowing."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What I conceive is, and I believe I am right in that view of the matter, that if a Member uses words which are objectionable, and the Chairman calls upon that Member to withdraw those words, it would be irregular for anybody to interpose between the Chair and the Member addressing the House, to discuss whether or not the Chairman was right in asking that the words should be withdrawn, and to raise a debate on that subject. The first irregularity I observed was the attempt on the part of the hon. Member (Mr. O'Donnell) to interpose between the Chair and the Member who had used those objectionable words. It was upon that first occasion, as I understood it, that the hon. Member for Dungarvan made his first reference to Mr. O'Connell. I had the impression, and I think every Member in the House had the impression, that the reference of the hon. Member for Dungarvan to Mr. O'Connell's case was to point out, and to lead the Chairman and the House to believe, that these words ought not to be objectionable and not withdrawn. That was the impression produced upon my mind at that time. What took place was this. After the Chairman, having called upon the hon. Member for Ennis to withdraw these words, they were, after all these interruptions, ultimately withdrawn, and there was again that question of Order. Now, mark, the hon. Member for Dungarvan says that he rose to a new question of Order; but there could be no new question of Order, because nothing had occurred. [Mr. O'DONNELL: Yes.] No doubt, the hon. Member for Dungarvan now thinks that there was a point of Order.

MR. O'DONNELL: I rise to a point of Order. I must respectfully request the Home Secretary not to use the word "now" as implying any insinuation against me.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I beg the hon. Member for Dungarvan to observe that I made no insinuation at all in the words I used. I pointed out that the words used now are in opposition to what was acted upon by the Chairman of Committees, and that was what the hon. Member then said. What he then said was not an objection to anything taking place below the Gangway on this side of the House. After the Chairman had said "I have already decided on these words," the hon. Member then rose. Remember, nothing had occurred except what came from the other side of the House. If the hon. Member had said there was a clamour on the other side, and called upon the Chairman to put it down, that would have been very intelligible; but he proceeded to call the attention of the House to the use of discourteous language by Mr. O'Connell. Could any man in this House believe, could the Chairman of Committees believe, anything else than that that was a distinct reference to the previous words of "beastly bellowing" which had been used by Mr. O'Connell? What was the meaning of the reference to Mr. O'Connell? It was quite plain, therefore, to everybody, that the words Mr. O'Connell used, and which the hon. Member wished to call attention to, were a going back again upon the old story of "beastly bellowing," and that he wished to invite the consideration of the Committee to something which had been decided. That was the impression produced upon my mind and that of the Chairman of Committees; and I do not very well see how on that occasion the right hon. Gentleman could have interpreted the use of discourteous language, and the reference to Mr. O'Connell, as having anything to do with a new point of Order. It is for the House, however, to determine what it will do under these circumstances.

MR. PLUNKET: Mr. Speaker, perhaps the House will allow me to say a very few words, which will not, I think, tend to excite any acrimony, as I believe I was the only Member on this Bench on this occasion. I must say that my recollection agrees in every respect with what has fallen from the Chairman of Committees. There was certainly at the time a considerable amount of confusion in the House; and no one need impute any want of good faith to those concerned, for it was really difficult to catch anything at all. As to the point whether the hon. Member for Dungarvan was named, such was the noise in the House throughout that, although I distinctly heard the Chairman say "Mr. O'Donnell," hon. Members sitting just behind me did not catch those words. The impression produced on my mind at the time the hon. Member for Dungarvan was speaking was exactly that described by the Chairman of Committees as the impression produced on his mind; and I certainly did believe that the hon. Member was persisting in referring to the term "beastly bellowing," upon which the Chairman had already ruled. He has told us now that was not his intention, and as to that it is not for me to say a word; but at the time no other construction could be placed upon his words. I submit to the House it was impossible for the Chairman of Committees or myself to suppose that, instead of referring to that point, he was about to allude to an interesting Parliamentary incident 200 years old; and believing that the hon. Member was persisting in resisting the authority of the Chair, I, for one, thought it my duty to support the Chair; and if this Motion goes to a division, I shall still be prepared to support it. If I might be allowed to make a suggestion it is, that the hon. Member for Dungarvan, having addressed the House in a way which will commend itself to us all, and having given an explanation of what he intended to do—under all the circumstances, if the Leader of the House can make any proposal to settle this matter, it will be received with general satisfaction.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I feel indebted, not only to the right hon. Gentleman near me (Sir William Harcourt), but to hon. Gentlemen opposite, who have kindly, and, I think, usefully and as impartially as I could wish, related to us who were not in the House at the time when the circumstances occurred, exactly their impressions and belief of what took place; and I think that their statements will carry, and justly carry, the greatest weight with the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Plunket) has asked me if I am able to offer any suggestion; and he is quite justified in making that appeal. Unfortunately, as I need hardly state, for myself, I was not in the House at the time when the circumstances occurred, and, therefore, I have been anxiously waiting to gather the most exact impression at which I could arrive as to the nature of these circumstances. I think we have got considerable light, if we can make use of it, in the case before us. The Motion of the hon. Gentleman has led to a speech from him, couched in the most becoming terms, which I do not hesitate to say must carry to all of your minds the full conviction that the hon. Gentleman had not the least intention of disregarding the authority of the Chair. I make that acknowledgment, not as a matter of favour; but that the hon. Gentleman is entitled to it there can be no doubt. But that is very far from disposing of the case now before us. We have now before us a Motion; and we must look at the position of that Motion, and the construction which the adoption of the Motion would naturally carry. I was very glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman who rose to make the suggestion in relief, if I may so say, of the hon. Member for Dungarvan, did not recommend the adoption of his Motion, but recommended its withdrawal. Now, I think that is the course which ought to be followed, and I will give my reason. If we are called upon, as I hope we shall not be called upon, to vote upon the Question before us, I feel no difficulty, because the Motion is that you do leave the Chair for the purpose of going into Committee of Supply, and that the words shall stand part of the Question. Consequently, our first question will not be the pronunciation of any judgment at all upon the Motion made by the hon. Member for Dungarvan. I feel, therefore, that those who might be, perhaps, more prepared than I am to adopt that Motion, may very justly vote for the previous Motion, that the words "that you do leave the Chair," should stand part of the Question. I am bound to say that, with the feeling I have expressed in regard to the hon. Member for Dungarvan—and by no means precluding myself from considering hereafter whether there is any manner by which he can be relieved from the consequences of the position in which he has been placed—I cannot possibly vote for his Motion. I must ask myself what would be the effect of it. He invites us to vote that the

Chairman of Committees was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair. If we rule that the Chairman of Committees was under an erroneous impression, no person can mistake the fact that we should be, although not in actual terms, pronouncing a condemnation upon the conduct of the Chairman of Committees. I am not prepared to pronounce that condemnation. I give my distinct opinion that the adoption of those words is in itself a condemnation of the conduct of the Chairman of Committees. I do not mean to say it is a severe condemnation; but it is an imputation that he acted erroneously. The Chairman of Committees did not, in my opinion, act erroneously, because he acted upon, I think, the just and necessary inference from the words which were again and again placed before him by the hon. Member for Dungarvan. Will the hon. Member for Dungarvan allow me to say that the Chairman of Committees was misled by the hon. Member himself, and that, under those circumstances, it would not be fair or just to record these words? My right hon. Friend near me contends, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Plunket) has stated, that the Chairman of Committees pronounced the only judgment at the moment he could pronounce. If that is so, we ought most carefully to avoid any words which, by the remotest implication, would go to assert that, in the opinion of the House, the Chairman of Committees erred in judgment, when it was the hon. Gentleman himself who supplied him with sufficient evidence, on which he acted. ["No, no!"] That is my opinion, and it was evidence which warranted his action. What the hon. Gentleman now says with regard to his intention is a totally different matter. ["No, no!"] It appears to me that the hon. Gentleman used words again and again which left no option to the Chairman of Committees. I say that as frankly as I say that the hon. Gentleman has convinced me that he unfortunately used these words; and if he had had the opportunity, rightly withheld from him, he would have given an ultimate turn to the matter contrary to all natural and reasonable expectation, and would have showed that he had no intention of disregarding the authority of the Chair It has been suggested that we should rescind the Motion affecting the hon. Member; but I shall be careful about giving an opinion on that subject at the present moment. It is not the proposal before us, and it is one which appears to me to involve difficult points of procedure. Whether it is a matter which can be considered or not—whether there are modes in which the hon. Member can have authentically asserted, what we all believe, that he did not intend to disregard the authority of the Chair—I do not now say; but it is a question to which I should be prepared to give dispassionate and favourable consideration hereafter. I cannot follow the hon. Gentleman in the terms of the Motion, which go to imply a censure on the Chairman of Committees, which was evidently not warranted.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am, in one respect, in the same position as the Leader of the House. I was not present when this matter took place; but, speaking from what I have gathered in the course of this discussion, I may say that the impression left on my mind is the same as appears to have been left on that of the right hon. Gentleman—that is to say, that the explanation which has been given in the course of this debate by the hon. Member for Dungarvan, and which has been given in so excellent a tone, and with so much moderation, is fully sufficient to satisfy us that he had not in his mind the intention of disregarding the authority of the Chair. It is one reason why I should hope we may not have to come to any decision on this question that might seem to imply on the part of those who were not able to vote with the hon. Member that they were not satisfied with his explanation. I, for my part—and I believe I speak the general sense of the House—feel satisfied that the explanation he has given is the true explanation of his intentions, and that, so taken, it is undoubtedly one which acquits him of any intention to disregard the authority of the Chair. But, on the other hand, I feel strongly with the Prime Minister that if we were to pass a Resolution of this kind, it could not but be taken as so far as a reflection on the conduct of the Chairman of Committees as materially to weaken, if not, perhaps, even to destroy, his authority upon future occasions. In these matters, indirectly, we have had too much experience of what takes place. There is a great deal of confusion in the House, a great deal of heat, and a great deal of noise, so that it is extremely difficult for anyone to form an accurate judgment as to what may be in the mind of anyone who may wish to address the House. I am satisfied, however, that the Chairman of Committees on this occasion, as I have seen him do on so many other occasions, did his very best to preserve his authority with strict regard to the rights and feelings of Members. Nothing can be more difficult than the positien of the Chairman on such occasions; and from my own experience I would say that it is the duty of the House to support, as far as possible, the authority of its Chairman as of the Speaker. I hope, as the result of this discussion, that hon. Members in all parts of the House will bear in mind that the kind of support they can best give to the Speaker and the Chairman is a quiet support, and a support afforded consistently with the feelings and rights of other Members. I think that occasionally there have been instances of impatience shown to hon. Members on this side of the House which has rendered the matter very difficult. I hope the hon. Member for Dungarvan and those who act with him will bear in mind that if he has been a little harshly treated on this occasion, there have been other occasions when he and his Friends have, perhaps, been more deserving. What I hope may be the upshot of the matter is that, even if the hon. Member for Dungarvan should be made a martyr for it, there will be a diminution of those scenes, and less frequent occasions for them. Meantime, I trust we may not be put to the pain of a division. To me it would be a very painful vote, because it would cast a reflection I have no intention of doing. Whether it may be possible, as has been suggested by the Prime Minister, to find some other way of relieving the hon. Member for Dungarvan from the painful position in which he feels himself to be, and set him at liberty to exercise greater freedom, I cannot say; but I do hope that the matter may close in the same spirit and the same good nature with which it has been conducted till now; that the hon. Member for Dungarvan will be satisfied with the favourable impression that has evidently been made by his speech; and that the Chairman of Committees will rest assured that he has the support of the House in the very difficult position he has to fill.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was in the House at the time the incident in question occurred, and although there was a good deal of clamour on the Benches opposite, he was able to follow the whole course of the proceedings which then took place. His hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan, he recollected, rose in his place several times, and each time began by saying that he did not do so to dispute the ruling of the Chairman, but to a new point of Order. He made also some reference to the words "beastly bellowing," but not, as he understood, to explain or justify the use of those words, but to point out that words of the kind were provoked by the noise and clamour which prevailed on the other side of the House. If his hon. Friend had been allowed to finish his sentence, he would have explained in a moment what the point of Order was which he desired to raise, and the whole thing would have been at an end. He did not blame the Chairman of Committees in the matter, for he could very well understand the difficulties with which he had to contend; but he was convinced his hon. Friend had no intention of challenging the authority of the Chair. His hon. Friend, however, had been suspended a second time from the Sittings of the House, and there ought to be some way out of the difficulty by which he would be relieved from a most unjust censure, while the authority of the House would be at the same time preserved.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, that he quite accepted the explanation of the hon. Member for Dungarvan as to what he intended to say; but the House had to consider, not what he intended to do, but what he actually did. Now, the hon. Member admitted that he persisted in referring more than once to the words already withdrawn in deference to the ruling of the Chair. Under these circumstances, while fully accepting the assurance given by the hon. Member, he did not think that the Chairman of Committees could have taken any other course than that which he actually adopted; and he could not, therefore, concur in any Resolution which in any way would seem to imply any censure of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. CALLAN said, that having been present on the occasion in question, he believed both the Chairman of Committees and the hon. Member for Dungarvan laboured under a mutual misunderstanding. The latter repeated more than once that he rose to a new point of Order; and the only doubt he himself had was whether the hon. Gentleman was about to refer by name—there having been a most unbecoming noise on the Radical Benches opposite—to the hon. Member for Exeter, or the hon. Baronet the Member for Lambeth (Sir James C. Lawrence). He trusted the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion without receiving any fresh assurance from the Treasury Bench.

Mr. PARNELL did not rise to prolong the debate. He did not think it would be profitable to inquire whether the Chairman of Committees was right or wrong in supposing that the hon. Member for Dungarvan was going to return to the old point of Order. If it were desirable to do so, he might express the opinion that it would have been better if his hon. Friend had been allowed to finish the sentence in which he proposed to introduce the new point of Order. To-day was the first opportunity the hon. Member had had of making his explanation to the House in reference to his intentions on the occasion in question. It would be unreasonable that the Prime Minister should be asked for an immediate declaration as to what steps, if any, he proposed to take. He would advise his hon. Friend to withdraw his Motion, and leave the question as to how he might be rehabilitated in his right to the consideration of the Prime Minister.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he had not asked the House to do anything for him on the ground of what he intended to say, as he might rest his whole case entirely on the fact that he had been misinterpreted. He felt that he had condescended too far in making that explanation. The point of his whole case was that he was interrupted through the misconception of the Chairman, owing to the clamour which prevailed in the House at the time, and was prevented from availing himself of his right and stating fully his new point of Order for the consideration of the Chair. He was happy, however, to accept the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), and to ask leave to withdraw his Motion, leaving to the Government any discretion which they might choose to exercise on the subject. Although he thought a fuller acknowledgment of his position might be given, he wished to thank right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House for the generous kindness and courtesy of their references to him.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Perhaps I ought to say that I will do my best—and no man can do more—in connection with the appeal made. This is a very novel and difficult case; and I am bound to state frankly that I certainly could do nothing in it which could disparage the proceedings of my right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees. Beyond that, I should be very glad to consult with those who are most competent to enter into the matter, and if we can tender any suggestion it shall be tendered.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. CHILDERS: I beg to move—

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £446,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for meeting Additional Expenditure beyond the amounts already granted for Supplies and Warlike Stores for the Army."

This Supplementary Estimate refers solely to the expenditure in connection with the war now going on in Natal and the Transvaal; and I think that I should best consult the convenience of the Committee if, after what passed an hour or more ago, I made no reference whatever to the policy of the war, but confined my remarks to the military expenditure included in the Estimate. I will state, therefore, in as few words as possible, that the whole of this £446,000 which I ask the House to vote is proposed in connection with the operations in the Transvaal; and under these circumstances:—When Her Majesty's Government took Office in the spring of last year I found that the Estimates of this current year had been prepared upon the basis of four regiments being employed in Natal and the Transvaal during the financial year which is now about to close. One Cavalry regiment was also to be employed during the first half of the year until October; and the land transport was to be on a peace footing. That Estimate had been so prepared by the late Government before there was any clear idea that a larger amount of force would be required to be kept up in the Transvaal during the year; and so it was only determined to provide for land transport upon a peace footing. If it became necessary to provide land transport on a war footing a Supplementary Estimate would have been required; but when we took Office we came to the conclusion, after carefully considering the recommendations of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and after conferring with Sir George Colley, who had been appointed by our Predecessors, and who went over to the Transvaal a few months afterwards—we determined not to revise the transport arrangements, but to leave them as they had been for some time; and to wait until Sir George Colley made his report to us after he had taken over the civil and military government of the Colonies in question. Sir George Colley was to report what he might consider desirable with respect to the maintenance of the Land Forces in the Transvaal. Sir George Colley did so report the cost of the arrangements that were then contemplated; and even if we had not been engaged in the present war which has, unfortunately, broken out within the last few months, the Estimates, as far as the Transvaal is concerned, would have been exceeded to a small extent. It is right I should state this, in order that there may be no misapprehension whatever as to the intentions of the late Government and the present Government in this matter. In the month of December the occurrences took place in the Transvaal which led to this unfortunate war; and the present Estimate is the Estimate of the expense which we consider it would be necessary to incur at the end of the present financial year, that is, to the end of the present month. A right hon. Gentleman opposite asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, during the time of Questions, whether it was intended to ask for any Supplementary Estimate for the expense of the Transvaal War during the present year? [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: During the year 1881-2.] I beg pardon, during the year 1881-2; and I refer the right hon. Gentleman to his own Estimates for the year, which show a considerable sum would have to be expended during 1881-2; and that the sum so estimated by him, up to the end of January last, is between £500,000 and £600,000, so that the Estimates at present before the Committee amount altogether to the expenditure of about £1,000,000 in connection with the Transvaal War, so far as the expenditure was determined to the end of January last. Of this sum £440,000 are due to the current financial year; and between £500,000 and £600,000 will be expended in connection with the next financial year. Of course, whether this sum is sufficient or not must depend on the result of the negotiations now going on. If the Transvaal War should be continued for a considerable time, it would be necessary, no doubt, in the spring of next year to ask for a further Vote; but it is only my duty, at the present moment, to state what we require in respect of the present financial year. Towards the end of January last we anticipated that the necessary expenditure would be about £440,000. But then, I may be asked, what has occurred since then? We are now some way on in the month of March; and it is necessary to know what the expenditure is likely to be for the current year. This, I need scarcely say, has been my own question to those who advised me in this matter for some weeks past. I have constantly pressed upon the officials, both military and financial, of the War Office to keep me very carefully informed, so that if in their judgment these Estimates are not sufficient, I might at once ask for a second Estimate. But after careful inquiry, such as can be made here, and by telegraph in South Africa, I am satisfied that it would not be proper to ask the Committee to vote a further sum. I do not at all say that it is impossible, when the Accounts are made up, that a further sum may not be necessary; but, as far as we can reasonably estimate, from the information in our possession, we consider that amount to be sufficient.

There is one reason why it is not necessary to increase the charge which must be familiar to all who are conversant with Army and Navy expenditure. Since the Estimate was asked it is quite true we have sent out further troops to the extent of several regiments; but, so far from increasing the Army Charges, this fact diminishes the Army Charges, because when the troops are aboard ship they are, in respect of provisions for the men and forage for the horses, at the charge of the Navy, and not of the Army. Such is the financial arrangement between the two Departments; and, taking this fact into careful consideration, after consultation, and after going carefully through the Estimate, and after criticizing it in every possible way, in the judgment of my Military and Naval Advisers, the sum of £440,000 which we ask for now will be sufficient for the expenditure of the year. But there are elements of uncertainty in the matter—for instance, it is hard to know and difficult to guess what is going on in the beleaguered garrisons. The only thing we know is that, being beleaguered, they cannot easily get any money; and, therefore, if some expenditure may be taking place at Pretoria, it is taking place on credit, and the charge may not come into the present financial year. I may add that I have honestly done my best, and I cannot do more, in order to satisfy myself as to whether we ought to ask for more. If it had been necessary to do so, I should not have hesitated to make the demand; but, on the whole, I think the Estimate now submitted is a fair charge. I have one or two words to say on another matter. I wish particularly to answer a suggestion which was made the other day outside this House, in rather a pointed way, in reference to the manner in which the Department over which I have the honour to preside has conducted the war that is being carried on at this moment. It is, whether we have properly complied with the requirements of our commanders in the field, or have stinted and starved them in reference to what they wanted? I am in a position to say that that is not only not the case, but the reverse of the case; every requirement which has been addressed to us from the Cape, whether for food, material, or stores, by the Generals and officers in the Transvaal and Natal, has been complied with, and more than complied with. When the first telegram was received of the impending difficulties, we sent a regiment without waiting for a formal requisition, which, however, we did afterwards receive by telegraph. This was on the 19th December, and on the 24th or 25th Sir George Colley asked for a regiment and a battery. We sent him both, and ordered a further regiment of Cavalry, a regiment of Infantry, and three batteries of Artillery. Sir George Colley asked that if any troops were going home from India they might call at Durban for orders, as he was not quite certain whether he would want them or not. Afterwards he said that he did want them, and he had them. In the same way, on the 4th of January, we complied with a further requisition of the Governor; and on the 29th January, after the unfortunate occurrence at Laing's Nek, within a few hours of a request to that effect, two Cavalry regiments and a battery of Artillery were sent out. I do not wish to take any credit for that promptness on our part; but I think it right, without speaking of myself, that those who are responsible for military operations of this kind should receive the credit of having acted, even beyond the requirements that were made. I have just one word to say as to the manner in which these reinforcements have been sent out. I think it is my duty, having served some years at the Admiralty myself, and knowing something of the difficulties which surround a sudden demand for transport on that Department, to bear testimony to the admirable manner in which the Transport Department has complied, and is complying still, with the requirements of the War Department. There is a standing Committee of officers from the different Departments who work out all the details as to the method of conveyance in all large operations of this kind; and everything was decided after a conference between the Admiralty, the Colonial, and the War Offices, presided over by Lord Northbrook, Lord Kimberley, and myself. We have consulted our different officers, and in this way we have been able to despatch, at three or four hours' notice, the large force which has been sent out to the Transvaal. I hope that I have not taken up too much of the time of the Committee in stating the nature of these Votes. I think that all that has been done up to this moment has been done with great success and promptitude; and I now beg to move the Vote which I have placed in your hands.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £446,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for meeting Additional Expenditure beyond the amounts already granted for Supplies and Warlike Stores for the Army."

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am exceedingly glad to hear the full explanation which the right hon. Gentleman has given to the Committee as to the amount of this Vote. It certainly would appear, to an uninstructed person, that the Vote was much smaller than was necessary. The original Estimate of £446,000, which is now before the Committee, was for a much smaller force. Since the Estimate was prepared, certainly more than double the number of men and horses have been sent out, and yet it has not been deemed necessary to increase the Vote. The explanation which the right hon. Gentleman has given is, no doubt, a sufficient explanation of the economy with which the whole affair has been conducted; but I confess, for my own part, that I should hardly have thought that the saving in food and forage, during the period occupied in the voyage out to the Cape of Good Hope, would have been so very large as to balance the increased charge for warlike stores, which must be something very considerable, and also the very heavy charge for land transport from Durban up to the scene of operations. I have no doubt, however, that the right hon. Gentleman is sufficiently informed on these points; but I notice with satisfaction that he has reserved to himself the possibility of having to make a further demand for these particular Services. I am exceedingly glad that the right hon. Gentleman has thought it necessary to pay a just tribute to the exertions of the Transport Department of the Admiralty. The course which the right hon. Gentleman has described was pursued by the Admiralty during the three or four years I had the honour to serve there, and I wish to bear the strongest possible testimony to the zeal of the officers of the Transport Department of the Admiralty, and to the readiness with which they met the officials the War Office deputed to arrange with them for the despatch of the troops, and the complete and energetic manner in which they sought to carry out the work, and to the efficiency as well as the economy of all their arrangements.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL was sure the Committee would be very much comforted by the statement which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He had certainly experienced the same feeling as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), and had been somewhat puzzled to know how it was that the original Estimate for South Africa had not been exceeded. At the same time, he was quite sure there would be no disposition on that side of the House to question the accuracy and care with which the Secretary of State for War had framed his Estimates; and, therefore, they were justified in feeling much comforted. The right hon. Gentleman would forgive him if he reminded the Committee that Estimates in regard to war expenses on previous occasions had been fallacious, and that the House was very apt to be sensitive on the subject. The only points on which he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give the Committee further information were these—The right hon. Gentleman had said that, if necessary, transport would be imported from abroad; and he (Sir George Campbell) had read, in a Scotch paper, that large purchases of horses and mules were being made in Buenos Ayres for despatch to Natal. He wished to know if that was so, and if the cost was paid in the shape of ready money out of this grant, and whether the enormous expenditure for carriage which must, undoubtedly, be going on in South Africa at the present moment was supplied from money sent from this country to the Military Chest? Was the practice followed now that was followed formerly in South Africa, by which the local military authorities were able to raise money in the Colonies by drawing long bills on this country? It had been sometimes found that by that means a much larger amount of money was expended in the current year than Parliament was asked to pay in the same year, or than they were aware of. Those were the only points upon which he asked for an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman—namely, whether the Government were paying ready money for transport and other expenses now being incurred in and for South Africa, or whether bills of which, as yet, we knew nothing were being drawn upon this country and were being allowed to accumulate, which, unhappily, we should be called upon to pay upon some future occasion? He knew that it would be impossible to give any assurance with regard to the expenses for the ensuing year; but, in reference to the current year, it was desirable the Committee should know whether we were spending ready money or running up bills on credit.

MR. RYLANDS confessed that he was unable to participate in the comfort felt by his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) in regard to this Vote. His hon. Friend seemed to derive some comfort from the fact that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that an expenditure of £500,000 would carry us through these unfortunate transactions up to the end of the present financial year. But Her Majesty's Government at the same time told them that in the Estimates for next year it would also be necessary to provide a large sum, amounting to another £500,000. His hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy, while deriving comfort himself, took care to give very little comfort to anybody else, because he went on to show that, under the late Government, there were large charges in connection with transactions in South Africa that were paid out of the Military Chest, but which did not come to the knowledge of Parliament until some time after they were expended. His hon. Friend wanted the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, here in England, to be able to assure Parliament that expenditure was not going on in South Africa to increase the cost of the war before the 31st of March. He (Mr. Rylands) had no doubt that the Government would take every means in their power to keep down this dreadful expenditure; but with all the anxiety they might show, and with every attempt they might make, if the war went on they might expect to be called upon to provide a very large sum in the future—much larger than any of them were able to calculate at present. He had simply risen to say that, while he could not, under the circumstances, refuse to vote the sum of money now asked for, he should vote with the greatest possible reluctance, and only on the full assurance that an ample opportunity would be afforded hereafter for discussing every matter connected with this expenditure. He was quite alive to the reasonableness of the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, that they should avoid any such discussion now; but, at the same time, in voting as they were about to do, he thought they ought not to deceive themselves by supposing that sum would necessarily cover all the expenditure that might go on up to the 31st of March. What the Government assured them was that this amount, in the form of a Supplementary Estimate, would be sufficient, in their judgment, to place the accounts of the year in a fair position in regard to this war expenditure. He could not say that he was fully prepared to believe that it would cover everything; for he knew that military and naval expenditure in a state of war was like the letting out of water, and that it was almost impossible to control it. He must say, therefore, that he should not rely with perfect confidence on the present Estimate.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was not going to raise any question as to the policy of the Transvaal War. The right hon. Gentleman had put the case very clearly. He asked the Committee not to go into the policy of the war, and deliberately promised that they should have a full opportunity of discussing the question in all its details and in all its varied aspects. But he was bound to say, and he did it with some regret, that they were placed there in a very awkward position; they were not enabled to know what was going on. They had not, however, on that side of the House pressed Her Majesty's Government in the difficult position in which they were placed. Nor was he going to press the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War one inch further than he had already gone. At the same time, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister must remember that the late Government were not treated with the same courtesy and consideration; and, although the Government were asking a great deal from hon. Gentlemen who sat on that side of the House, yet, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he, for one, at any rate, would not attempt by one hair's breadth to interfere with anything that might now be going on. He would only venture to hope that at the earliest opportunity, not only the House, but the country, might have an opportunity of knowing all the circumstances, which they had certainly not yet had placed before them. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would not lose a moment in placing the House in full possession of the facts in regard to the Transvaal.

Lord ELCHO said, he noticed his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) shake his head when his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) remarked that the courtesy and consideration now asked for by the Government was not extended to the late Government. He (Lord Elcho) had a strong recollection of something like strong demands—he might even call them denunciations—having been addressed to the Government for not having, at a time when delicate and intricate negotiations were going on, taken the House of Commons into their confidence. He had a perfect recollection that that was the tone taken at the time. He was quite prepared, if the question had been raised now, to discuss it, and he thought it would have been well if the Government had placed the House in the possession of a little further information; but the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War thought it would be contrary to the interests of the country that such a debate should arise, or that any such information should be given. Without desiring to dispute the policy of the course suggested by the Government, he wished simply to point out that the Government, on the question of negotiations in reference to peace, appeared to have two voices in reference to South Africa, because, when negotiations were pending between the Basutos and the Cape Colony, a telegram was read which certainly expressed the views of the Government on the subject. He would not pursue the matter further now than to say that he trusted that in whatever was done by Her Majesty's Government they would maintain the honour of this country and add to the security of our South African possessions. There were only two points on which he would ask for information. He understood that a Commission was to be appointed to settle the terms of peace. He thought the Committee ought to know who the Commissioners would be; and he would express the hope that, at any rate, they would be gentlemen who had not hitherto, in dealing with the matter, been committed to either side of the question. The other point was that the Government ought to state whether Sir Hercules Robinson had been consulted with regard to the terms that were offered to the Boers. These were mere matters of fact, which did not involve any question of policy, and there would be no difficulty in giving an answer upon them.

Mr. GLADSTONE: In regard to the last question of my noble Friend, I have no hesitation whatever in stating that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been in communication with Sir Hercules Robinson in all the negotiations arising out of the painful circumstances under consideration, and I have no difficulty also in stating that Sir Hercules Robinson will be one of the Commissioners. I am unable to give the Committee the names of all the Commissioners this evening; but I hope to be able to do so in the course of a day or two. In regard to that mysterious shake of the head referred to by my noble Friend, I wish to say that I should not have shaken my head at all, or given any sign on this occasion, had the hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) been content with stating that, in his opinion, the late Government had not been treated with the wisdom and the forbearance which have been shown on the present occasion. If that had been all I should not have shaken my head at all. The hon. and gallant Baronet is entitled to entertain that opinion; but what made me feel under a moral obligation to shake my head was that the hon. and gallant Baronet said that I should recollect that it was so. That would involve a most awkward admission, which I have no idea of making. I am very thankful to the House for the consideration it has shown. I can only assure hon. Members that it would have been a great comfort and a great relief to us if we could have ventured in some degree to divide the responsibility which has been cast upon us. But from day to day we have considered the question, and from day to day we have found that we could not, without seriously prejudicing the great interests involved, make partial disclosures to the House. That being the case, I have only to mention that since I last addressed the House a telegram has been received, in which we are informed that Conferences were proceeding yesterday. There is nothing to anticipate the result, nor is there anything in the telegram which at all tends to abate any hopes previously entertained.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, the estimate of the Secretary of State for War for the expenditure occasioned by the Transvaal War included two items—one of £440,000 this year, and one of £500,000 for next year, or about £1,000,000 in all. He confessed that he had fully expected a much larger sum—probably £2,000,000. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War whether it was likely that any recourse would be had to the old method of accounting for military operations in South Africa? His hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) was quite right in saying that under the system which formerly existed the money expended in the Transvaal would not be brought to account in the current year. Certainly a different state of circumstances had arisen, since a Committee had been sent out last year to investigate the matter. He believed that useful results would be obtained from their inquiry; and he wished to know from the Secretary of State for War if we were not now more likely to receive more promptly all the vouchers for the expenditure during the year than we ever were before? He would also express a hope that the Secretary of State for War would lay on the Table a Return of the expenditure for military operations in South Africa in the last 40 years. He (Sir George Balfour) believed it would be found that a sum of between £40,000,000 and £50,000,000 had been expended during that period. He was satisfied that if the country had clearly laid before it all the facts and the cost incurred in acquiring territory in South Africa, it would be most reluctant indeed in attempting the further extension of our territory in that part of the world.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND would not go as far as the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour). He did not think they required Returns for so many years back as the hon. and gallant Member seemed to desire; but he trusted that the Secretary of State for War would, as his Department had hitherto done, use every effort to obtain the necessary vouchers for every kind of expenditure incurred in South Africa. They knew from the Public Accounts Committee that their great difficulty had been to secure that there should be a thorough examination of the expenditure. He was satisfied the right hon. Gentleman would continue the efforts hitherto made by the Department. He felt bound to express his hearty concurrence in the course which had been adopted of not debating the very serious questions that might arise in respect of the Transvaal and the Transvaal War at the present time, especially as there would be, as the Prime Minister had pronounced, a full opportunity of discussing the whole question hereafter. Everyone must feel, whatever his sympathies might be in the matter, that it would be extremely disadvantageous to enter into a long discussion at the present moment.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he would not detain the Committee at any length, because, after the course properly taken by the Prime Minister, it was not necessary that they should enter into the general question. He would, however, venture to express an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government, when the negotiations were going on, would bear in mind the necessity of protecting the Native races.

MR. CHILDERS said, he had been asked various questions which it was desirable he should reply to. He had been asked what course was being taken in regard to the purchase of animals for the Transport Service, and whether the cost would come into the present Account? He might say, with respect to that matter, that the animals would only be paid for when they were delivered at Durban, and that they would not come into the Account before they were delivered. He thought that was a very good arrangement, and that it would work well. We had only had a small experience of it at present; but there was every reason to believe that it would work better than the arrangement which had been previously adopted. He was asked, further, whether they were going to postpone any of the payments, and to adopt the late method of having recourse to the Military Chest. The year before last his right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley), who was then at the head of the War Office, sent out a Committee to investigate that subject on the spot, and he quite concurred in the Report which that Committee had presented. As an earnest of what they were doing, he might say that before the present war assumed large proportions they had sent out a gentleman from the Accountant General's Office to test on the spot the arrangements that were made two years before. They were doing their best to get the vouchers in, and they desired to make the payments as they were made in this country; but in respect to the garrisons there were no means at present of communicating with them, and, as they had no money, he presumed that they must be receiving some credit. The general instructions were to make prompt payments, and he hoped that they would be carried into effect.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN moved that the Vote now before the Committee be reduced by the sum of £300,000. He stated that he did so as a protest against this unjust war of oppression and annexation. Hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House had expressed great objection to the making of this war, and of similar wars in other parts of the world; but their sentimental sympathy amounted to very little indeed, because, when they were asked for money, they were always ready to vote it. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £300,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £146,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for meeting Additional Expenditure beyond the amounts already granted for Supplies and Warlike Stores for the Army."—(*Mr. T. D. Sullivan.*)

Mr. CHILDERS thought that, after the understanding which had been come to not to discuss the policy of the war on the present occasion, the hon. Member would hardly wish to press his Amendment. He did not know what the effect on the Government might be if £300,000, which had been spent in perfect good faith on that war, were now to be refused.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, it would also be inconvenient to the Committee if a division were taken. He thought, if the Committee were called upon at that moment to enter into the question of the war in the Transvaal, the discussion could hardly be conducted with advantage, especially in the absence of much desirable information. Therefore, he trusted the hon. Gentleman would not press his Motion to a division, which course would be contrary to the understanding arrived at.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN desired to protest against the voting of large sums of money without due consideration. If protests under circumstances similar to the present were more frequent, England would, in his opinion, be involved in fewer small wars. The sword of this country was continually red with the blood of peoples and tribes adjacent to our possessions. He would have no part in voting the money, and would press his Motion to a division, as a protest against a war which he regarded as most nefarious and oppressive in its character.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, bearing in mind the expenditure in the case of the Abyssinian War and similar wars, desired to know whether any efficient arrangements had been made in the case of the war then going on in South Africa with regard to the institution known as the Military Chest. It had been found on former occasions, that while Parliament voted comparatively small sums of money for Military Chest purposes, that very large sums came from that source, the money being borrowed, and that the advances made to meet the obligations incurred in consequence had never been repaid to that day, and there was very little hope that they ever would be repaid. He asked, Were the payments from the Military Chest now existing in South Africa confined to the expenditure of the sums placed to the credit of that Chest by Her Majesty's Government, or had any military or other authorities power to draw upon Colonial resources?

Mr. CHILDERS agreed with the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy in his objections to the manner in which the expenditure from the Military Chest had, on former occasions, been conducted. That sink, however, he hoped, had been effectually stopped by the arrangements made by his Colleagues. The official who had been sent out to South Africa for the purpose of supervising the Accounts had instructions to bring charges incurred at once to account, and to see that the instructions given by the House were strictly carried out.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, that to limit the expenditure from the Military Chest was, no doubt, the true course. It was the only way in which they could put a check upon an expenditure which might reach an enormous amount. It was, no doubt, frequently the case that many amounts to be devoted to the Public Service had to be met on the spur of the moment, and even with the telegraph it was not always possible to send home for authority. On the other hand, if there were to be authority in the hands of every Governor of a Colony to draw for what he thought necessary for the Service at the moment, there was great risk of drafts being made, not improperly, but extravagantly, and the country involved in Accounts that might turn out to be extremely inconvenient. A Governor of a Colony found it necessary for him to make preparations on a sudden for the defence of his Government; he had no money in hand; he might have reasons for not going to the Colonial Bank. In that situation he applied to the officer in charge of the Military Chest, who advanced the money, and it then often became a question whether it was ever repaid. Therefore, he should be glad if a limit could be placed to the power which Governors had to draw from the Military Chest.

Mr. CHILDERS pointed out that Her Majesty's Government were now able to communicate by telegraph with the Governor of the Colony, and that stringent instructions had been issued that he was not to draw for the Colonial Military Service without permission, in order to prevent a repetition of what had occurred with regard to the expenditure in previous campaigns.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH thought it was only fair to mention that telegraph communication had been established since the campaigns referred to took place.

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 109; Noes 6: Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 163.)

NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £210,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, for Extraordinary Transport Services in connection with the Outbreak of Hostilities in the Transvaal."

Mr. PARNELL said, he was one of the small minority of Members who, in the last Parliament, had protested against the annexation of the Transvaal, and also against the Act for the Confederation of the South African Colonies. Those two measures were intimately connected and bound up together, and he believed but for them we should not have had any South African War. For, had there been no determination to annex the Transvaal there would have been no Confederation Bill; and had there been no Confederation Bill there would have been no annexation of the Transvaal. Therefore, there would have been no South African War but for these two measures. In 1877, a minority of some 18 or 20 Members opposed themselves to the measures which were supported by hon. Gentlemen of the day and by the Opposition. They were supported by a vast majority of the Members of the House—probably of 10 or 12 or 20 to 1, and yet the result of what had happened since then had most conclusively shown that the very small majority of Members who used all the Forms of the House against the annexation of the Transvaal were in the right, and that the great majority of both political Parties, who used every exertion in favour of those measures, were in the wrong. He believed there was no one in that House who did not now regret the annexation of the Transvaal, and who did not look upon the proposal for South African Confederation as one of those ideas that could never be realized, and which, in the attempt to carry out, had effected a vast deal of evil. It was not, he thought, desirable at that moment to go into the question of the war, which he hoped had been permanently interrupted. As an Irishman, he wished to express his strong sympathy with the gallant people who were struggling for their independence, and who had so truly shown by their courage and devotion that they deserved their independence. He trusted that the result of the negotiations which were then proceeding would be to prove to the world that the present Ministry was not afraid to do what was right, even if they had for a while done what was wrong. He thought it right to take a division against the Vote, as a protest against the application of the present money to the annexation of the Transvaal.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, although on that occasion he was not about to oppose the Vote, the money having been spent, he did not wish it to be understood that in voting the money he was expressing any sanction of what he considered to be the most unwise, unstatesmanlike, and disastrous proceedings in connection with the annexation of the Transvaal.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, at a future time he should be ready to defend the policy of the late Government with respect to the Transvaal; but as he did not think the present a fitting occasion for so doing, he merely rose for the purpose of saying that he entirely disagreed with the opinions which had been expressed by the two hon. Members who had last addressed the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 82; Noes 10: Majority 72. — (Div. List, No. 164.)

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1881-2.

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

(3.) £35,739, to complete the sum for Royal Palaces.

(4.) £1,797, to complete the sum for Marlborough House.

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £90,926, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Mr. BRADLAUGH said, he had, in protesting against this Vote last Session, drawn attention to the very large extent of land which was inclosed within Richmond Park, and in answer to inquiries addressed by him to the First Commissioner of Works, he ascertained that more than one-fourth of the Park had been inclosed. To that portion of the Park the public had no access. He found, also, that the inclosures in question were, in a great measure, connected with game preserving, and that gamekeepers were appointed to each of them. He thought the Committee should receive some assurance from the First Commissioner of Works that some limit should be put to the enclosing of portions of the Public Parks, especially as since the Ground Game Bill came into operation there had, he believed, been prosecutions in connection with the hares and rabbits preserved in these enclosures. Unless the First Commissioner would say that the question of putting more of the Park at the service of the public should receive immediate attention, he should be obliged to move a reduction of the Vote.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE wished to point out to the hon. Member for Northampton that, having been but a short time in his present official position, he had not been able to give serious attention to the question raised with reference to admitting the public to the inclosures in Richmond Park. Before next year, however, he would do his best thoroughly to investigate the matter. He thought it right to say that his hon. Friend appeared to be hardly correct in stating the proportion of the Park which had been enclosed. Of the 2,400 acres included in the Park, about 240 were shut off as inclosures for plantations, and there were about 300 acres besides set apart for feeding the deer, which were certainly a very great beauty in connection with the Park, and one that, he believed, nobody desired to do away with. The 240 acres were devoted to the preservation of timber and not of game, and any preservation of game was merely incidental to the main object. He would inquire more closely into the matter before this time next year.

Mr. DILLWYN said, there was a large portion of the Park now inclosed that might be thrown open to the public. He had found, from personal observation, that many of the inclosures were not for the purpose of preserving timber. For instance, there was a fine wood, from which the public were excluded, as he supposed, for the sake of preserving the game. The plantation in question was an old one; and as it was, perhaps, the most beautiful portion of the Park, he believed the right hon. Gentleman would find, upon inquiry, that it ought to be thrown open to the public.

Dr. LYONS asked if any information could be given with regard to the present state of the disease which had attacked the trees in Kensington Gardens? He had had some communication with the Predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman, now First Commissioner of Works, upon this subject. Everyone was surprised at the number of trees which had been cut down.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was true that a large number of trees had been cut down; but this had been done after careful consideration, and on the most competent advice that it was really necessary. It was evident that the trees were dying, many of them being in a bad state; and it was therefore determined, with great reluctance, to make a clearance of a portion of the Park. It was felt to be a great misfortune that the trees had not been thinned in former years. The land, which was found to be very much in need of draining, would be re-planted as soon as possible.

Dr. LYONS said, he had not called in question the trees that had been irreparably damaged. He was anxious to know whether the disease, by which the trees had been attacked, had been successfully arrested?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE was not able to answer that question at the moment.

Earl PERCY asked what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do in connection with that portion of the Park opposite the Marble Arch?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that great improvements were to be made at the portion of the Park referred to by the noble Lord. It had been decided to lay down gravel upon that portion which presented an unsightly appearance, and where, owing to the grass having been so much beaten down, it would not grow. At the north end, the grass was being dug up with a view to relaying.

Lord ELCHO did not believe that the right hon. Gentleman was responsible for what had been done in Kensington Gardens, in which a wholesale cutting down of trees had taken place. He understood the reason for this was that the trees were all decayed; but he had passed through the Gardens on a recent occasion, and, having tried the trees with a penknife, he found that they were not dead. The trees being 200 years old, it would take the same space of time to grow others to the same perfection. Any private individual, who valued his park, would, he ventured to think, in a similar case, have saved every tree that was healthy. But anyone, upon the principle which had been adopted at Kensington, might cut down the trees in the Long Walk at Windsor, although no one, he believed, would plant young trees to take their places. There was, however, a mania for getting rid of old trees and filling in new trees, which, if it was not checked, would destroy one of the great features of the park. He was convinced that this practice of cutting down and planting was being carried too far.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS wished to know what an advanced young gardener was?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, referring to the remarks of the noble Lord (Lord Elcho), explained that what had been done with regard to the trees had been done only after the most careful consideration, and with the full conviction that the trees were dead; but there was no intention of carrying the process any further.

Mr. WARTON also wished to know what advanced young gardeners were, and whether they got the benefit of the evening lectures at Kew? He also wished to know who were the lecturers, and how much they were paid.?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not know how to distinguish between advanced young gardeners and others.

Mr. WARTON repeated his question as to who the officers were who delivered the evening lectures at Kew?

Mr. DILLWYN drew attention to the expensive management of the Parks, and expressed the opinion that a good deal of money must be wasted by growing tropical plants which were not planted out until the season was over. He would not move to reduce the Vote; but he thought the management of the Parks was very costly. He found there were rangers, superintendents under the rangers, deputy rangers, keepers under the rangers, and a bailiff, who received £700 a-year, and also £52 a-year for a house. He would like to know what duties the men had in the Parks. There was no game to be preserved, there were no deer; but there was a numerous staff of policemen and park keepers, who kept the Parks in order. He supposed that the rangers had sinecures, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works to look into this matter, and see whether the management was not too expensive.

LORD ELCHO observed that, with regard to the Green Park, there were certainly not too many officers. The management of that Park had been expensive, and much of the expense had been incurred in putting in the needless trees to which he had previously referred. Formerly, the Green Park had been under the charge of the park keepers, who, however, went away at night, and so allowed thieves and other people to collect there. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood had remonstrated against that, and the Park was then given over to the custody of the police; but still he thought that in consequence of the absence of the park keepers the Park was not so well kept as it should be. Certain parts were worn absolutely bare, especially near Piccadilly. That was because of boys always playing on the same spot; and, while not objecting to boys going there, he thought they should be prevented from going to the same part of the ground. The turf in the Park required looking to generally.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS would like to know who the fortunate individual was who, as a bailiff, received £700 a-year as well as £52 a-year for a house?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE explained that the bailiff was an important officer who had been appointed four or five years ago with the view of exercising some general control over the expenditure of the Parks, and he was informed that that officer had done a great deal in that direction, and that the management was now more effective than it had been. When that officer was appointed his salary was £300 a-year; but in 1879 it was fixed at £700 a-year, including all military allowances. He was a most efficient officer; and, although the expenditure was very heavy on the Parks, the Parks in the centre of the Metropolis must involve great cost.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he failed to see what economy had been effected by the bailiff, seeing that the Estimate was £1,100 more than it was last year.

DR. CAMERON said, these parks were really for the convenience of the inhabitants of London, and he thought that they ought to be maintained from the local revenue rather than from the Imperial Revenue. There was no corresponding advantage enjoyed in Scotland or Ireland, or in any other portions of England; and he thought that the Government ought to devise some plan for transferring the charges for these parks from the Imperial to the local revenue.

MR. WARTON complained, with regard to the bailiff, that the particulars given in the Estimate were misleading, inasmuch as they referred not only to rangers and deputy rangers, but "certain other officers," but did not mention the bailiff.

BARON DE FERRIERES observed, that the Parks of the Metropolis were not of service only to the inhabitants of London, but were used by thousands of people from the country; and he therefore thought it would be very unfair to throw the cost of them entirely upon the Metropolitan rates.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE wished to remind the Committee that, however many people came from the country into London, those visitors contributed to the wealth of the Metropolis, and so would enable the Metropolis to maintain the Parks. He therefore thought London might pay for its own Parks; and he remarked that the system of paying for such things out of the Imperial Revenue was growing, and there might be no limit to it. Under local management Parks in the country were much more economically maintained, and he protested against the Provinces having to pay for these Parks. Edinburgh received no help from the Exchequer for its Park, Dublin received only £6,000 or £7,000 for the Phœnix Park, while the London Parks cost the ratepayers of the country from £113,000 to £123,000 a-year If his hon. Friend would divide the Committee, he would draw attention to this injustice in a very emphatic way.

EARL PERCY said, he found in the Votes a sum of £3,233 for the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, and £1,605 for Holyrood Park, and he thought any objection to the Vote came very ill from Scotch and Irish Members, who especially enjoyed the advantage of the London Parks.

MR. RYLANDS reminded the Committee that two important points were raised by the discussion—one, the question of Public Parks and expenditure upon them; the other, the question of the amount actually expended, as shown by this Vote. In former Parliaments he had taken the same view in regard to some of the Votes for Parks as the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), that it was unfair to call upon the provinces, which provided their own means of relaxation for the public, to pay for similar provision in the Metropolis; but it had always been argued, and with some force, that there was from time to time a great influx of strangers into the Metropolis, and that in London there were opportunities of pleasure afforded for numbers of people which were not contemplated by the Provincial towns. It must be remembered that the very fact that the Metropolis did receive this large number of visitors tended to promote the circulation of money in the Metropolis, and to increase the wealth of many persons in London. His own opinion was that, both in regard to the London Parks and to the police, and with respect to other matters for which grants were made from the Public Exchequer, an opportunity should be afforded of a full consideration of the question in a way that had never been afforded before. The more public attention was directed to the charges met by the Civil Service Estimates for purposes which in the country were dealt with by the local rates, the more interest would be taken by the House in the matter, and the more likely would an inquiry be as to whether some change might be made in the interest of the public generally. That, however, was only one point. The other point was as to the expenditure on the Parks. The First Commissioner had appealed to hon. Members to give him time. That was reasonable; but he should like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that whether this sum of money was likely to be chargeable on the Exchequer or not, one thing was quite certain—and he was prepared to say it from his own knowledge of the cost of Parks in many parts of the country—and that was, that if any Town Council or Park authority in any large town were to pay for their Park any sum approaching the amounts charged for the London Parks, they would be very properly removed from their position. The expenditure upon those Parks was something enormous, and what did the people get for it? He would call the noble Lord (Lord Elcho) as a witness on the point. The noble Lord said, with regard to the Green Park, that although a very considerable sum was paid to those in charge of it they neglected their duty. £110,000 on those Parks was greatly in excess of what the amount should be; and although he was not prepared to press too hardly on the First Commissioner, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to show, when the Appropriation Accounts came to be examined, that he had effected a considerable saving by getting rid of some of the officials.

MR. BRADLAUGH was quite sure the First Commissioner intended to give the fullest information with regard to the bailiff; but he found that the expenditure was larger rather than smaller than it had been, and he would like to know what was meant by the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the bailiff had effected a great deal in the direction of economy?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE replied, that he did not mean that the bailiff had effected a great deal of reduction in the expenditure; but that he had managed the expenditure in an effective manner, so that the money had been spent in generally improving the Parks. He had saved money in one direction and spent it in another for the benefit of the public.

LORD ELCHO had no doubt that the expenditure on the Parks could be managed more economically than it had been; but he wished to guard himself against being supposed to find fault with the general management and appearance of the Parks. He had criticized the Green Park as to its appearance; and he thought the hon. Member (Mr. Rylands), if he would go through that Park, would agree with his remarks. But any man who had watched the Parks for the last 20 or 30 years would know that the improvement in them had gone on as the Vote had increased. People could not have such Parks as Battersea Park, Victoria Park, and

Hyde Park, without paying for them, and he was certain that the poor people obtained pleasure in those Parks such as they could not obtain but for those Parks. The hon. Member travelled; he went over the world, and had opportunities of enjoying such advantages; and he therefore should not grudge them to poor people who had not the same opportunities. With regard to the objection of the Members from Scotland, he was dead against Home Rule in any form, Scotch or Irish. He was all for London being the heart and centre of this great Empire; and he protested against the view of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) and the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie). Hon. Members would bear him out when he said that every year some Scotchman thought it necessary, in the interest of Home Rule, and in order to appear well with his constituents, to advance the claim now made. Sometimes it came from Glasgow, sometimes from Edinburgh, and now, for the first time, it came from Kilmarnock. Those hon. Members seem to forget that there was such a thing as a Metropolis for England; and seeing that Scotland and Ireland received grants for their Parks he thought they had no ground for complaint.

Mr. DILLWYN recalled the fact that 24 or 25 years ago, when a great deal of money was not only being spent on the central Parks of the Metropolis, but on new Parks being established round the Metropolis, some Members raised their voices on behalf of the country, and urged that the suburbs of London should not have money provided for them from the National Exchequer, for purposes which were met by local rates in the country. The principle then laid down was that there should be some limit, and the practice was put a stop to. No new Parks were created in the suburbs; but it was agreed that the National Exchequer might fairly be called upon for the maintenance of the Parks in the Metropolis proper.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, his hon. Friend had correctly stated the principle that had been laid down. It had been decided that no new Parks should be created or maintained out of the National Exchequer, but out of the local revenue; and that had been acted upon in regard to Finsbury Park, and other Parks round London. The principle had been clearly laid down that the central Parks were not only for the benefit of the Metropolis, but for the whole country.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER, referring to the noble Lord's (Lord Elcho's) remark that this question had been raised year after year by Scotch or Irish Members, said, he wished now to raise it on behalf of the English borough Members. The position of the matter was this. London was the wealthiest city in the world; but its local taxation, with reference to its rateable value, was less than that of other large towns in the country. The City of London was also possessed of enormous private property, which ought to be devoted to public purposes. In every other large town in England—Liverpool, or Manchester, or Birmingham, and in smaller places—the people had to pay for their own Parks, and for every other kind of public amusement, and he objected to taxpayers and ratepayers in Provincial boroughs having also to pay an important share for the maintenance of Parks in London, in relief of the ratepayers of London. It was quite time that the question should be settled whether London was to pay for its own enjoyment or not; and he should therefore move that the Vote be reduced by £10,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £80,926, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

Mr. Alderman LAWRENCE said, there were two questions with respect to the Vote. Some hon. Members objected to it because they considered the expenditure on the Parks too great, or that adequate value was not received for the money; others raised the question whether there should be any Vote at all from the Exchequer. It was urged that the cost of the Parks should be borne by the inhabitants of London; but a Vote was granted for Phœnix Park, and Irish gentlemen who came to London during the season enjoyed the London Parks, and, as a matter of fact, the majority of the people seen in the Parks were not the inhabitants of London. They were people who came to London for pleasure, or for duties which devolved upon them, and which they were proud to perform in that House or elsewhere. The Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens were filled by visitors; yet it was contended that they ought to be kept up at the expense of the ratepayers of London for the benefit of people from Ireland and Scotland and the English Provinces. But he would remind hon. Members that the Parks were Royal Parks, and were attached to the palaces, and at one time there were no roads open to the public through them, and they were kept for the exclusive use of the Royal Family. Greater freedom had, however, been granted by the Crown year after year. Workmen were formerly excluded from Kensington Gardens. Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens were now open at 5 o'clock in the morning for the convenience of workmen going to their work. Yet it was argued that these Parks, which were really Royal Recreation Grounds, should not be thrown on the Imperial Exchequer, but on the Metropolitan rates. Hon. Members who urged that forgot that thousands of people came to London to see the various sights, who had no opportunity of seeing Parks anywhere else. They could not go to Wolverhampton or to Kilmarnock, and it would be very unfair to make the Metropolis bear the whole cost of the Parks. It seemed to him rather petty for other localities to say that they did not think anything of the Metropolis, and that, although they liked to come to see its Parks, not a halfpenny from the Exchequer ought to be voted for them. If that principle were acted upon generally the country would bear a very sorry aspect. What would be said if all the public places in Paris, which foreigners so much enjoyed, had to be provided by the taxpayers of Paris? Yet Paris had this advantage over London, it taxed the food of foreigners. There was no tax on food in London; there was no *octroi;* and he protested against the disposition to treat London as a Provincial town. He hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion.

Mr. EWART declared that the people in the Provinces were proud of their Metropolis, and glad to see its Parks and other public places kept in the best order. The sum proposed did not strike him as excessive, and he thought anyone who had had experience in keeping up his own grounds would know what an expensive matter it was. At the same time he agreed very much with the hon. Members who had raised the question that something should be done for the country. He would not, however, adopt the policy of levelling down; he would rather level up; and he would throw out for consideration the suggestion that, in the case of places in the country which had no corporate fund and no means of providing Parks for the benefit of their working populations, a sum should be granted from the National Exchequer to enable them to provide such Parks. He did not like Home Rule in any way; but he did not think that Ireland had a claim to consideration in the direction he had referred to, and if an agitation should be promoted for providing Parks in the country in the manner he suggested he should be very happy to support it.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS did not think the question of pettiness of motive had anything to do with the matter. The hon. Member (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) had based his argument on the fact that a great many people came up to London to see the picture galleries and other places; but the same argument might apply to keeping the streets of London in order. There was, however, one argument which the hon. Member had not used. It would be a sad thing for London if Provincial people did not visit it. London would soon cease to exist as a power if they did not visit it, and nobody could deny the advantages it derived from the visits of so many people from the Provinces. The hon. Member's argument was all very well for those who represented London, for it meant easing the pockets of Londoners; but surely it would be absurd for Birmingham to call upon the people of the Black Country who visited that town, and spent their money there, to pay for keeping up its Parks and streets. The Vote could not be defended, and he was glad the question had been raised. Until he heard this discussion he had no idea there were so many arguments for the abolition of this Vote and so few for its retention. The fact that a mechanic was allowed to go through the Park at five in the morning had nothing to do with the question. The mechanic was thought more of now than he was before the Parks were thrown open to the public, because he now had a vote. There was too much said about the Metropolis in regard to the Provinces.

People in the country did not put the Metropolis before the Provinces, and the less they had of this idea that the Metropolis was so superior to the Provinces the better. He believed it would add to the use of Parliament itself if it were to meet in some of the Provincial towns; and that, if anything, would make London more progressive, and cure it of its non-public spirit; it would be a visit of Parliament to some of the large towns in the Provinces. Some of those towns would vie with London in public spirit, and in other things which people in the Metropolis thought Provincial people must come to London for. The strength of the country came from the Provinces, and they did not believe in being taxed for the benefit of London. There was no place so provincial as London, and he hoped the principle now raised would be extended to many other things in London for which the Provinces were taxed.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he had frequently protested against the way in which London was petted at the expense of the Provinces, and he had often observed that London had done nothing for itself unless the Thames Embankment, which had been held out as having been done by the Metropolis; but that was out of the coal and wine duties; and these, be it remembered, were paid by temporary residents as well as by Londoners. The hon. Member (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) had said Paris taxed the food of its visitors, whereas London did not; but people who visited London paid abundantly for all they consumed, and although they brought plenty of money with them they did not take much back with them. And although London was the Metropolis, and a great many people visited it, there were millions who did not. Then, as to the argument that the Parks were Royal Parks, that was not so in regard to Victoria Park, Battersea Park, or Kennington Park; therefore the Vote was not confined to the Royal Parks. If it were confined to Royal Parks it would be less intolerable; but, in any case, the amount should be lower; therefore, he would vote for the Motion, which he was glad to see this time would not be supported only by Scotch and Irish Members.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS observed, that the amount proposed to be knocked off the Vote was exceedingly small in relation to the rate in London; and he drew attention to the fact that although the ratepayers in London contributed an enormous sum every year to the local burdens, the owners of the ground, who got all the advantage of the growth of the Metropolis, contributed nothing. The ground rents were enormous, and yet the owners, under the extraordinary system of local taxation in London, paid nothing. For that reason he should support the Motion.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, he had the honour to represent a borough (Sheffield) in which there was a strong feeling that these Parks should not be managed on what he might call the parochial principle. He could answer for a considerable number of his constituents, that when they came up to London and visited the Public Parks, and the many other beautiful places of public resort in the Metropolis, which did not partake exactly of the nature of Public Parks, they would not like to feel that they were receiving this enjoyment and advantage entirely at the expense of others. He found in the list of these Parks, which were kept up at great expense, Hampton Court Gardens, and Kew Gardens, which were museums of horticulture. If they were to maintain that such places were to be kept up at the expense of the local authorities, he did not see why, as a logical sequence, they should not eventually come to the conclusion that the British Museum and the National Gallery should be maintained by the Metropolis.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) had brought before the Committee a subject which did not appear to him to belong to the Vote under discussion. The hon. Member had advanced the proposition that the recipients of ground rents in London contributed nothing to the local taxation, and it was evident from this that the hon. Member was in the position of those Professors who lived in cloisters, and knew very little of what went on in the outside world. He should have thought it one of the most elementary pieces of knowledge that could have presented itself to anyone, that a person before he took a house in London asked what the rates and taxes were before he inquired about the rent. Having informed himself on that point he then fixed upon the sum he would give for the house. If the rates and taxes were high the rent had to be reduced, so that the burden of local taxation did to some extent fall upon the land. ["No, no!"] Well, he maintained the Metropolitan view and not the University or Academic view. He was sorry he had been led into a contest with the hon. Member; but he thought the Committee, if he might be allowed to say so, had been put under an erroneous impression. He doubted very much whether it was really in the power of the Committee to interfere with this Vote, so long as the ordinary principles of good government were observed. Most of the Parks were Crown lands. He did not put it forward as, in any sense, claiming to be an authority, but he rather thought that all these matters were governed by the conditions of the bargain into which we entered with the present Sovereign when she acceded to the Throne. He was not certain of it, but he apprehended that these were all Crown lands. ["No, no!"] Well, he, no doubt, would be corrected, if he were wrong, by someone who was entitled to speak with authority; and if he were wrong he would apologize to the Committee. He understood, as he had said, that these Parks were Crown lands, which the nation took on itself to maintain at the expense of the Votes in Parliament, when the Monarch acceded to the Throne; and it would be practically a repudiation of that bargain if hon. Members were to come down to the House of Commons and say the nation should not pay the expense of maintaining them, but that it should be borne by the locality in which they were situated. The Metropolis had no title to the Parks, and it was not in the power of anyone in the Metropolis to build upon them. No one had any title to the Parks but the Crown and the nation; and it, therefore, would not be just to move a reduction of the Vote, not on the ground of economy, but for the purpose of putting the Parks under the local authorities.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that even if the argument of the noble Lord were sound with regard to the Royal Parks, there were other Parks on the list—namely, Battersea, Victoria, and Kennington, which cost £21,000; so that the reduction which had been moved was only half the amount expended on these three Parks.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Battersea Park, surely, is Crown land? ["No, no!"]

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, that, as had been stated by the worthy Alderman (Mr. Alderman Lawrence), one would suppose from the tone of some hon. Members that no place was ever visited but London. If strangers came to London, they went to other places as well. Take Edinburgh, for instance. There were more visitors to that city in proportion to its size than there were to London. It had been stated by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) that the principle of this Vote had been settled by Parliament; but it was not for the Committee on a matter of this kind to recognize any principle as settled. It was for the present Parliament and the present Committee to settle it.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK would not put the case for the Vote on the ground stated by the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), because he did not think it mattered much, as regarded this Vote, whether the Parks were Crown lands or not. If the hon. Member (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had proposed a particular reduction in the case of any one Park, it would have been a matter for the Committee; but when he proposed to reduce the total Vote, the question was one of principle and should be decided by the Committee. The hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) had said that Edinburgh did not get a grant——

MR. DICK-PEDDIE: The hon. Member misunderstood me—Edinburgh does get a grant.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he must have misunderstood the hon. Member. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had reproached London with being wanting in public spirit; but, if that were so, it was because there were so many people who resided in it temporarily and really belonged to other parts of the country. In London they had not the powerful governing classes in connection with local administration that they had in country places; for if they had there would not be a lack of public spirit. As to the Coal and Wine Dues, he pointed out that the goods upon which those dues were levied were consumed in the Metropolis, or, at any rate, by people residing in the Suburbs. The hon. Member wished to throw part of the expense of the Parks on the ratepayers of the Metropolis; but the Amendment would not have any such effect.

Lord ELCHO said, he rose for the purpose of obtaining information, the hon. Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) having stated that there was an interchange of visitors between London and other places and Edinburgh, and that visitors to Edinburgh had the advantage of the Public Parks which were maintained by the locality, just as visitors to London had the advantage of the Royal Parks. Now, he (Lord Elcho) was a Scotchman, and might be supposed to know something about Edinburgh; but he really had to ask the hon. Member what were the Parks in that city which were maintained by the people of Edinburgh? He knew Holyrood Park, but that was kept up at the expense of this Vote; and he knew the Botanical Gardens. There was also a Park in Princes Street, but that was kept under lock and key, and no one had access to it who did not reside in Princes Street. It was necessary to give an opponent full justice for a fair argument; but of what value was the argument of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), when he said, in effect, that the Parks in London were not paid for by the ratepayers of the Metropolis, although those in the Provincial towns were maintained by the localities? The hon. Member had not quite the courage to say this—"There should be a fair exchange; Members of Parliament and others who come from Wolverhampton and Ipswich to London should be able to enjoy the benefit of Parks maintained by the people of London, just as the people of London who go to Wolverhampton for the Wolverhampton season, or to Ipswich for the Ipswich season, have the advantage of Parks maintained by the local ratepayers." But that was a fair way of taking the argument.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that, no doubt, his hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler) complained that, whilst people in Provincial towns were at the expense of maintaining their own Parks in their own localities, they should be called upon to pay for the maintenance of the Parks of the people of London. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had endeavoured to put hon. Members in a false position in regard to this matter. There was no Member of the House, he presumed, who contemplated the possibility of allowing the Public Parks of London to fall into a state of confusion and waste. No doubt, technically, these Royal Parks might be said to be Crown lands; but, really, they were the property of the people. Hon. Members were in the habit of making use of certain technical expressions; but there could be no doubt that the Parks were for the enjoyment of the people of the Metropolis. They were also for the enjoyment of the visitors to London; but, while it might be true that the hon. Member could not mention any Park in Edinburgh which did not receive a grant, he could tell the Committee that there were many places in Lancashire and Yorkshire where the Public Parks were kept up at the expense of the local ratepayers. He hoped hon. Members who had not been present all through the discussion would understand two things—namely, that the object of the Motion was to reduce the Vote by £10,000, and also to test the principle as to whether this expenditure for the Parks and other purposes under the Civil Service Estimates should be borne by the State, or whether it should fall on the Metropolis, perhaps not exclusively, but, at any rate, more than it did now. He would put it to the Committee that they might support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote even on the ground of economy, for he had no doubt that, if £10,000 were struck off, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Department would still be able to keep up the Parks properly. The acceptance of the Motion would be an indication of the desire of the Committee that these burdens which fell upon the State should be considerably reduced. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock), he presumed it was not the people of London who paid the dues referred to, but the people who lived in the Provinces.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that one argument advanced was that, as Edinburgh and Dublin received similar Votes, therefore the State should pay for the Parks in the Metropolis; but he did not think the argument was a valuable one. It might have some weight if used against a Member for Dublin or Edinburgh who objected to the Vote; but it could have none as against a county or borough Member from any other part of Ireland or Scotland. People in the country places in Ireland got no advantage whatever from the Phœnix Park. He had visited Dublin several times last year, but had never gone near that Park; and the same would apply to many people who visited Dublin. No doubt, a sight-seer who went to Dublin for the first time in his life would visit the Phœnix Park; but people who frequently went to Dublin on business probably never visited the Park. In a district in Ireland with which he was acquainted, they had bought one Park out-and-out at a heavy price, and were renting another at £1,500 or £1,600 a-year, which rent was paid, together with the cost of maintaining both Parks, by the ratepayers. He could not see on what grounds the worthy Alderman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Lawrence)—who, no doubt, was prepared to defend the corrupt Corporation to which he belonged, as all Aldermen of corrupt Corporations would —could argue that the taxpayers of all parts of the United Kingdom should contribute towards the maintenance of the Public Parks of London. It was said that these Parks were for the benefit and advantage of the people. Well, it was true at 5 o'clock the working man could go through them on the way to his work; but would the hon. Member opposite tell him for whose benefit were the walks and drives and flowers of Hyde Park and the other Parks if not for the wealthy? The Parks were used by the wealthy, and the wealthy paid an extra rent for the houses abutting on the Parks. The rates of those houses were paid to swell the enormous income of the Metropolis, which, in this way, was thoroughly capable, if it were so disposed, of paying for the maintenance of the Parks. It certainly seemed to him that the supporters of the present state of things had no reasonable ground for their position; therefore, he should support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that, with reference to what had fallen from the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), although he (Mr. Thorold Rogers) was congratulated or sneered at, he could nail his Lordship down to this extraordinary statement, that he considered that all rates and taxes which were levied were really paid by the landlord. If that were the noble Lord's contention, the answer which was to be given to him was obvious.

EARL PERCY was surprised at the doctrine expressed by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in reply to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The hon. Member had talked about "Crown lands" being a mere phrase; but they were more than a mere phrase. The question was not whether the Crown now held the land for its own enjoyment or for that of the people, but whether they had not—or, at any rate, a great part of them—been private property, and had been taken over by the State—remunerative and unremunerative lands alike—in the bargain entered into with the Sovereign on her accession. The bargain was a real and substantial one, and as binding as any bargain into which we could enter. It was one which merely lasted for the Reign; and when the Reign terminated—and he hoped the day would be far distant—it would be open for the hon. Member, or anyone else, to bring forward this question. But to call the "Crown lands" a mere phrase, was the most unconstitutional doctrine he had ever heard advanced in the House. Whatever hon. Members might think of the wisdom of the agreement entered into with the Crown, he believed with those who had spoken with most authority on the question that the bargain had been to the advantage of the State and not to the advantage of the Crown. He trusted that the Committee, on the plea that this was "a mere phrase," would not break from the bargain that had been deliberately entered into between the Crown and the people.

MR. H. R. BRAND said, he was not going to follow the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) into the whole of his argument; but he had seemed to introduce a new contention—namely, that the Parks were managed too extravagantly. The hon. Member had advised the Committee to vote for the Motion, declaring that even if the Vote were reduced the right hon. Gentleman the Commissioner of Works would be able to maintain and manage the Parks as well as he did now. Well, that was a legitimate point to raise; but the hon. Member had not adduced any evidence to support the contention. He considered that a liberal expenditure was justified in the case of the London Parks, which ought to be well kept up for the enjoyment of the public.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON wished to point out that hon. Gentlemen were really seeking to deprive the poorer classes of London of a very great enjoyment. He was surprised to find hon. Gentlemen, who usually advocated the interests of the lower classes, now coming forward to deprive them of the means of recreation and enjoyment which they used to so great an extent. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had said the Parks of London were merely used by the wealthy people. Would that hon. Gentleman say that Victoria Park, Battersea Park, and Kennington Park were solely used by the upper classes? He remembered most of these Parks being made; and he remembered, too, that the chief reason for forming them in the distant parts of London was that the poorer classes might enjoy their Sundays and leisure time in the open air, if they so chose.

Mr. GORST observed, that the Committee was impatient for a division, and he did not intend to stand between them and the division except for one moment. They ought to have one more speech made upon the subject, and that speech from some Member of Her Majesty's Government. The Government had proposed the Estimates to the Committee; they were responsible both for the principle upon which the Vote was asked, and for the amount of the Vote itself. He would like to hear whether the Government accepted the principle of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) —namely, that the Royal Parks, some of which, it was true, were situated in London, but most of which were situated at a considerable distance, such as those at Richmond, Hampton, and Edinburgh, should be paid for out of the local rates. If they were not to be paid for out of the Imperial Revenue, he supposed the local authorities would, at least, have the option of undertaking the burden of the maintenance of the Parks. He would ask the Government whether it was not a fact that the Parliament of this country was pledged to the maintenance of these Parks and of other Crown lands; whether the management of all the Crown lands in the country had not devolved upon Parliament; and, whether Parliament was not responsible for their management? If not, on what principle was Parliament asked to Vote this large sum annually?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, if the hon. Member had been in his place a little while ago he would have heard the opinions of the Government upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. It was not necessary to go over the ground again. He quite understood the hon. Member for Wolverhampton wished to raise the question of principle. The Crown lands, however, need not be brought into account, because Battersea Park and Victoria Park were quite sufficient in themselves to question the principle of maintaining the Parks out of the Imperial Revenue. He did not consider, looking at the relation of the Metropolis to the country generally, there was anything unfair in the proposal he now made. It was not a question affecting London only, but Edinburgh and Dublin; and, on the whole, he thought it was only fair that the rule which had hitherto been observed should be carried out now, and the Committee should vote the money. It had already been decided that the principle involved in the maintenance of these Parks should not be carried further; but that, in future, any Park constituted for the benefit of London must be maintained out of the local rates. He denied that the Parks in London were intended for, or used by, the wealthy people only; they were kept up quite as much for the poorer people. Victoria Park and Battersea Park were kept in as beautiful order as even Hyde Park, and these were especially intended for the benefit of the poorer classes.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL would like a distinct answer, whether many of these Parks—Hyde Park, the Green Park, and Hampton Park—were not really Crown lands coming under the original agreement between the Crown and Parliament?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE would not say whether there was any obligation on the part of the public to maintain the Parks out of the taxpayers' money. If he did that, he would enter on a broader question upon which he was not willing to enter. No doubt, many of these Parks were Crown property, and they had been handed over by the Crown for the benefit of the country, with the general understanding that they were to be maintained by Parliament.

Mr. MACARTNEY did not believe any body of taxpayers in the United Kingdom would in the least grudge the money now asked. He did not believe that even the Scotch people would consent to have Holyrood Park and the Botanical Park thrown on Edinburgh, or that the Irish people would like to see Phœnix Park thrown upon the ratepayers of Dublin. Every great country was proud of the beautiful and magnificent things to be seen in its Metropolis; and if England was to be the only country in the civilized world where the Parks of its Metropolis were not to be kept in good order at the expense of the nation, it would be behind the opinion of most countries. As to the poorer classes not availing themselves of the advantages of the Parks, he had himself observed that in St. James's Park and the Green Park, to every one rich person there were at least 50 poor people spending their leisure there. Kew Gardens, which was one of the scientific glories of the world, was also included in this Vote; and he asked if hon. Gentlemen meant to propose that they should be kept up out of the resources of the neighbourhood? Was it right that the neighbourhood should be taxed to maintain a great botanical collection which was universally enjoyed? In the same way, was Hampton Court to be kept up by the neighbourhood? All paltry considerations of jealousy between one town and another, or between the rich and the poor people, ought to disappear when a great national object was to be served.

Mr. J. COWEN said, that, of late, a considerable number of old trees had been cut down in Kensington Gardens. He desired to ask whether it was contemplated to increase the number of trees there, or to cut down more, and not replace them with others?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there was no intention to cut down any more trees in Kensington Gardens; but it was intended to plant trees in the place of some of those cut down.

Mr. W. H. JAMES asked, why it was that a small piece of ground between Spring Gardens and Carlton House Terrace was enclosed by an iron railing? Formerly, it was an open space; and he would be glad to hear from the Chief Commissioners of Works that at an early date it would be possible to remove the railings he mentioned.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE believed that at one time the piece of ground in question was an open space. Bands were allowed to play there; but it was not kept satisfactorily, and was enclosed. Why it was now enclosed he could not quite say.

Mr. Alderman LAWRENCE said, his remarks had been entirely misinterpreted during the discussion. His argument was that the Royal Parks were Crown property, and were formerly reserved for the use of the Sovereign; but now they were thrown completely open, and were at all times available for the recreation of the public.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN thought London was big and rich enough to maintain its own Parks. An hon. Member, only a few night ago, spoke of London as being not so much a city as a nation. It was, no doubt, as large and as populous, and far wealthier, than some nations; and, that being so, it ought to be well able to support its own Parks without seeking aid from the poor peasants of Connemara and Kerry. Reference had been made to the Phœnix Park in Dublin, and to the fact that Irishmen were never tired of saying it was finer than all the London Parks. They did take pride in the fact that, in extent, Phœnix Park was as large as all the London Parks put together; but they had no occasion to boast of the grant of money they obtained from the British Government for its maintenance. The expenditure on the London Parks was £110,000 per annum; but that upon the Phœnix Park and a little Park in St. Stephen's Green was only £7,500 per annum. Last year, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) suggested that the rude wooden palings erected in the Park might be removed, and that in their stead should be erected some tasteful iron railings; but nothing had been done. No one was now proposing that the London Parks should be abolished, or even closed; so that the argument concerning the interests of the poorer classes went for nothing. The argument put forward was, that a large and populous place like London should keep up its own Parks, and not ask for contributions from the Provinces, or from

Ireland or Scotland. If English borough Members had a right to protest on this subject, with how much more justice could hon. Gentlemen representing Irish constituencies protest. Ireland was far removed from this country; there was a boisterous sea between the two countries, and the facilities for Irish people visiting London were not so great as those which confronted the English Provincial people. The Irish Members especially had a right to protest against this Imperial taxation—this taxation of the Three Kingdoms, including the poor districts of Ireland—for the beautification of the Parks of the wealthy citizens of London.

Mr. MACDONALD said, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had stated that these were Royal Parks. Perhaps the First Commissioner of Works would tell the Committee whether Battersea, Victoria, and Kennington Parks were Royal Parks? It had been said this was an endeavour to prevent the enjoyment of the poor. They were not making any such endeavour; but what they were striving to secure was that the City of London should make provision for the enjoyment of its poor people. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) contended that the town he represented had no right to pay for the enjoyment of the people of the Metropolis, just in the same way as the inhabitants of London ought not to be called on to contribute towards the enjoyment of the people of Wolverhampton. The City of London said they had thrown open these Parks for the benefit of the people. What benevolence and what philanthropy! The mercurial Alderman for the City of London had told them that the Parks were opened to the working people of the City of London; that, as he understood him, they were to stroll and enjoy themselves. Anything more ridiculous than this he could not well conceive. The workman that took an hour in the Park was not of the kind that England could rely upon for its greatness or defence. It used to be the charge against certain classes of the working men that they would only work with one hand. This proposition was a greater outrage on them than even that. For one, he was for the working classes enjoying every mode for recreation that was reasonable; but that should be done by the wealthy of London. The people who came up from the country to visit London were skinned quite enough, without being taxed at home to make Parks, or to keep them up.

Mr. FIRTH said, he would like to make but one suggestion, and that was that if it was proposed the people of London should pay the expenses of the Parks, the Parks should, in the first instance, be transferred to the people of London. Directly it was decided that the Parks should be handed over to the people of London, so soon would the people consider whether they would undertake the responsibility of keeping them up. Until the Parks had been transferred it was not competent for the Committee to say that London was bound to maintain them. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton now proposed to lessen the present Vote by £10,000. Suppose the Vote was so lessened, where was the £10,000 to come from? The Office of Works had no control over the finances of London, and he trusted they would not have. There was no machinery in existence by which the Department could obtain the £10,000 from the people of London. It would, therefore, be necessary for the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works to lessen this expenditure on the Parks by this amount. It was well that the Committee should clearly understand the issue.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 34; Noes 150: Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) £27,260, to complete the sum for the Houses of Parliament.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, it was perfectly impossible that he could allow this Vote to pass without taking an opportunity for eliciting, as far as possible, the opinion of the Committee in regard to giving better accommodation to hon. Members who used the Smoking Room. He was very glad the subject had come up so early in the year. Owing to the fact that urgency had not been voted for Supply, they had made such remarkable progress with the Votes that they were able now to elicit the opinion of Members of the Committee upon a matter of very considerable importance in respect to the convenience of hon. Members. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that some time ago he put a Question to the First Commissioner of Works which, judging from the applause it received, commanded the general approval of the House. It was to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to grant additional accommodation to those Members of the House of Commons who were addicted to the practice of smoking. The First Commissioner appeared to have taken the subject already into consideration, for he made a statement, in which he told the House that it was his intention to take the room now used as a Tea Room by hon. Members and give that Tea Room to hon. Members who wished to smoke. He further stated that he intended to keep the present Smoking Room as a room to which hon. Members might take their friends to smoke, and that he intended to transfer the Tea Room into the room now used for receiving deputations. That was the plan which the First Commissioner of Works proposed, on his responsibility as a Member of the Government; and he (Lord Randolph Churchill) was bound to say that he thought the responsibility of the Government was very much at stake in the matter, and they would incur censure if they were prepared to abandon their proposal at the slightest breath of opposition from hon. Members who were in the habit of drinking hot tea at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and who were the only persons who opposed the general wish of the House. Now, what had occurred in this matter? A certain number of Members who were addicted to drinking tea at 5 o'clock in the day appeared to have felt great indignation at the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, and they got up a kind of "round robin," which they presented to the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that the practices resorted to in the preparation of that "round robin" were most objectionable. The names of hon. Members were inserted in the "round robin" who had no sympathy whatever with the movement, and every kind of artifice was resorted to in order to procure a number of imposing signatures to the Memorial. When the Members who first moved in the matter heard of this document, they took steps to get up a real "round robin," and the Memorial which they presented—for he would not call it a "round robin"—was signed by some 220 or 230 Members of the House. No doubt, it would have been signed by a great many more if it had not been for the fact that the Memorial was got up at a time when urgency prevailed in regard to Public Business, and hon. Members were being suspended every day in large numbers, so that it was difficult to get their attention to the preparation of a document of this kind. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, they obtained 230 signatures; whereas he believed the promoters of the counter-Memorial, with all their artifices, which were very unusual and not those ordinarily adopted by Members of that House, were only able to obtain 150 or 160 signatures. One would have thought that after this demonstration of opinion, the right hon. Gentleman who represented the Board of Works would have mustered up sufficient courage to adhere to his original proposal, and that he would have carried it out without delay; but it was not so. The proposal had not yet been carried out, and as far as he (Lord Randolph Churchill) could make out, the right hon. Gentleman had altogether abandoned it — ["Hear, hear!"]—and the vaccillation of the Government seemed, as usual, to command the assent of the Radicals. Probably the right hon. Gentleman would explain the grounds upon which he had been induced to abandon his proposal. He had been given to understand, through the kindness of the First Commissioner of Works, that the right hon. Gentleman had other plans in view; that he was anxious to provide for the convenience of those who were in the habit of using the Smoking Room by giving them better accommodation, and that he was prepared with other plans. He thought it exceedingly desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should place those other plans before the Committee, so that they might have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon them. He understood that they involved the taking of some rooms from the House of Lords. He was not at all prepared to say that that might be a very statesmanlike course to adopt. It appeared to him, from the figures he had seen, that the area occupied by the House of Lords was totally disproportionate to the requirements of that House. Very few Members of the House of Lords were in the habit of attending the debates in that House;

yet the superficial area of space devoted to the House of Lords exceeded by several thousand feet the space devoted to Members of the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, would be able to correct him if he was wrong; but, at any rate, a very considerable amount of space was devoted to the House of Lords. The right hon. Gentleman proposed, as he understood, to rectify that disproportion, and to take rooms from the House of Lords in order to add them to the space allotted generally to the House of Commons. It was not intended altogether to limit this space to hon. Members addicted to smoking, but to take into consideration the general accommodation of the House of Commons, not only in connection with the smokers, but also with regard to that little knot of tea drinkers who met at 5 in the afternoon. It would probably be interesting to the Committee to know what had been the progress which the right hon. Gentleman had made with these negotiations with the House of Lords, and whether he found that the House of Lords was likely to give up without much trouble and difficulty the rooms which he deemed absolutely necessary to provide for the convenience of the House of Commons. It was just possible that a matter of this kind might go a little further, and might produce a great Constitutional struggle between the Lords and the Commons. Such a result they would all wish to avoid, particulary hon. Members on that side of the House. They would be sorry to lend themselves to anything which might appear to be an attack upon the privileges of the House of Lords. But at this moment the inconvenience to smokers had reached such a pitch that they were disposed, regardless of the Constitution, to support the right hon. Gentleman in carrying out the promise he had distinctly made to provide better accommodation for the smokers.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the noble Lord was quite correct in the representations he had made in regard to the smoking room. In the early part of the Session, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) received many representations from Members who used the Smoking Room, as to the inconvenience to which they were subjected, and the great want of proper accommodation; and although he himself was not a smoker, he considered it his duty to do all he possibly could on their behalf. He had, therefore, ventured to make a proposition to the House that in lieu of the Smoking Room hon. Members should use the room generally known as the Tea Room; but he was bound to say that that proposition was not received with general approval. Many representations were made to him against such a change, and an Address was presented to him, signed by 170 Members, against it. On the other hand, there was an Address signed on behalf of the smokers, and in favour of his proposition, which contained 230 signatures. It showed, no doubt, a considerable majority in favour of his scheme; but, nevertheless, there was still evidence that a large minority were opposed to the plan he had suggested. It appeared to him that when a change of this kind was proposed, it would not do to bring it about against the will of a very strong minority; and in this case the minority included a considerable number of the older and most important Members of the House. He found that the average age of the non-smokers was about eight years more than that of the smokers. Therefore, it seemed that the older and more experienced Members of the House were generally opposed to the arrangement. However, he endeavoured to make some other arrangement; and in the course of his inquiries he found that it was not merely a question of smoking-room accommodation, but of the general accommodation of the House. The general accommodation of the House, he found, on all hands, was insufficient. Their Dining Rooms were too small; the Library was often overcrowded; the Tea Room was very much overcrowded; and, indeed, all the rooms occupied and frequented by Members of the House at certain periods of the evening were inconveniently crowded. He could not see his way to any further accommodation until some arrangement could be made which should give general satisfaction. It was, therefore, an essential condition of any change to endeavour to increase the accommodation of the House generally. When he pursued his inquiries a little further, he found, as the noble Lord had stated, that the accommodation of this building on the ground floor was very unequally divided between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and that the House of Lords had appropriated to its use, totally irrespective of the public part of the building, the Queen's Gallery and the official residences, an area of not less than 13,000 square feet more than that appropriated to the use of the House of Commons. That arose in a great measure from the fact that the House of Lords was provided with several Committee Rooms on that floor, whereas all the Committee Rooms of the House of Commons were on the next floor above. The House of Lords had five Committee Rooms on that floor, and generally their rooms were larger and more convenient than those allotted to the House of Commons. Under these circumstances, it appeared to him that an opportunity was afforded for endeavouring to make some arrangement with the House of Lords of a somewhat more equitable character as regarded the accommodation of the House of Commons. In pursuing his inquiries a little further, he found that the official residence of the Librarian of the House of Lords contained several fine rooms, which were practically not occupied by the Librarian, and he found that the Librarian was not indisposed to enter into some arrangement, provided that compensation of some other kind was given him. It, therefore, occurred to him (Mr. Lefevre) that it might be possible to induce the House of Lords to make over three of their Committee Rooms, taking compensation out of the Librarian's rooms. Accordingly, he had made the proposition to the House of Lords, through the Lord Great Chamberlain, that they should give up these three rooms to the House of Commons, and in that way the general accommodation of the House would be greatly assisted. It appeared to him that it would be a great advantage to the House of Commons that their accommodation should be increased; and if it could be done without inconvenience to the House of Lords, he did not think the House of Lords would be unwilling to entertain a project of that kind. Accordingly, he had made this proposition to the House of Lords, and he believed it would shortly come under the consideration of the Committee which dealt with these questions. He could not say what conclusion that Committee would arrive at; but he believed that the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Aveland, was desirous of meeting the views of the House of Commons. He did not know that the proposition might take the form he had proposed; but he entertained a hope that the House of Lords Committee would consider the question, with the view of endeavouring to do something for the accommodation of the House of Commons. If he should be able to obtain these three extra rooms from the House of Lords, it would no doubt enable him to increase the accommodation for Members of this House very materially; and, in that case, he should venture to ask the House to appoint a small Committee, with the view of determining how the increased accommodation should be disposed of. He had only again to repeat that it was not only a question of increased smoking accommodation, but of increased accommodation of all kinds. He thought that Members required increased accommodation generally, and that increased accommodation could only be obtained in the direction he had pointed out. Of course, he should not make a proposition of this kind to the House of Lords if he did not think it could be carried out without inconvenience to the House of Lords. A very large amount of the space in this building was occupied by official residences, and if there were any officials who did not make full use of their houses, he thought it was in that direction that any increased accommodation should be looked for. At present, he could only say that he had made that proposal to the House of Lords; and after it had been before the Black Rod Committee of the House of Lords, he would communicate the reply he received at once to the House.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the arrangement which the right hon. Gentleman informed the Committee he had suggested to the Black Rod Committee of the House of Lords, might probably satisfy his noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill), and perhaps for a limited period a certain amount of extra elbow-room might be given to Members of the House of Commons; but he confessed that he did not take a sanguine view of the negotiations in which the right hon. Gentleman was engaged upon the subject. The Committee must remember that if these negotiations did succeed, the result would be the appropriation by the House of Commons of some rooms which were at a great distance from the place they were now occupying. The rooms to be appropriated to Members of this House must be immediately on the spot, or he doubted whether they would add much to the convenience of hon. Members. At the same time, he quite admitted that the right hon. Gentleman had done all he could to meet the requirements of his noble Friend and others who had pressed this particular question upon him. He was anxious, however, to make a suggestion, and it was this—What they wanted was, really, increased elbow-room in all directions, and this elbow-room would not be found by any slight re-distribution of the space which was divided between the two Houses of Parliament. His noble Friend said that the House of Lords had, at present, an undue amount of space appropriated to them for Committee Rooms; but in view of the urgent Business that was likely to come before the House of Commons this Session, it must be remembered that the House of Lords undertook to transact, in the first instance, a very much larger amount of Private Bill Business than the House of Commons usually asked them to undertake; and, as far as he knew, the Committee Rooms of the House of Lords had been remarkably well filled up to this moment, and there was no Committee Room in the possession of the House of Lords which, at the present moment, could be appropriated to the use of the House of Commons. If that were so, he thought that the House of Lords ought not to be deprived of the rooms which were found necessary for the fulfilment of the duties of that House, in the manner he had pointed out. He was quite willing to admit that the negotiations of the right hon. Gentleman might terminate in some kind of arrangement; but still, in spite of all that could be said in favour of the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman, he thought it would be found next year, or the year after, that there would be fresh demands for additional space for the accommodation of the House of Commons. What he was anxious to press upon the right hon. Gentleman was that he should refer to the Report of a Committee presided over some years ago by the late Mr. Headlam. It was a Select Committee, moved for by Mr. Headlam, who was at the time a distinguished Member of the Party opposite. It was composed of Members of very great experience, and, after a patient inquiry, a conclusion was arrived at unanimously, the conclusion being that, for the purposes of the House of Commons, it was necessary that an entirely new House should be erected. There was no difference of opinion in the Committee upon that point. That proposal had not been carried out, and he could not assign any reason for that result except that of expense. No doubt, a very considerable expense would be incurred if the recommendations of Mr. Headlam's Committee were carried into effect; but he was certain of this—that they might tinker the present House as they pleased, give additional seats in the Gallery to reporters, turn the Members out of the present Tea Room into that miserable hole of a place it had been proposed to assign to them; they might take away the Committee Rooms from the House of Lords—at a most inconvenient distance from the House of Commons—and utilize them for the accommodation of the House of Commons; they might do all this, and a great deal more; but when they had done it, at a considerable expense, they would find the same complaints constantly arising. Members on all sides of the House were complaining that everything was too restricted. The very Division Lobbies, through which they had to pass when they desired to express their views and opinions, were too narrow, and so badly ventilated that when a large number of Members were congregated in one Lobby there was extreme danger of their being asphyxiated. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman and the Government should take into consideration the Report of Mr. Headlam's Committee, and see whether it was worth while incurring fresh expenditure in order to alter and tinker the present arrangements of the House; or whether it would not be better, on the other hand, to adopt the recommendations of the Select Committee, and erect a new House capable of permanently affording all the accommodation and requirements that were needed.

Mr. ONSLOW said, two years ago a deputation waited on the First Commissioner of Works and called attention to the condition of the present Smoking Room, at which time the right hon. Gentleman did everything in his power to remedy the grievances complained of. He endeavoured to get a new Smoking

Room for the use of the Members of the House. Estimates were framed, and several suggestions were made; but, for some reason or other, the arrangements fell through. When the right hon. Gentleman now Governor of Madras (Mr. Adam) came into Office, he also took up the subject, and did all he could to attain the object desired. His suggestion was that the court below should be enclosed, and that it should be used as a smoking-room. The right hon. Gentleman who now held the Office, he was bound to say, had met hon. Members in this matter in a very fair spirit. He had taken up the subject almost immediately the question had been brought to his notice; and, although he was himself a non-smoker, he had shown himself willing to add in every way to the comfort of those who were smokers. He believed 75 per cent of the Members of the House belonged to the latter class; and, therefore, he thought their convenience should be taken into consideration. He believed, also, their constituents wished hon. Members to enjoy themselves while attending to their Parliamentary duties in every reasonable way. But the present room at the disposal of Members afforded no convenience whatever — there was no convenience for sitting down, much less for smoking. He, therefore, asked the right hon. Gentleman to give them a room to which Members only could go. He was sure the teetotal portion of their constituents would be glad to find that there was a comfortable Tea Room for the accommodation of hon. Members; and he was equally sure that other portions of their constituents would be glad when they were provided with a comfortable Smoking Room. Therefore, he trusted pressure would be put upon the House of Lords with a view to obtaining the accommodation required, and that they would see the propriety of agreeing with the constituents that they should have every comfort during the Session. The question had been before the Commissioners of Works for many years, but nothing yet had been done; and, therefore, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to state, in a short space of time, that he had been successful in his negotiations.

EARL PERCY rose to call attention to a subject which would commend itself to the attention of most hon. Members, and especially those of the majority—namely, the ventilation of the Lobbies. It appeared to him that inconvenience was now felt in that respect much more than formerly. The only means of admitting air to the Lobbies was by opening certain windows which were about on a level with hon. Members' heads. He had ventured the other day to open one of these windows, and his movement had been received with execration by many hon. Members in the Lobby. He suggested that a moveable pane of glass should be placed higher up in the windows, or that some other opening should be made in the Lobbies to give hon. Members some little air. He trusted he should be supported in this endeavour to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the great inconvenience which existed.

MR. A. M. SULLIVAN said, it had been pointed out on former occasions, when attention had been drawn to this subject, that the opening of windows interrupted the whole process by which the House was ventilated. For his own part, he had been in numerous divisions during the Session, and had not suffered from want of air. Turning to another subject, he desired to call attention to the inequality which existed in the pay of the police officers who attended the House. He had already, in the course of three Sessions, asked the attention of the Government to this matter, and he had received a promise that it should be put right. He thought it was a pity to make any invidious distinction in the pay of a body of men who were models of civility, without servility; and he trusted the Committee would lend their aid in removing that which existed.

MR. ANDERSON observed, that the Votes contained an item for enclosing and laying out the vacant space at the south end of the Houses of Parliament at the cost of £2,400, of which £1,000 was stated to have been contributed by Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P. He wished to know why that statement appeared in the Estimates, and why the money was given? Was it before or after the last General Election? The thing had an awkward appearance on the Paper, and he thought, in justice to the right hon. Gentleman, it ought to be explained. In its present aspect, in his opinion, it looked uncommonly like a bribe to the people of Westminster.

Lord JOHN MANNERS wished to remind the Committee that the hon. Member for Glasgow was the same hon. Gentleman who, a few days ago, in the absence of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), suggested that his Motion had been postponed, in order to keep on the Paper a Notice hostile to the Chairman of Committees. That made him think that the Question of the hon. Member for Glasgow with reference to this Vote, put in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman for Westminster, might not be altogether so innocent in its intention as it appeared to be.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, as the hon. Member for Glasgow had expressed his opinion that the contribution in question might possibly have had something to do with the General Election of 1880, he would only say that his motive in making the contribution to assist in preserving an open space that would otherwise have been built over, was his desire that the space in question should not be lost to the people of London. At the time the idea entered his mind there was no thought of a General Election. He understood that the Board of Works were not willing to incur the entire cost of the appropriation of the land to the purposes of the public. He did not know that the subject would come before the Committee for consideration, nor was he aware that his name had been mentioned in connection with the matter. That it should have appeared in the Votes at all was to him a matter of regret, and, as he had before pointed out, he had been solely actuated by the desire to preserve a garden which would be of great advantage to the whole community.

Mr. ANDERSON was very glad to receive the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, who, he thought, would, no doubt, be pleased that attention had been called to the subject.

Mr. CAINE hoped something would be done to increase the pay of the Ushers of the House. The Sessions of this and the preceding year had thrown much unusual work upon these officers, and he believed the suggestion he had made would meet with the approval of many hon. Members.

Mr. GIBSON strongly agreed with the remarks which had been addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Works on the subject of the ventilation of the Division Lobbies. It was a disgraceful thing that hon. Members could not go into the Division Lobbies without being asphyxiated before the division was concluded. He should certainly, unless some alteration took place before another year, move a substantial reduction of the Vote. Hon. Members spent a great portion of their lives in the precincts of the Houses of Parliament, and took part in a great number of divisions, and yet no satisfactory arrangements were made by those who were responsible in the matter to provide ventilation by adequate means. The existing condition of things he considered disgraceful, and arrangements ought certainly to be made that would be satisfactory to hon. Members who had to take part in the divisions of the House. Turning to another subject in connection with subhead B, he had a letter from Canon Farrar, saying that one-third of the churchyard of St. Margaret's Church was owned by the Board of Works. As the ground was not in a reputable state, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would devote attention to it.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was quite sensible of the want of ventilation in the Division Lobbies, and had already caused some slight alterations to be made. If these were not successful, and if hon. Members would communicate with him further on the subject, he would endeavour to find some remedy for the inconvenience which they suffered. He had himself found difficulty in this matter of ventilation, and on one or two occasions having opened windows in the Lobby, they were shut by other Members two minutes afterwards. The question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) would come on more properly on Vote 2, Class II. The present portion of the Estimates related to the police employed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. As to the question of St. Margaret's churchyard, he had recently received a deputation on this subject, and the matter was now under the consideration of the Treasury, whose decision he hoped to be able to state in a few days. He thought Cannon Farrar was wrong in saying that the proportion of the churchyard vested in the Board of Works was one-third of the area.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER was glad to see that the hon. and learned Member for

Meath (Mr. A. M. Sullivan) had called attention to the pay of the police at the House of Commons. He now took the opportunity of urging upon the Government to consider the question of the position all of the officers of the House, whether high or low.

The CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the hon. Gentleman to the fact that the Vote for the Officers of the House is not included in the Estimates before the Committee.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE asked, Whether any experiments would be made for lighting the House with the electric light?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that gentlemen connected with the Brush Light System informed him that they would be willing to light the House at their own expense by way of experiment; but they could not do so while the House were Sitting. The arrangements were such that the gas and electric apparatus could not be used at the same time. The experiment would, therefore, be made during the Easter Recess.

Mr. M'COAN said, there was much room for improvement in the Ladies' Gallery. When it was considered that there were some 650 Members of the House, and that there was only accommodation for 30 or 32 ladies in the Gallery, the inadequacy of that accommodation would be generally admitted. The Ladies' Gallery might, he thought, be very much improved, without any alteration of the structural arrangements of the House, if the *grille* was taken away and a sort of lower gallery was made to extend over the heads of the reporters. The scrambling which took place for the seats was most disagreeable, there being only 32 prizes, as it were, against 600 or 700 blanks. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to giving further accommodation to ladies, and he might be certain that his efforts in that direction would be highly appreciated.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, although it might be possible to improve the accommodation in the Ladies' Gallery, he did not see how it could be extended. The first claim for accommodation in that part of the House was for the reporters, and it had been pointed out over and over again that the accommodation for them at the back of the Gallery was most inadequate.

Lord JOHN MANNERS asked, if the right hon. Gentleman could say what would be done in the matter of the unsightly block of buildings in King Street—whether any steps had been taken towards purchasing the buildings for the purpose of making the long-desired avenue from Whitehall to the Houses of Parliament, which had been promised by King Charles the Second?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the next Vote would afford the best opportunity for making a statement on the question just raised.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS advised that the windows of the House should be kept open for a longer period in the day-time, while Members were not in the House, particularly in the summer.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL supported the suggestion of the hon. Member, and expressed the opinion that blame in this matter was due to the officer in charge of the ventilation arrangements.

Mr. GREGORY, observing that strong appeals had been made to the Government on the subject of the accommodation for smoking, complained of the accommodation for dining. This was a matter of importance, and well worthy of the attention of the Government; and he urged the right hon. Gentleman, in any arrangement he might be making with the House of Lords, to bear in mind the inconvenience Members at present suffered. In his efforts to obtain further accommodation by arrangement with the House of Lords, it might be necessary to give and take; and he (Mr. Gregory) would point out that in consequence of many Bills now originating in the House of Lords, many Bills were dealt with in the Committee Rooms simultaneously in both Houses. But there were some Committee Rooms in the House of Commons which were seldom used; and he would suggest some of those might be given that to the House of Lords in order to obtain further space for dining accommodation.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE assured the hon. Member that the question of dining accommodation was one of the matters he had in view when he made his proposal to the House of Lords, and that if he could get some additional rooms from the House of Lords, he thought one of them might properly be devoted to dining purposes. It might be necessary to give up some Committee Rooms to the House of Lords in exchange; but the hon. Member was not quite correct in saying that the Committee Rooms of the House of Lords were generally occupied at the same time as those in the House of Commons That did happen occasionally, but very rarely. There were six or seven Committee Rooms belonging to the House of Commons on a higher floor, and if the suggested exchange were made, it might occasionally happen that hon. Members would have to sit in those rooms. That slight inconvenience, however, he thought they might very well undergo for the sake of the increased space obtained.

Mr. CAINE wished to know whether members of the Bar had any prescriptive right to the use of the Strangers' Dining Room, mentioning that, on one Wednesday afternoon, the room was occupied by 36 barristers, and he could not find room for himself. If barristers had no prescriptive right, then they ought to be excluded.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER inquired whether there would be any objection to printing and circulating among Members the Report of Mr. Headlam's Committee in 1867 or 1868, to which the noble Lord had alluded; and also whether, without waiting for any structural alterations in the Tea Room or the Smoking Room, the right hon. Gentleman would endeavour to improve the supply of newspapers in the Reading Room, so that they might more fairly represent the different shades of political opinion?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE informed the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) that another Refreshment Bar was being provided, at which members of the Bar and other persons could obtain refreshment. He believed that barristers had a prescriptive right to use the Strangers' Dining Room, and he should be very sorry to abolish that right. With regard to the Report of the Committee of 1867, he thought it would not be desirable to print it now, because that Report advised the erection of a new House, and the circulation of the Report by the Government would appear to imply that the Government was favourable to the proposal. He would see if anything could be done with regard to the newspapers.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the Report of the Committee did not propose to erect a new House under the present roof, but a totally new House containing larger accommodation—fresh Galleries for the reporters and for ladies, and new Lobbies. The right hon. Gentleman had apparently not studied the Report, and his answer to the hon. Member was unsatisfactory. That Committee collected information, not only with respect to the English House of Commons, but upon every House of Legislature in the civilized globe; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consent to reprint that Report.

Mr. CALLAN suggested that plans of the House of Commons should be prepared and circulated, mentioning that many rooms which had been allocated to Members were occupied by other persons. One consequence was that Members were obliged to sit in a cold and draughty room to smoke; and he thought that if plans were not produced, it might be the duty of hon. Members to oppose any further expenditure until they were produced.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, he was not a smoker; but he certainly thought the smoking accommodation was most wretched. He also sympathized with the ladies in being shut in a gallery in which they saw with difficulty and heard with greater difficulty. He did not see why Peeresses should be allowed freely to see what was going on from an open gallery, and the ladies in the House of Commons should be regarded as so dangerous that they must be put beyond a screen. He urged the First Commissioner to see if something could be done to improve the Ladies' Gallery.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN reminded the Committee that the question of the Ladies' Gallery had been discussed, not only incidentally upon the Estimates, but on a distinct Motion on two occasions. This was not a question for hon. Members, but for the ladies; and after considerable inquiry, when it had been discussed on former occasions, it had been found that 90 out of 100 ladies preferred to have their gallery private, as it was. That was the reason why the *grille* had not been removed.

Mr. BIGGAR wished to know whether the Caterer to the House provided his own fuel and light?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I believe not.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £99,428, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to ask a question on a matter to which he had often alluded to on former occasions. It referred to the Record Office, and the means of protecting that Office from fire? A great many of the Records in the country had recently been brought up to London; and although there was great advantage in having them altogether in London, great danger of fire was involved in placing them all in one building. Some years ago, before the present Master of the Rolls had taken that Office, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had asked a similar question, and the answer was that he might make himself quite easy, because all the appliances of modern invention had been introduced into the Record Office, and everything had been rendered perfectly safe. After the Master of the Rolls had taken that post, he had repeated the inquiry, and the answer he received was that the precautions previously suggested had been adopted. He also wished to know whether the Chief Officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade had any sort of control over the arrangements for the supply of water, or any jurisdiction whatever in the matter? His impression was that the matter was taken entirely out of that officer's hands. He thought no better advice could be obtained than that of Captain Shaw as to what arrangements should be adopted, and that that gentleman should have some control over the arrangements. Some years ago he visited the Register Office, Edinburgh, where similar documents were kept; and on making inquiry as to the precautions against fire, he found that after the clerks left all the fires were raked out, and that there was not a single bucket or other precautionary appliance in the place. Through the action of the Treasury that had been remedied; but he was very anxious with regard to the documents in the Record Office.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS did not think there was the slightest risk of fire in the Record Office, there being no wood in the rooms except some floors. The fires were left open, that plan having been found to be the safest system. The Records were kept in fire-proof safes, which no fire could get into; and he did not think a flash of lightning of the most ferocious character would set the documents on fire. There was no country in the world which had anything like the Records this country possessed, and he was very thankful that they had been at last taken from the hands of the local authorities and placed in safer hands. He believed the precautions adopted were absolutely perfect.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he would inquire, and answer the question of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) on the Report.

MR. W. H. SMITH drew attention to the Vote for the rents of offices used for Public Departments, and asked whether a rumour which had been circulated that the Government intended to build a new War Office and Admiralty Office was correct? He also wished to suggest that some Return should be made of the amount of rent paid by the Government to the Office of Woods under the Votes he was referring to. He believed a large portion of the Votes constituted a contribution to the Revenue, the Woods and Forests letting this property to the Government and paying the money into the Treasury. It would be interesting to the Committee to know how much of this money was received by the Woods and Forests as revenue and paid to the Treasury as a contribution to the Revenue. It was very desirable the Committee should have full opportunity of considering whether it was desirable that new public buildings should be erected on the Whitehall or the Great George Street sites.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the right hon. Gentleman was right in saying a good deal of the money voted in the shape of rent was paid to the Office of Woods, and therefore it came back to the Treasury in another form. The right hon. Gentleman, too, was also correct in saying that at the present time the question of the desirability of erecting some new buildings for both the War Office and the Admiralty was now under the consideration of the Government. He need hardly say no steps would be taken without full communication with the House. The time was now fast approaching when the New Courts of Justice and the Natural History Museum would be completed, so that it would be possible to take in hand other works without exceeding the Votes ordinarily granted for Public Buildings.

MR. GORST asked for some explanation of the item of £6,750 for sanitary improvements in Public Offices. He presumed he was right in thinking that the Public Offices were the public buildings of the country; and, if that were so, he must express his surprise that any sanitary improvements were required, because, when the question had been asked—especially with reference to the War Office—the House had been over and over again assured that the sanitary condition was perfect, and that now there was nothing left to be desired. Therefore, one was rather astonished when he found the Government coming down to the House and asking for so large a sum, and that on account, for the purpose of sanitary improvements in the Public Offices. What he would like to have explained was in what Public Offices these improvements were now being made, why a Vote on Account was taken, and whether there was any Estimate, or approximate Estimate, of the amount which would be ultimately required? It was an extremely unusual thing for a Committee of Supply to be asked to vote a sum of money on account, unless they were in possession of an Estimate of the total expense to be incurred.

MR. RYLANDS said, that when the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) rose, he rose at the same time to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the very same item, which, in his opinion, was, as it now stood, the most unsatisfactory item in the Estimates. It was a class of item which had always been condemned by Committees of Supply, because the Committee were asked to take a leap in the dark, which might lead to the expenditure of a very considerable sum. They were asked to vote £6,750 without explanation, and in view of an expenditure which was entirely uncertain. Now, if there was any rule which should be more constantly observed in Committee of Supply, it was this—that they ought to insist on having a full Estimate for the particular Service when they were asked to give the first Vote. To show the advantage of that course, he might state that with regard to the very plot of vacant ground in Westminster which had been under discussion on a former Vote, there was, a few years ago, a modest sum of £10,000 put down for the buildings proposed to be erected thereon. He raised an objection to the Vote, because the Treasury had not placed on the Table a full Estimate of the probable cost of the work which it was intended to carry out. It came out in discussion that there had been no very special Estimate made, but that it might amount to many thousands of pounds. The result of his objection was that the sum was struck out, and the building which was then contemplated, and which, while swallowing up many thousands of pounds, would have been entirely unnecessary, was never commenced; but the ground was made use of for its present purposes. They were entitled to know in which of the Public Offices these sanitary improvements were required, why they were required, what the nature of the scheme was, and what steps had been taken to secure that the expenditure should be kept within moderate bounds. He was sure the noble Lord would be able to say what was the probable amount that would be expended in connection with these sanitary improvements.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, it was quite natural that the Committee should want to know the probable cost of the proposed improvements; but this was a case in which he was afraid it was absolutely impossible to give an Estimate. It was quite impossible to reckon what works of this nature would cost. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had expressed his surprise that any sanitary improvements at the War Office were requisite, after the repeated assurances given to the Committee that the sanitary condition of that Office was most satisfactory. He (Lord Frederick Cavendish) was glad to say that the War Office was in a satisfactory condition; but he believed it was the only Government Office, or almost the only Public Office, in which the sanitary arrangements were satisfactory. They had had reports recently that Buckingham Palace and the Home Office were in an unfavourable condition, and it was perfectly impossible, in a work of this sort, to tell where it would stop. They had determined this year to take every proceeding to rectify the evils which existed. The Home Office, including some of the Departments in Downing Street, would be first taken in hand; but it would be some years before the work was completed, and great expenditure would have to be incurred before all the necessary improvements were made.

Mr. MAGNIAC inquired why the Survey Buildings were continued in South Africa, and why in so inconvenient a place it was determined to expend £3,000 on new buildings for the Engraving Department? Although the question of Survey would come up for discussion on a later Vote, the question of engraving might very properly be raised at this stage of the Estimates. Great delay had taken place with regard to getting out the Survey, and he believed that it was, to a very great extent, due to the want of engravers. Southampton certainly did appear a most out-of-the-way place for a centre of this kind, and he hoped the Government would be able to give some explanation of the matter.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE could not say why it was that Southampton was originally chosen as a centre of the Survey Department; but it had been a centre for a great many years, and, an extension being necessary, it was thought more convenient to erect the new buildings in Southampton than it would be elsewhere.

Mr. GORST said, the explanation was of so unsatisfactory a character, that he must move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £6,750, which was put down for the sanitary improvements. He condemned the new practice of proposing that the Committee should embark on an expenditure of which it was not allowed by the Government to see the end. It would be quite possible for the Government to take a Vote for certain sanitary improvements which it was intended to carry out during the present financial year, and to put some amount to which the expenditure on those improvements might be extended. He must express his disappointment and astonishment, in which he was sure every Member of the Committee would share, at learning these shocking sanitary defects in the new buildings. He supposed that no private person building a mansion or a public building would tolerate his architect and surveyor if they supplied him with a building that was so deficient in sanitary accommodation as the noble Lord said the Public Offices were. Some explanation should be given why these new buildings, for which the nation had paid an enormous sum, were deficient in those sanitary improvements which every cottage building in these days was required to have. It was quite a satire upon our public institutions that the Local Government Board, which lectured persons and public bodies all over the country upon their duties as to sanitary arrangements, should have its own sanitary arrangements in so shocking a state that a year or two after the building was completed the Government had to come down to the House and ask for more money for sanitary improvements for that building.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £92,678, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, for the Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man; for providing the necessary supply of Water; for Rents of Houses hired for the accommodation of Public Departments, and Charges attendant thereon."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Mr. DILLWYN thought it was not proper to vote on account a large sum like this without having some Estimate to guide the Committee as to the ultimate amount that would be reached. There must have been some Estimate given, and it was most unsatisfactory that the Committee had not got it. He would like to know upon what principle the Government asked for this definite sum of £6,750. The Estimate might be exceeded, and the Committee were bound to know upon what it was founded, otherwise, as had been pointed out, they might be landed—they did not know where—in a continuous expense from year to year. He was not in favour of reducing the Vote by the total sum for sanitary improvements, because if the sanitary state of these buildings was as bad as it had been represented, there was no doubt that these defects must be remedied, But he would suggest that the Vote should be postponed in order that the Estimate and some more satisfactory explanation should be furnished to the Committee. He preferred that to refusing the Vote, because if the money was required it must be voted after more information had been given.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS quite agreed with the general principle which had always been adopted by Committees of that House, that they ought to know the whole cost before they voted any sum on account. That was a very sound principle to go upon, and had been very properly insisted upon for a great number of years; but there was a peculiarity in this particular case. The hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had said they must know what they were going to enter into before they voted any thing; but, unfortunately, they entered into this matter a great many years ago, and they were only now patching up the rent that was made by the new offices. No one who had not had personal experience—as he unfortunately had had —could tell the condition in which the Public Offices really were. He would tell the Committee what happened in the Home Office. When the Department was ordered to move into the new building the clerks positively refused to go, and gave as their reason that they knew the place was unhealthy, and that if they went there they were quite sure to be ill. Thereupon he refused to go until an inquiry had been made by the Local Government Board. It was then found that the clerks were perfectly right, and the place was not healthy. A great deal was done in consequence of that inquiry, and they did not go into the building until the Local Government Board were satisfied that it had been put right. He was thankful to say that he usually enjoyed very good health; but when he got into that Office he found he was perpetually suffering from severe headaches. He had inquiries made as to the drainage of the place, and when they came to ask for a plan of the drains there was not one to be had anywhere, and about ten holes had to be broken in Whitehall Place before it could be found where the drains were. He was then assured, over and over again, that everything was perfectly sound, and there was nothing wrong with the drains; and it was not until he told the Treasury that he would take lodgings elsewhere and charge it to them that the real state of the case was discovered. It was then actually found that there were two feet in depth of foul sewage in the cellars of the building. The fact was that the great central drain, instead of running out of the building, had got its back broken, and emptied into the building. Therefore it was hardly to be wondered at that he had a headache, or that the clerks were ill. Everything was done at last in order to put the matter straight; but, he presumed, more defects had now been discovered. A more lamentable instance of want of common foresight, whether on the part of the architect or on the part of the builder, never was known in this world. He thought it was a positive disgrace. However, it must be put straight, and the noble Lord was perfectly right in insisting upon that point. He could not say whether it would cost £10,000 or £50,000; but they could not allow their clerks to suffer. Therefore, although he perfectly agreed with his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) on the general principle, and with the hon. Member for Swansea in objecting to the manner in which the Vote was brought forward, he, for one, must vote for the immediate expenditure of the money required. At all hazards, risks, and costs, the matter must be put straight. It was not a question of entering upon a new building, and they could not tell what might be necessary to complete the remedy; but he hoped the noble Lord would be able to tell them what buildings it was now proposed to deal with, and how many would remain to be provided for.

EARL PERCY said, he thought the Committee would agree that this matter was very alarming and extremely unsatisfactory. It was a state of things which could not be tolerated. He did not understand that his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) had the slightest desire to postpone necessary action in the matter. Of course, the health of the public servants should be preserved as far as possible, no matter what expenditure that entailed; at the same time, he did not understand the reason why this Vote should be taken on account. It appeared perfectly possible to estimate generally the total cost of an undertaking of this kind, and to tell the Committee what were the buildings to be dealt with at the present and in the future. If the Committee were adverse to reducing the Vote, possibly it might be in Order to postpone it, or the Government might agree to report Progress. He would be willing to support whatever course might be most convenient; but some notice should be taken of such a very serious matter, and some fuller information ought to be given to the Committee.

LORD JOHN MANNERS hoped the Committee would not agree to the suggestion that the Vote should be postponed. After the statement of the noble Lord and his right hon. Friend the late Home Secretary, it would really be discreditable and a positive cruelty to the public servants to postpone the Vote. It was obviously necessary that with respect to the Home Office, at any rate, and possibly with respect to other offices, the Vote should pass as soon as possible, and that these sanitary improvements should be immediately carried out. He thought that was clearly established to the satisfaction of the Committee. But with regard to the statement that it was in contemplation to erect new offices for the War Office and the Admiralty, the Committee would doubtless be of opinion that when these great new buildings were erected it would be the duty of the Government to call in the highest sanitary and engineering experience and skill that could be availed of, and that in future any great public building should be erected by no architect, however eminent, without the co-ordinate assistance of the highest engineering skill. With respect to the charges made against the eminent gentlemen who had erected, during recent years, those great public buildings, of which the sanitary arrangements had proved so defective, he would suggest to the Committee that they had probably found the same complaints with respect to their own houses. He thought there was no real distinction to be drawn between the sanitary defects of public buildings and of private dwellings. His own experience led him to say that the deficiencies of engineering science with respect to sanitary arrangements were quite as obvious and quite as mischievous in private houses as in public buildings; and the moral he ventured to draw was that, in future, the highest engineering skill should be employed, whenever a new public building was to be erected.

MR. GORST said, that money had already been spent upon improving the sanitary condition of the Home Office. The Office was, first of all, built in an unsatisfactory manner, its sanitary condition was then patched up to the satisfaction of the Local Government Board, and now Parliament was asked to allow a fresh expenditure for the purpose of once more patching up the sanitary condition of the building. After the experience they had had, it would be as well if the Government and the Committee were to hold their hands—if the Committee, at any rate, were to refuse to vote this money until the Government had thoroughly considered the matter, and were prepared to lay satisfactory plans before the Committee. He should have been happy to have consented to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) for the postponement of the Vote; but he believed he was right in saying that a Vote which had once been put could not be postponed. He would propose, however, as this was the last Vote before them this evening, that the Chairman should now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. There could be no harm in taking that course, and it might lead to some good, as, before the matter again came before the Committee, the Government could investigate the matter, and lay the necessary information before them. He would not himself move to report Progress, as he had moved the reduction of the Vote; but he would suggest that the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) should himself propose it.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH was afraid the hon. and learned Member was hardly correct in saying that no harm would be done by postponing the Vote. The work could not be undertaken until the Vote was agreed to, as it was the rule that no new operations should be commenced until a sum had been granted on account. [MR. GORST: This is not a new work.] The hon. and learned Member might look upon it as an old work; but, technically, it was a new one. He regretted that he was unable to give the Committee full information on the subject; but he would state exactly how the matter stood. The matter had been brought fully before him, and he had found that it was a very considerable one, for no single one of our Public Offices, with the exception of the War Office, was in a satisfactory condition. If the hon. and learned Member would make inquiries, he would find that in this neighbourhood there were a very large number of houses, clubs, and other buildings, which were in an extremely unsatisfactory sanitary condition. To put the matter shortly, water-closets had taken the place of cesspools without the necessary adaptation of drains, and the result was that a large portion of London was in this unsatisfactory condition. The matter having been brought to his attention, he had thought that, so far as the Treasury were concerned, it could sanction the undertaking of the work necessary to alter the condition of things; and, therefore, it was proposed that a substantial grant should be made for the purpose. The Home Office would be dealt with in the first place, and the money would be expended, as far as possible, in improving the sanitary condition of that building. As a matter of fact, the drains and sewers of that part of London near Whitehall were in a disgraceful condition. The architects who had built the dwellings had nothing to do with the drains. He could assure the Committee that, under the new regulations laid down by the Board of Works, the present evils could not exist; and, as the new offices would be constructed under those regulations, there need be no fear in regard to their proper sanitary arrangements. Certain elementary sanitary principles were laid down in the regulations of the Board of Works; and the Board of Works, for the future, would take care that all those principles were attended to. When once these principles were laid down, they seemed so simple that the only wonder was they had not been adopted before. He did not think that, in the future, they would have to blush for the sanitary condition of their Public Offices as they had now.

Mr. W. H. SMITH called attention to an item, on page 18, of £1,494 7*s.* 6*d.* rent in respect of Board of Trade Offices. The item in the time of the late Government appeared by the Estimates to have been £1,000 less, and he wished to know how the increase had come about?

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR believed the bad sanitary condition of the Public Offices was owing to the past neglect of the Office of Works, although he did not think the Government or anyone now in the House was responsible. Connected with the Office there was a Consulting Surveyor, who not only received the handsome salary of £1,200 a-year, but was allowed to carry on private practice. Nine years ago the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) asked a question about this Consulting Surveyor, and made several assertions in regard to the bad practice of allowing a public officer to carry on private practice; and, in the course of a rather warm discussion that followed, Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Lowe, in indignant tones, denied those statements of injury to the public interests. He (Sir George Balfour) would not impute anything to the Consulting Surveyor, Sir Henry Hunt; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Office of Works should prevent an official of this kind undertaking private practice. The Government could not expect to have their work done efficiently so long as the gentleman they employed to do it was allowed to do work for private individuals. He would rather give such a person an increased salary than allow him to carry on private practice. The matter, as he had said, had been mentioned nine years ago; things were, however, allowed to remain as they were, and now they found that the drains of their new public buildings were in a dreadful condition, the health of their public servants injured, and the present Committee called upon to devote a considerable portion of its valuable time to the discussion of the sanitary state of the Public Offices, and of grants of public money to rectify the bad drainage. If they had had an officer entirely devoted to the service of the public, all the evils which now existed would have been prevented.

Mr. MONK said, that with regard to the question just put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), he should like to ask the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) who was responsible for adding up the figures in the Votes? If he would look at page 8 he would find that in adding up the second column a slight error of £1,069 had been made. Though the Estimates bore the signature of the noble Lord, he did not suppose that the noble Lord was in any way responsible for the correct adding up of the figures. Someone at the Treasury, however, must be. No doubt, the £494 referred to ought to be £1,494; but even if that were so, there was still an error of £69.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, a question had been put to him about widening Parliament Street; but it would be seen that the matter was necessarily mixed up with the question of selecting a site for the Public Offices. There were three alternative sites—namely, the Parliament Street and Great George Street sites, the Thames Embankment site, and the site of the present Admiralty. The selection of the site was now occupying the attention of the Government.

Mr. DILLWYN said, the sum fixed upon in the Estimates, to which exception had been taken, was an odd one. The Government must have had some Estimate; and he would, therefore, ask the noble Lord to make it known to the Committee what that Estimate was, and how the sum had been arrived at. The work was not a new work, and unless some more satisfactory explanation than that which had been given was afforded he should move that the Committee report Progress.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, it was impossible to prepare a trustworthy Estimate of the cost of these Works, and he should only be misleading the Committee if he attempted to give one.

Lord JOHN MANNERS wished to say a word as to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant General opposite (Sir George Balfour). The hon. and gallant Member had made a mistake as to the nature of the engagement upon which Sir Henry Hunt entered the service of the Government, for he had assumed that the Consulting Surveyor had engaged to place the whole of his time at their disposal, which was really not the fact. In return for a very moderate salary—considering his very great capacity and reputation — Sir Henry Hunt had engaged to be consulted by the First Commissioner of Works, if he wished to consult him on any given subject. That was a very different thing to being responsible for the underground arrangements of all the public buildings in the Metropolis. That was a condition that was never proposed to Sir Henry Hunt, and which he never dreamed of undertaking; therefore, the attack of the hon. and gallant Member upon him was altogether unfounded.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the noble Lord had made use of some words which he (Sir George Balfour) could not pass by. The noble Lord had said that an unfounded attack had been made upon Sir Henry Hunt. According to his recollection, the matter had been brought before the House by the hon. Member for Swansea some years ago. No doubt, his memory was not what it used to be; still, he recollected this circumstance. They had then discussed the impropriety of allowing an official, who had a large number of public buildings under his survey, to undertake private practice. [Lord John Manners: No, no.] He was simply stating what his recollection was. He had one opinion, the noble Lord might have another. It was one of the most fatal things a Government had ever done to allow a man to serve two masters, the State and a private employer; for the result of his experience was—and, no doubt, that of the noble Lord would be the same—that, under such circumstances, the Public Service suffered. A complaint of Sir Henry Hunt being allowed to receive a salary from the public whilst he was carrying on his private practice had been made, because hon. Members saw the difficulty he must experience in drawing the line between the time he should devote to his public and the time he should give to his private practice; but since that complaint was made he (Sir George Balfour) had studiously refrained from bringing the question forward, because he had not wished to make an attack upon Sir Henry Hunt. He always refrained, both in private and public life, from making personal attacks behind a friend's or an enemy's back; therefore, he protested against the noble Lord's accusation. If Sir Henry Hunt had been present he would say to his face what he had already said to the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Before any further discussion takes place with regard to Sir Henry Hunt I would point out to the Committee that his salary is not taken in this Vote.

Mr. GORST said, he understood the noble Lord to say that until a Vote on Account was agreed to no money could be applied to this work. Then, supposing it had not been proposed by the

Prime Minister to take three months' Vote on Account, and this Vote had not come on until July, what would have become of the sanitary improvement of the Home Office in the meantime?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that as the Chairman had ruled that Sir Henry Hunt's Office could not be discussed under this Vote he would not now enter into a defence of that gentleman; but he would say this—and, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman opposite would confirm what he said—that it was no part of Sir Henry Hunt's duty to supervise the drains and the arrangements made by the architect for putting the buildings of the Home Office in a proper sanitary condition. It was the duty of Sir Henry Hunt to carefully examine the Estimates put before him, and to see that no unreasonable expense was incurred. When the proper time came he should be quite prepared to meet the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir George Balfour), and to contend, as he thought he could successfully, that the arrangement which had been referred to, which was not entered into by the late Government, nor by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, but by a right hon. Gentleman long antecedent to any sitting on the Front Benches, was an arrangement to the public advantage, and that it would be a great mistake indeed to exclude from the Public Service the experience of a gentleman in the position of Sir Henry Hunt.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE could confirm what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He had frequently derived the greatest assistance from Sir Henry Hunt.

MR. RAMSAY said, it was a serious question for the country if, in matters of this kind, enormous public buildings were to be constructed at great expense without anyone being responsible as to their healthy character. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had given them his own experience of the Home Office, and there was reason to regret that any public servants should have been employed in such a place. There was, seemingly, no assurance that the Vote they were now asked to pass was to be employed under the direction of a person responsible to the House; therefore, he could not see why they should consent to it. They were asked to grant £6,750 for an undefined purpose. They did not know whether they would have the Home Office or any one of the Public Offices put in a sanitary condition by the expenditure of the money. He had no wish to refer to what had been said as to the qualities of the Consulting Surveyor; but this he would point out—that if they paid £1,200 a-year to a gentleman, and his services were of no use to them, there was no reference to anyone else who was to do his work. Apparently, they had no one competent in the service of the State to undertake the improvement of either the Home Office or any other public building. It was on that ground that he must deprecate the Committee coming to a resolution to vote the money without an explanation as to the manner in which it was to be expended, and as to whether the result would be satisfactory.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE thought that if hon. Members had had the 30 or 40 years' experience as architects in connection with large buildings that he had had himself, they would not be so disposed to raise these objections. There was nothing so difficult to estimate as the cost of such works as these, especially when there were no plans. It was almost impossible for anyone to make an estimate; therefore, he would advise the Committee not to report Progress now, but to allow the Vote to pass. He would ask under whose charge and care the work was to be carried on? Would it be under the architect of the building or a public official?

MR. BIGGAR said, it seemed to him that two officials were very much to blame for the unsatisfactory state of things which had been described—namely, the architect who drew the original plans, and who, no doubt, was primarily responsible for not having drawn proper plans—and the surveyor, who should have examined the plans to see if there were any defects in them. If justice was to be done in this case, either these two gentlemen should be suspended from the position of *employés* of the Government, or they should be required to bear the expense of making the necessary alterations. If they were made to bear the expense, it would induce them to do better another time. The Committee should report Progress to enable the Government to consider the matter. With regard to the Admiralty buildings, he understood that the lease would soon expire; and he should like to know what arrangement had been made for renewing it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that no arrangement as to the renewal of the lease had yet been made.

MR. WARTON said there was a sum put down as spent on buildings in the Isle of Man; and he wished to have some information with regard to it. It was true it was stated that the sum was recoverable from the Isle of Man; but it would be satisfactory to have some details of the expenditure, for the people were very heavily taxed by an extravagant Governor. The money was for—

"Maintenance and Repair of the Government Buildings at Castle Rushen, Douglas, Ramsay, Kirk Michael, Peel, and Castletown, including Rent of Right of Passage, Court House, Douglas, Salary of Surveyor (£20)."

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH stated, that the amount was only £800 in all; and the whole of it was recoverable from the Revenues of the Isle of Man.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he could bear his testimony to the efficient and satisfactory manner in which the Governor of the Isle of Man had carried out his duties. That gentleman, he believed, had very materially improved the Island.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [18th March] *reported,* and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Resolution which, upon the 18th day of this instant March, was reported from the Committee of Supply, and then agreed to by the House, be read, as followeth:—That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 134,060, of all ranks, be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide during Twelve Months for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary CHILDERS, The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL, and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 123.]

POOR LAW OFFICERS (SCOTLAND) SUPERANNUATION BILL.

(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 113.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that as several hon. Members were desirous of making their observations when the Bill went into Committee, he would not say anything regarding it at that stage.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

MR. M'LAGAN pointed out that the Bill was drawn upon the same lines as the English and Irish measures upon the same subject, and that the circumstances of Scotland were not of an identical character. He would, therefore, express a hope that there would be some interval allowed between the second reading and the Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 31st March.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved,* That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st days of March 1880 and 1881, the sum of £1,536,571 4*s.* 2*d.* be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) *Resolved,* That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, the sum of £11,819,046 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

INCLOSURE PROVISIONAL ORDER (THURSTASTON COMMON) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the inclosure of certain lands called or known as Thurstaston, in the county of Chester, in pursuance of a Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 122.]

UNION JUSTICES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'Sullivan, Bill for the better administration of Justice at Petty Sessions Courts in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'Sullivan, Major Nolan, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Richard Power, and Mr. Metge.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 124.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 22nd March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) * (51).

Committee—Court of Session (Scotland) (42), *debate adjourned sine die.*

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * (48).

SOUTH GARSTON DOCK AND RAILWAY BILL [H.L.]

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned Debate on the Earl Cadogan's motion,

> "That the order made on Thursday the 3rd instant 'that the Bill be not further proceeded with during the present Session' be discharged and the Bill re-committed to the same Select Committee for the purpose of considering the question of awarding costs to the petitioners who appeared before the Committee;"

read, and *discharged*, and motion, by leave of the House, *withdrawn.*

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS).—QUESTION

Earl CADOGAN: May I ask my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is in a position to give the House any information as to the negotiations in the Transvaal, a subject which at this moment is one of so much interest?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: I am much obliged to my noble Friend for asking the Question. I am only able to say, speaking generally, that the statement that an arrangement has been come to is true; but I am not in a position this evening to state the details.

COURT OF SESSION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 42.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he very much regretted that on the occasion of the second reading of this Bill he had not the opportunity of making a statement to their Lordships of the reasons for its introduction; and he also thought he ought to apologize to their Lordships for having put the second reading for as early a date as he did after the time that the Bill was introduced. He should certainly not have done so if he could at that time have anticipated the strong sentiment upon the subject which had manifested itself in Scotland. The Bill had been prepared by his learned Friend the Lord Advocate, after communicating with, and ascertaining the opinions of, those who, from their position, had the best right to be consulted: and, having himself had the advantage of personal communication with some of those learned persons, and of seeing the views expressed by others, he had regarded the Bill as one to which, though it might require discussion in Committee, no objection was likely to be offered in an earlier stage. Whatever might be thought of the proposals made by the Bill, it was a matter of gratification to find how popular the Court of Session was in that country, and how great was the satisfaction with the way in which justice was administered in that Court. But it was his duty to state to their Lordships the reasons which caused the Government to suppose that they would be doing a public service, and in no way interfering with the efficient administration of justice in Scotland, if they recommended to Parliament such a reduction of the judicial staff of the Court of Session as was proposed by this Bill, and as appeared to be so much objected to. Their Lordships, he was sure, would all be of opinion that it was not desirable in any Court or in any country to have a greater judicial staff than could be kept constantly and fully occupied with the business of the country; and, however well under the existing system the judicial business of Scotland might be performed, yet, if by a greater economy and better arrangements as to the distribution of the power of the Court, a smaller number of Judges would be sufficient, the Government would be doing no more than their duty in making such a proposal to the House. Their Lordships would, perhaps, permit him first to state what was the present judicial power of the Court of Session in Scotland, and how it was distributed, and to compare it with that in England; and inasmuch as he knew that in the minds of some this was a question which ought not to be considered apart from the question of the local Courts in Scotland, he would also state what was the judicial power of these local Courts at present, and how it stood comparatively with that of the corresponding tribunals in England. The Court of Session, with the full number of Judges—there was at present one vacancy—would consist of 13 Judges of the first order. It was divided into what were called the Outer and the Inner House. The Inner House, consisting of two divisions of four Judges each, took all the appeal business; while the Outer House, consisting of Judges called Lords Ordinary, who sat each separately, took the business of the Court which arose in the first instance and certain summary proceedings. The business of the Inner House was not exclusively appellate; it had at present eight Judges; and for the business of first instance, in what was called the Outer House, they had five Judges. If that were compared with England, they would find that in England there were in all six ordinary Judges in Appeal. They had occasionally assistance from three *ex-officio* Judges, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolls; making nine, therefore, if they included the extraordinary assistance, as compared with eight in Scotland. But the Inner House in Scotland did not, like the ordinary Judges of Appeal in England—except when on Circuit—do appeal business alone. In England the Judges of first instance, including the Chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls, who also sometimes sat in the Court of Appeal, were not less than 22 in number. With regard to the Inferior Courts in Scotland, there were 18 principal sheriffs, and about 50 sheriffs substitute. In England there were 57 County Court Judges. Their Lordships would see that upon that comparative statement two things were apparent—first, that upon the whole the numerical strength of the Scottish Bench, both in the Court of Session and in the country generally, was greater in proportion than the English with respect to the population and business; and, secondly, that if they regarded the Inner House in Scotland with respect to its main functions as an appellate tribunal, the disproportion was still greater. The subject of the strength and constitution of the Court of Session was considered by a Commission which reported in the year 1870, of which he himself and other Members of their Lordships' House not connected with Scotland were Members, and also the present Lord President of the Court of Session and Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and other learned persons then or now on the Scottish Bench. That Commission undoubtedly did express an opinion that the then number of 13 Judges in the Court of Session could not by any redistribution or in any re-arrangement be diminished without interfering with the efficiency of the Court, and without injuring the public. Speaking for himself, he would say that he was very much influenced as a Member of that Commission by the opinion of the Scotch Members of it, particularly of Lord Colonsay. He did not wish at all to detract from the authority of the Commission of 1870; but he must submit to their Lordships that that was not a conclusive view, and ought not to stand in the way of any arrangements which further consideration might suggest. Two years before that Commission reported, a very important Act had been passed for the simplification and improvement of the judicial procedure in the Court of Session. In the year 1870, when that Report was made, full experience could not have been had of the working of that law. But it had since worked, he believed, most successfully, and had tended among other things to the expeditious discharge of business, and after that experience, there had been reason to believe, that, under proper arrangements, a smaller number of Judges might discharge the work of the Court of Session than the number of 13. It so happened that there had since been frequent vacancies upon the Bench, some of which had continued for a considerable time. There were two vacancies, he thought, at that very time—

namely, 1869-70—and they continued for some months without, he believed, any serious inconvenience. He passed over one vacancy which continued for some time in 1873-4; but there was another which continued for, he believed, more than three years before the change of Government, which took place in April last. He understood that it was the declared view of the late Government that advantage ought to be taken of that vacancy to re-consider the whole subject; and he thought he did not misunderstand that view when he added, that it was intended by them that some reduction of the number of Judges should take place. Inasmuch, however, as no such legislation had taken place, they considered eventually that they had no option but to fill up that vacancy, which was done last year. Other vacancies had since occurred, and there was one now; and that, partly, was the reason why the Government had thought it right to bring the matter before Parliament at this particular time. As he had pointed out to their Lordships, the vacancy which was filled up in the spring of last year had existed for more than three years; and, according to the information he had received, the administration of justice in Scotland was perfectly satisfactory during the whole of that time. Furthermore, he could not but believe, from the information which he had received, that the present strength of the Outer House was greater than was necessary for the regular discharge of its ordinary work. It was admitted that blank days were of no uncommon occurrence. In 1868-9, and he believed since, each Lord Ordinary had one blank day every week; some of them were said sometimes to get through a whole week's work in two or three days; and others were, not unfrequently, obliged to rise after the discharge of the merely formal business. He was told that the work had been greater within the last year or two: and he did not doubt, that at times all the Lords Ordinary might be fully occupied; but that could not be considered as a general or universal rule. He had seen it stated, in some papers which had been circulated, that at the time the Courts rose for the Vacations there were arrears still to be disposed of; but he did not think these arrears could be very serious or important, for this reason. By a section of the Act of 1868 it was expressly stated that causes for trial before the Lords Ordinary at the end of the Winter and Summer Sessions should be taken in the Recess by the Lord Ordinary or some Judge acting for him. But he did not learn that that provision had been often, if at all, called into operation. If the judicial power were capable of being distributed according to the actual requirements of the ordinary business, he acknowledged that under extraordinary pressure four, or even five, Judges might sometimes be wanted in the Outer House; but the Bill before the House would enable a Judge to be spared from one of the Inner Divisions when wanted for work in the Outer House; and he could not think that any serious evil would arise from that. The Bill contained provisions, like those in the English Judicature Acts, for making the whole judicial strength of the Court available for all the business, of every kind, which might be transacted in it; and in this way such an economy of power would be secured as to render the full number of 13 Judges excessive. He knew that there was an opinion prevalent in Scotland that four was a good number for a Court of Appeal. Experience, however, in England and Ireland seemed to prove that three was also a good number. At present all the business of the Court of Appeal in England, which was divided into two branches, was done by three Judges. The House of Lords, except in cases of more than common importance, usually sat as a Court of three, and their Lordships had no reason to suppose that inconvenience or dissatisfaction was caused by that arrangement. In addition to these considerations, which related to the Inner House as a Court of Appeal, he had to state to their Lordships that half, or more than half, the business of that Court consisted, not of appeals from the Lords Ordinary, but of cases brought up from the Sheriff Courts, and of original business, chiefly in the form of special cases, of various kinds. He could not but think, therefore, that the arrangement the Bill proposed, which would make the number four in each Division, and which would enable each Division to spare a Judge when wanted for the Outer Court, would be found amply sufficient for the satisfactory administration of justice both in the appellate branch, and in the first instance. Any multiplication of Judges beyond the numbers which were really necessary for the discharge of business was in itself an evil. If the arrangements for the distribution of judicial power were not such as to provide work sufficient fully to occupy the time of the Judges, there was always a risk, however earnest and assiduous the Judges might be in the discharge of their duties, that the system would become more or less lax on account of the want of sufficient occupation. That was his apology for having thought it right to introduce this measure, the details of which he would leave to the future consideration of their Lordships, although he believed they would not provoke any great controversy, except on this one point of the proposed numerical reduction.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

EARL CAIRNS regretted somewhat that, from circumstances to which his noble and learned Friend had referred, more attention was not drawn to the Bill on the second reading, and that more opportunity was not given to the House at that stage for discussing it. Looking at the Bill, the first thing which caused him some regret was its scope. He doubted very much whether in any country, and especially in Scotland, looking to the character of the Judicature, they could deal satisfactorily with the higher class of Judges without some reference to the subordinate or local Judges. His noble and learned Friend had himself referred to what might be called the local Judges. There were, he thought, in all 18 sheriff principals and 50 sheriff substitutes. Now, it occurred to him that if any proposal was made to alter the Judicature of Scotland with regard to the Court of Session, something ought also to be done with regard to the position of the Sheriff Courts of the country. There was an appeal inside the local Courts which had struck him as exceedingly inconvenient, an appeal from the sheriff substitute to the sheriff principal. He hoped that question would be re-considered some day, and the people of Scotland would come to be of opinion that they would be better not to have an appeal from the sheriff substitute to the sheriff principal. If that appeal were done away with, it would add to the work of the superior Courts, and might cause their Lordships to regret diminishing the number of the superior Judges. It would, he believed, be much more satisfactory to have only one litigation in the local Courts, and a direct appeal from the sheriff substitute to the Lord Ordinary in the Court of Session. He did not altogether disregard the money consideration; but if this mode of appeal was done away with, there would be good reason to make some modification in the two classes of sheriffs, and that would save quite as much as by doing away with two of the superior Judges. He regretted that that had not been considered; and he must say that, in his opinion, no re-construction of the judicatory in Scotland would be satisfactory unless they dealt with the whole question together. His noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor had spoken of the time of the Judges of the Superior Courts not being fully occupied. There were, in Scotland, in all 13 Judges, four in each of the two Divisions, and five Lords Ordinary. If the noble and learned Lord meant that the Scotch Judges were not so fully occupied as the English Judges, he entirely agreed with him. He knew no country where the Judges were so fully occupied as in England. He thought they had a great deal too much to do, and that with the enormous pressure on the Judges they would do more justice to themselves and to the public if they had not quite so much to do. The Scotch Judges had not so much to do; but here, again, they must look at the question of salaries. The English Judge received nearly double what the Scotch received. If they were to propose to the Scotch Judges that the work to be done by them was to be measured by that done by their English brethren, they would naturally say, if they were to be worked at high pressure like the English Judges, they must be paid accordingly. He thought the Lord Chancellor had hardly done justice to the Judges of Scotland when he said that the Lords Ordinary had each a day in the week.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Down to 1868, he was not sure how it might have been.

EARL CAIRNS: But the Lord Ordinary in Scotland, in pronouncing his judgment, wrote with his own hand an elaborate interlocutor and note, describing the facts of the case, and entering fully into all the reasons for his judgment. He spoke from observation when he said these notes were of the greatest use when the cases came up before their Lordships' House. No Judge, he maintained, could possibly give these written judgments unless he had some spare time to prepare his notes. English Judges, no doubt, occasionally delivered written judgments, but more commonly they did not; and, therefore, they did not take the time which the Lords Ordinary in Scotland required. On the other hand, he thought it would be unfortunate to the public to have no margin whatever of judicial strength in their arrangements. Look at the consequences in the case of any of the Judges being ill. A whole Court was knocked out of work, because they had no margin on which to draw. Recently there had been examples of the speedy and economical transaction of business in Scotland, in connection with the City of Glasgow Bank cases. A great many questions arose from that failure, and it was of the greatest possible moment that they should be solved economically and expeditiously; and he must say they were disposed of with a rapidity, regularity, and precision, which he never saw equalled in England. Fourteen of these cases were appealed to the House of Lords; but in only one case was there a slight re-arrangement of the judgment in the Court of Session, and that was a high testimony to the manner in which the business of the Court of Session was transacted. He felt satisfied that the original hearings of the cases in Scotland were all taken within a few weeks. What this Bill proposed was to make a reduction of the Lords Ordinary to three. Now, the Lords Ordinary were the primary Judges of the country, and it struck him that was a very strong proposal to make to reduce them from five to three. It was a remarkable thing that the only Parliamentary evidence existing upon this subject was the Report of the Royal Commission which sat some years ago. His noble and learned Friend said he paid considerable deference to the opinion of the Scotch lawyers, and was very much influenced by their views; but here it was. This Royal Commision, consisting of 20 Members, and including a number of very eminent men—the Lord Justice General, Lord Young, Lord Moncreiff, the late Mr. Justice Willes, Sir Roundell Palmer, Lord Rutherfurd Clark, and Mr. Sclater-Booth—reported in these terms—

> "As regards the total number of Judges, they are unanimously of opinion that the present number of thirteen cannot, by any re-distribution of the staff, or under any re-arrangement of business, be diminished without detriment to the efficiency of the judicial establishment, and consequent injury to the country."

He did not think it possible that stronger words could be used; and he must say that in face of that Report, and with no further evidence, he could not, for his part, assent to the Bill.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY rose with very great reluctance to say a few words on this Bill. In the first place, he was haunted by the fear, common to the lay mind, of treading on that legal ground where wandering was apt to be treated by learned Lords with their very just contempt; and, in the second place, he was very sorry to be compelled to object, root and branch, to the proposal of the Government of which the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack was the Representative on this occasion. And this led him to remark that the people who would be affected by this Bill had been very largely the back-bone and muscles of the present Parliamentary majority that kept that Government in power. As regarded that point he had only to say this—that from every communication he had received, and from every means of forming an opinion that could be given by the public Press, he believed his view to be entirely that of the great mass of the people of Scotland, and not the view of Her Majesty's Government. Why was that Bill introduced? Had there been any complaint in Scotland of the administration of justice? Had there been any great popular demand for this measure? The Scottish people, as was known, were not a Conservative race. Any proposal that came before them, having for its object drastic change, was supposed to appeal with irresistible power to all the sympathies of the Scottish nation. But, as a matter of fact, this Bill had been received not with the applause with which such a measure should be received in Scotland, but had been received with an almost unanimous chorus of denunciation and dislike. He was not always a great believer in Parliamentary Petitions. There were means of securing a very great show of Petitions by judicious agitation;

but on this occasion, as far as he knew, without any stirring of the waters of agitation, without a word spoken, Petitions had come in in the most remarkable manner from every important body almost in Scotland, and certainly from the two most considerable cities in Scotland, praying their Lordships not to pass this Bill into law. He had the honour this evening to present a Petition from the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh, praying their Lordships not to proceed with this Bill. That, of course, was an important Petition. There was a somewhat natural and generous rivalry between the City of Edinburgh and the City of Glasgow, which prevented them often concurring on measures of the same nature. But on this occasion the lion had lain down with the lamb, and the City of Glasgow went hand in hand with the City of Edinburgh, asking their Lordships not to pass this Bill. He would not go into details as to the various Chambers of Commerce that had petitioned against the Bill, but he wanted to take one peculiar body—the Trade Protection Society of Scotland. That was not a legal Society; it was a Society having representatives in every small town and district in Scotland. It numbered over 2,000 members. It might be taken as a fair commercial representation of the people of Scotland; and they, unsolicited, had petitioned most vigorously against the Bill. Now, under these circumstances, he must express some surprise to hear the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack say that he had brought in this Bill after mature consideration with those who had the greatest interest in the administration of justice in Scotland. Who was it that had the greatest interest in the administration of justice in Scotland? Was it not the people of Scotland? Was it not the great cities of Scotland—the commercial bodies and corporations of Scotland? And those cities, bodies, and corporations of Scotland were one and all unanimous against the Bill. The question thus arose—what was the call which had led to this Bill being brought in? He meant to have touched on the very remarkable Report, which was the only evidence on which they had to proceed. That Report, as they had only recently heard, was signed by Sir Roundell Palmer, by the Lord Justice Clerk—whom he saw present—and by almost every great judicial authority in Scotland. What had occurred since then to change the views of those noble and learned Lords? They had no evidence upon that point. It was not necessary for him to go into the points raised by the noble and learned Earl who lately sat on the Woolsack. He thought that the people of Scotland had a right to ask why was that Report, signed by names that they respected so greatly as they did those, not acted upon? There was much that was interesting in that Report, and he heard with the greatest astonishment the noble and learned Lord argue against the very powerful Report that had been signed by Sir Roundell Palmer; but he devoted a large portion of his speech to arguing against a Division consisting of four Judges, and he naturally turned to the Report, which, as they had already said, was the foundation of all their Parliamentary evidence on the question, and what did it say? It said—

> "We are of opinion that each Division should consist of four Judges, although, to meet the ordinary contingencies, a quorum should be three as at present. A Court of four sitting as a Court reviewing the judgments of Lords Ordinary, and giving a decision that is to be final, unless it be appealed to the House of Lords, is in every respect preferable to a Court of three. More minds are brought to bear upon the case, and if a majority differ from the Lord Ordinary, though one should concur with him, the judgment has the weight of a majority of the five Judges who have considered the case; whereas in a Court of three, if one Judge should concur with the Lord Ordinary while the other two differ from him, the judgment could not have the same weight."

Now, in considering these very important paragraphs, it did appear material to consider what had occurred to change this weighty opinion. Had business diminished since then in the Courts of Scotland—since the time of the 13 Judges—that the number could now by an impossibility be reduced? Now, they could find that out very easily. The important cases were the cases initiated by summons in the Courts of Scotland. In 1869, when this Commission was sitting, these were the figures on which they formed their opinion. There were 1,026 of these cases. In 1879, two years ago—and that was the last Return he had, and it was that on which the noble and learned Lord came down and said that it was necessary for the Judges to be reduced—the number of cases was

1,352. This was the more remarkable when he mentioned that the last few years had been years of remarkable depression and stagnation of trade, without which they might fairly suppose the cases would have been very considerably more numerous. Had the population increased? The population in 1870 was 3,222,000; in 1879 it was estimated at 3,627,000. They had thus an estimated increase of population in Scotland of nearly 500,000. There was a certain increase under unfavourable circumstances of 300 cases, and yet they said they were to disregard their former opinion and abolish those Judges. The question then arose—Was business likely to dimish? Now, there was a Bill which had recently been introduced into "another place" by the recognized law authority of the Crown, dealing with the subject of teinds—for the purposes of interpretation, he would venture to explain that was the subject of tithes in Scotland. Well, under that Bill, one Judge was to be detached to do the work of that Bill. That was another reduction. It was quite possible that Her Majesty's Government might not see much prospect of passing that Bill; but surely it was not, at the moment of introducing a Bill which was to detach a Judge for two or three years from their Courts, wise and expedient to introduce a Bill to reduce them. There was another thing he wanted to draw attention to. The City of Glasgow had petitioned, as he said before, with regard to this measure, and one of the things that they said was somewhat remarkable. It was that—

> "The amount of civil business in Glasgow and other large centres of population will, in the case of your petitioners, necessitate arrangements being speedily made under which the Judges of the Supreme Court shall hold frequent Circuits for the discharge of business as occasion shall arise. In view of the possibility of such an arrangement, which seems to be favourably regarded by the Lord Advocate, a diminution of the existing number of the Judges of the Court of Session will be highly inexpedient, and if effected would seriously interfere with the carrying out of such Circuit arrangements. That, even under existing arrangements for the transaction of criminal business, it is a subject of great complaint that these Judges are unable to make more frequent visits to Glasgow and other towns, and much unnecessary hardship and expense are occasioned by the long interval between Circuits at present. If one or more of the Judges of Justiciary should be detailed from the Civil Courts to try criminals in the several districts as often as occasion arises, a great improvement would be effected in the administration of justice. To this your petitioners attach much importance. They feel that it would be desirable to have the number of Justiciary Judges increased, a step which a reduction of the number of Judges of the Court of Session would render practically impossible."

But he went further. It was well known that the Home Secretary visited Scotland last year. It was also perfectly well known that the Home Secretary was appalled at the length of time that prisoners were kept in detention without being brought to trial. He asked the first prisoner he met in one of the great gaols of Edinburgh or Glasgow—he forgot which—how long he had been in prison? The prisoner said he had been three months in prison without trial. Yet that was the moment when the noble and learned Lord proposed to reduce the number of Judges in Scotland. There was another point, and that was the question of sheriffships. Was it supposed that no legislation was contemplated with regard to sheriffships? It was well known that a very large section of the legal and judicial bodies of Scotland were in favour of some considerable reform as regards sheriffships. Surely, if sheriffships were to be done away with, or if they were to abolish one class of sheriffs, or reduce the number, and to do away with the intermediate appeal to which the noble and learned Lord alluded, that would be throwing more business on the Court of Session. He did not know what the contemplated measures might be; he was not quite sure that such measures might soon be called for; but he was quite certain of this—that if such measures were really brought forward, anything more rash, anything more untimely, than the reduction of the Judges could hardly be conceived. There was a question—a very burning question—which had only been touched upon very slightly by the noble and learned Earl who lately sat on the Woolsack. It was a question of salaries. There was no doubt that the Judges in Scotland were very much underpaid. There was a hope that this measure would contain some consolatory clauses by which they would apply the plunder from the Judgeships to be abolished to increase the salaries of their more fortunate surviving brethren. He hoped that even though the clause could not be brought to this House the noble and learned Lord in his statement would have given them some hope on that score; but he did not catch any words to hold out any such hope. But he thought the question of salary, though an important one, was not the main question before them, and that if they wished to legislate with regard to the salaries of the Court of Session, it ought to be so irrespective of the Judgeships which it was wished to suppress. He would not detain their Lordships any longer. He had only touched on those parts of the question which it seemed to him it was competent for a lay Member of their Lordships' House, and one deeply interested in the administration of justice in his native country, to touch upon without offence. It seemed to him that if they legislated on questions of this kind, they ought to legislate either in deference to some great popular demand, or else to remove some scandal to which the mass of the community was corruptly attached. There was on this occasion no necessity, no scandal, no demand. The demand was all the other way. They were proceeding to cut down the judicial staff of a country increasing daily and largely in population and in wealth, and he could not believe that such a reduction was justified.

LORD MONCREIFF said, he had no hesitation in avowing the fact that his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack did him the honour to communicate with him before the Bill was introduced, and that he approved of it and advised its introduction. He should state to their Lordships very shortly the reasons that induced him to come to this conclusion. This matter of a reduction of the number of Judges was by no means a new question, or was one which came up only in the present day. His noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery)—to whose speech he had listened with the greatest pleasure, because nothing could be more conducive, he thought, to the right discussion of questions of this kind than to have statements of opinion from men who were not connected with the administration of the law—had asked why it was that this Bill was introduced? Well, he might say it was 30 years ago since he recollected a proposition being made to reduce the staff of the Court of Session. The question was then abandoned for a time; but since then it had cropped up over and over again. It was raised, for example, in 1870, and, as his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack had stated, again in 1873 and 1874. The principal grounds upon which the proposal was made had never been plainly or specifically asserted. He could quite understand that, comparing the number of Judges in Scotland with the number of Judges in England, the number in England might appear excessively large; but this comparison was not altogether a correct basis on which to form an opinion, because the staff in a small country might be, and indeed must be, larger in proportion than a similar staff for the same purposes in a larger country. In Scotland, when the population was probably not one-half what it was now, there were, for example, 15 Judges. He did not think this was the aspect in which the question should be looked at; but no doubt this had been one of the reasons that weighed with the Governments which from time to time raised the question whether the staff of Judges in Scotland was or was not excessive. The question, however, came ultimately, in 1876, to an issue to which he traced very much the introduction of the Bill that was now before the House. His noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) asked why it was that this Bill had been introduced? It was said that nobody asked for it, or thought there was any necessity for it being introduced. Well, he could to a certain extent satisfy, he did not say the curiosity of his noble Friend as to the motives that had led to the introduction of the Bill, and he could give him a very good reason why it should be introduced, whatever might be said as to the provisions which it contained. In 1876 the Division of the Court over which he had the honour to preside had the misfortune to lose one of the most useful and brilliant of its members in the death of Lord Neaves, a very great loss to the Court, which at that time consisted of four, and from the end of 1876 down to the beginning of 1880 no appointment was made; the vacancy was not filled up; and notwithstanding that the statute which prescribed the number of Judges to sit in each Division prescribed four as the number that should have been on the Bench, they had been working without the statutory number. He did not wish in the least to impute any blame whatever to those who were then responsible for the business of the country and of the Courts. He knew very well the difficulties that surrounded this question, and he was also quite aware that in the years following 1876 the attention of Parliament was fixed on exciting topics, and that its time was so completely filled up that there might not be time or opportunity to introduce a measure dealing with this subject. But still the fact remained that, notwithstanding the enactment of the statute, the vacancy was not filled. The question ultimately came to a crisis that made it absolutely essential that it should be looked at, because in the end of last year the Court of the Second Division was reduced to two, and it appeared to him that the time had certainly come, so far as his own opinion went — and he believed he did not stand alone by any means in that opinion — when, whatever the number of Judges ought to be, whatever the quorum of each Court ought to be, it ought to be fixed by statute, and the statute should be followed. With reference to the statement of his noble Friend that the public during this time were not dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Court while it was thus shorn of its full numbers, he could only say that the public did not mix in the matter. There was no such expostulation as they now heard, even though the reduction had been made without statutory authority. The Faculty of Advocates, he believed, did make a remonstrance during this period; but they did not take any really active step, or awaken any public support, and for this reason he came to the conclusion that this was the time to settle a long pending source of irritation and annoyance, and that it was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary in one way or other to legislate upon it. Then, when he had come to this conclusion that it was not only desirable that there should be legislation, but that if legislation did not take place there was a great risk of more danger to the institution than would be caused even by the fact of one of the vacancies not being filled up, he certainly was of opinion, looking to the nature of the spontaneous detrition that was going on, that it would be desirable to settle at once the whole question, so that the number of Judges might be beyond all further dispute. Whether he was right or wrong in that he did not say. He only knew that he agreed with some who had good means of judging. He thought, besides, that the proposal that was made in the Bill was one that could be conveniently carried out. His reasons for that were two in number. The noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) very naturally and very reasonably referred to the opinions entertained in regard to the state of the Court in 1869 and 1870; but since that time the operation of the Act of 1868 had facilitated, expedited, simplified the whole procedure in the College of Justice. The technicalities that used to cause delay and expense were to a large extent discarded, and the whole machine worked much more easily and much more rapidly than it did. Then, in addition to this, the Act in question transferred from the Outer House two very considerable classes of cases which now came straight into the Court of Appeal. One of these classes was the cases from the Sheriff Courts, which formerly went through the Outer House, but now come straight on appeal to the Divisions; and he might say that the business of the Divisions appeared to be very considerably increased in consequence, because upon inquiry he found that the number of final judgments pronounced within the last three years was double what it was in a similar period preceding the Act. There were, too, special cases which now came before the Divisions—that was to say, when parties agreed upon facts they stated a question of law for decision, and in that way a considerable expenditure both of time and money was avoided, and questions were determined that might have run the gauntlet for years in the Inner and the Outer Houses. In consequence of these changes, it would, he thought, be possible to make arrangements even without the two Judges, and yet to overtake the work with perfect convenience to the public. He did not say he was right in that opinion, because he found the opinion challenged by those who had the best opportunities of knowledge. He must own that he had not been prepared for the outburst of feeling that seemed to have taken place. Looking to the public quiescence during the time of which he had spoken, he did not suspect that there would have been this rebellion against the proposals that had been made, and it was certainly gratifying to those who had a humble share in the administration of the law that their mode of administering it had not been without the confidence of the public; and he was rejoiced, for one, that the opinions that had been expressed had put an end to a good many of the fears that had been floating about the Court of Session, and that, at all events, it would not be supposed that the Judges in the Court were men drawing a maximum of salary and doing a minimum of work. In these circumstances, he was prepared to say that he had been shaken by the opinions that had been expressed, not only by the professional bodies, but also by the municipal corporations. These opinions were, he thought, entitled to great consideration. Some points had been touched upon which he would not enter into at that time, because, though exceedingly important, they were not necessarily cognate to this matter, and required much more elucidation than it was possible to give them. The question about the Sheriff Courts was a very large question—a question that had certainly more aspects than one, and would require full consideration. In regard to the question as to the number of Judges who should compose the Inner House, he might state that he was for seven years President of one of the Divisions of the Inner House, with four Judges on the Bench, and for five years President of the same Division with only three Judges; and unquestionably, while it was not a matter to be dogmatic upon, or to be reduced to equation in any sense or way whatever, he thought that three was the best number for expedition, and four was the safest and the surest, though, no doubt, each number had its own advantages. With these observations, and fully recognizing the great difficulties surrounding the question, he moved the adjournment of the debate.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Lord Moncreiff.*)

Lord WATSON, after stating that he did not entertain such strong objections as his noble and learned Friend who had just sat down (Lord Moncreiff) to the reduction of the number of Appeal Judges below four, pointed out that the principle of the Bill before the House was, first, that the number of Judges should be reduced; and, in the second place, that the Judges in the Inner House should, in future, assist in Outer House work. He was not at all surprised that a Bill of this character had been introduced into the House by his noble and learned Friend, because, notwithstanding the recommendations that were made by the Commissioners in 1870, that the Court should be maintained in its full strength, there had repeatedly been a demand on the part of the Press for a reduction in the number of Judges. In the years before 1876 there was a very sensible and, as time went on, a very large diminution in the work of the Outer House. No doubt, that was facilitated to some extent by the active habits of some of the Judges; and one Lord Ordinary might dispose, and had, in fact, disposed, of cases in 10 or 20 minutes, which would have occupied the Judges of the noble Lords who sat in that House for a day or two, or even three days. But this was an exceptional case; though they all hoped and desired that the Lords Ordinary would show all expedition in disposing of cases. It was quite true that the late Government had, at one time, in contemplation a measure of this kind; but when that had been mentioned, he thought reference might also have been made to the circumstance that it was their intention that the two questions of the principal sheriffships and the reduction in the Court of Session should be dealt with together. There was, undoubtedly, a strong feeling in Scotland against the double sheriffship; but then there was this feeling—hitherto unknown, he must say, to himself—in favour of retaining the Court of Session in its present position; and what he said was that if this measure were allowed to pass without the other question being taken up, they might have some difficulty in afterwards obtaining the desired reforms. At one time he was perfectly satisfied that three Judges, in ordinary circumstances, would be quite competent to overtake the whole work of the Outer House; but the figures laid before their Lordships on this occasion had satisfied him that that was not the case at the present time. The country was fast recovering from the state of utter collapse which resulted from the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, and he believed they might not have Judges sufficient to dispose of the cases with that rapidity which mercantile men desired. He did not at all wonder at the degree of interest taken in this matter in Scotland. The people were always pressing for despatch in the disposal of cases brought before the Court, and he thought they were rightly jealous of any attempt to deal with the question in a way which might subsequently turn out to be prejudicial. Two or three years ago he could have seen his way to give his cordial assent to this measure; but he did not think, at the present time, it was right or expedient in this matter that the Court of Session should alone be dealt with without taking into consideration the whole judicial establishments of Scotland, and settling the administration of the law upon a firm and lasting basis.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he had no reason to complain of the manner in which the debate had been conducted. It had been enlivened by the good humour and eloquence of the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), to whom had been intrusted on this occasion the duty of representing the sentiments so largely expressed by very important bodies in Scotland. He had no reason at all to complain of the observations made by his noble Friend; and with regard to the views expressed by the Lord Justice Clerk (Lord Moncreiff), and the noble and learned Lord who spoke last, he could not but acknowledge the candour of the observations of both these noble and learned Lords, who, he thought, had done justice to the motives and the reasons which had weighed with the Government in introducing this measure. He would refer particularly to his noble and learned Friend who had just spoken (Lord Watson), who said that when he was himself in Office he entertained views which led him to contemplate the introduction of a measure not dissimilar to this, though it might have had, in some respects, a larger scope. In point of fact, when there remained between three and four years a Judgeship vacant in Scotland, and that in a manner not the most convenient possible for the administration of justice, it seemed at once to show the possibility of discharging the business with a less number of Judges. He wished to say a few words on two points raised—one by his noble and learned Friend the late Lord Chancellor (Earl Cairns), and the other by the noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Rosebery). The noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) suggested, that, instead of reducing the number of Lords Ordinary, if there was any reduction it ought to be rather of the Judges of the Inner House. He could assure the noble and learned Earl that, after a good deal of consideration, it had been the opinion of the highest authorities whom the Government could consult in Scotland upon this subject, that it would be better to preserve a fixed and normal number in the two Divisions of the Inner House, making any of the Judges of those Divisions available, as occasion might require, for the work of the Outer House. The reason for this was, partly, that more than half the business of the Inner House was either original, or by way of appeal, not from the Lords Ordinary, but from inferior Courts. As to the other point, he would frankly tell his noble Friend, that when he said the motive of the introduction of this Bill and of the reduction which it proposed to make in the number of Judges was the saving of a small sum of money in order to increase the salaries of the remaining Judges, he was incorrect. He (the Lord Chancellor) disclaimed any such motive; he said distinctly that if no better reason than that could be given for proposing the reduction of the number of Judges the proposal would be unjustifiable. If he might be allowed to express his individual opinion, it seemed to him that there were considerable reasons in favour of some increase in the salaries of the Judges in Scotland; and it was proper and natural, when such a measure as this was brought forward, that the attention of the Government should be directed to that point. But it was a point on which the Government had not, at present, arrived at any conclusion: and he declined to mix up that question, which could only be considered in the House of Commons, with that which was raised by the present Bill. The administration of justice in Scotland was the thing they ought to regard in this matter, and whether it could not be better provided for by a less number of Judges. Whether the salaries of the Judges remained as at present, or whether they were increased—the question of reducing the number of Judges ought to be regarded independently of that question. With regard to the proposal of his noble and learned Friend (Lord Moncreiff) to adjourn this debate, he had no hesitation in saying that the course which the discussion had taken, and the opinions expressed on the subject in Scotland, made him (the Lord Chancellor) think that their Lordships might consent to that proposal, particularly having regard to what the noble and learned Lord (Lord Watson), and the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), had said as to the importance of dealing with the judicial powers of the Court of Session, together with the subject of the Sheriff Courts. He had heard that opinion expressed in a good many quarters entitled to great consideration. If that view, upon further consideration, should commend itself to Her Majesty's Government, and if it should be thought that much time would be required for the purpose of maturing any measure which might be necessary, he might possibly not be in a situation to ask their Lordships to proceed further with this Bill. But that point must, for the present, be reserved; and their Lordspips would, of course, have full Notice, when it was decided either to resume, or not to resume, the discussion which would now stand adjourned.

Motion *agreed to*.

Further debate on the said motion adjourned *sine die*.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (THE NEGOTIATIONS).

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF **KIMBERLEY**: My Lords, before the House adjourns, I wish to say that since my noble Friend opposite (Earl Cadogan) asked me a Question in the earlier part of the evening in regard to the Transvaal, I find myself in a position to give the House more complete details. I will read to the House a short summary of what the arrangements are—

"In the first place, Suzerainty of the Queen acknowledged.

"2. Complete self-government promised to the Boers.

"3. Control of foreign relations reserved.

"4. Resident at future capital.

"5. Royal Commission—Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, Chief Justice de Villiers.

"6. Commission to consider protection of native interests and arrangements as to frontier affairs;

"7. Question to be considered by the Commission, whether any and what portions of territory eastwards, within certain limits, shall be severed from the Transvaal.

"8. Boers withdraw from the Nek, and disperse to their homes.

"9. British garrisons remain until final settlement.

"10. The Boers having engaged as above, Sir Evelyn Wood promises not to advance nor to send warlike stores into the Transvaal."

Her Majesty's Government have intimated to Sir Evelyn Wood their approval of the arrangement.

VISCOUNT **CRANBROOK**: Are the British troops not to advance into the Transvaal, or not to advance at all?

THE EARL OF **KIMBERLEY**: The words I read were—"Sir Evelyn Wood promises not to advance nor to send warlike stores into the Transvaal." And that means that Sir Evelyn Wood is not to advance from his present position.

VISCOUNT **CRANBROOK**: Not within the limits even of Natal?

THE EARL OF **KIMBERLEY**: The meaning is precisely what I have stated. He is not to advance from his present position.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Thursday next, half
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 22nd March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [March 21] *reported.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [March 21] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*) — *Second Reading*—Great North of Scotland Railway.

Considered as amended—London, Chatham, and Dover Railway (City and Suburban Traffic Station) *; London, Chatham, and Dover Railway (Further Powers) *; London, Chatham, and Dover Railway (Maidstone and Faversham Junction) *.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 2) *.

Second Reading—Inclosure Provisional Order (Beamsley Moor) * [112]; Inclosure Provisional Order (Langbar Moor) * [111].

Third Reading—Local Taxation Returns (Scotland) * [107], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

GREAT NORTH OF SCOTLAND RAILWAY BILL (*by Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Dr. WEBSTER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said that, as the Motion was opposed, he should take leave to say a few words in support of the case of the promoters. The Great North of Scotland Railway Company supplied a great part of the North-East districts of Scotland. It supplied the whole railway accommodation of the two counties of Aberdeen and Banff. The Company affirmed that it had now become necessary for them to make a new and short branch, about 13 miles in length, from an extension off the main line of railway, in order to supply the necessary railway accommodation of an important district of Banffshire, lying on the shores of the Moray Firth, and including two large and important fishing towns, which, at present, had no railway supply. The Bill was an Omnibus Bill. One great object of it was to enable the Company to make that extension of 13 miles. Another material object was to entitle the Company to carry through an amalgamation already agreed upon with the Morayshire Railway Company. The third object of the Bill arose from these circumstances—that the Company, which was a very poor one, notwithstanding that it had to meet the wants of the whole agricultural districts of these counties, had, at present, no adequate station and siding accommodation. In order to provide this accommodation, a large extension of capital was required; but they had no funds whatever to enable them to meet this absolutely necessary expenditure. It was, therefore, proposed to make, not an increase of agricultural rates, but to impose a charge for terminals, which this Company alone, he believed, of all the Railway Companies in the Kingdom, had not hitherto possessed, probably from some defect in their original Act. There was only one other point that it was necessary to call attention to. It was also proposed by the Bill to provide an income for the necessary expenditure in addition, by making a small and reasonable increase of charges upon the rates for the transport of guano and other valuable artificial manures, which were worth, perhaps, from £5 to £15 a-ton. These artificial manures also, from some original blemish in the old Acts of the Company, were classed with street dung and other similar composits, which were not worth more than 4*s*. per ton. The proposals of the Company had been met with the warmest approval in its own district. The Town Councils of Banff, of Cullen, and of Macduff had petitioned in favour of the Bill, and there had also been a large Petition in its favour from the community of Buckie, signed by upwards of 4,000 persons. In point of fact there was no local opposition whatever to the second reading of the Bill. There were objections in regard to the rates which were proposed for the necessary terminals, and for the necessary small increase proposed upon the rates for artificial manures; but these were clearly matters for a Select Committee to consider. It was, therefore, with some surprise that the promoters of the Bill found it opposed upon the second reading, not by any Scotch Member, or in any Scotch interest, but by three English Members. It was opposed by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), and by both of the hon. Members for Mid Lincolnshire. One of them (Mr. Stanhope) gave Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Bill; and the other hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) proposed to move that the Bill be deferred on this ground—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, no increase in the rates charged by any Railway Company for the carriage of agricultural produce ought to be sanctioned until the Committee appointed to inquire into the subject of the rates charged by Railway Companies has reported."

That, of course, was equivalent to the rejection of the Bill upon the second reading, because it would have the effect of deferring it until too late in the Session to proceed with it. He wished, however, to point out to the House that this Amendment must have been put upon the Paper under some misapprehension, because the Bill did not propose to impose any additional rates whatever upon the carriage of agricultural produce. The additional charge proposed was no addition upon the carriage of agricultural produce; and, therefore, he contended that the Amendment of the hon. Member had no ground to stand upon. The additional rates were asked for solely on terminals, in regard to which, he repeated, this Company, of all the Railway Companies in the Kingdom, had never hitherto imposed a charge. It was also proposed to make a small additional charge upon the carriage of valuable manures, which, he was informed, could not be carried at their present low rate, without costing the Company more than they received in the shape of tolls. The whole reasonableness of the proposals would be a fair matter for the consideration of a Committee upstairs. It would be most improper for the House to decide, upon the question of the second reading, whether the case which the Company said they were prepared to maintain could be made out, or whether the objections put forward by the opponents of the measure were fatal to its further progress. The Bill was of the utmost importance to the whole district to which it related, and; also to several other Northern Scotch counties and he trusted the House would not consent to reject it until its details had been fully investigated by a Committee upstairs. The Bill itself complied with the views expressed in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), because it distinctly provided, by the 52nd clause, that—

> "Nothing in this Act shall except the railway from any future revision or alteration, under the authority of Parliament, of the maximum rates of fares and charges, or of the rates for small parcels."

That provision being included in one of the clauses of the Bill, he hoped the House would agree to the second reading, and refer the consideration of the details of the measure to a Committee upstairs.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Dr. Webster.*)

MR. E. STANHOPE, who had given Notice of his intention to move that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months, said, that he interposed mainly because he had no personal interest whatever in the Bill. Since he had put down his Motion for the rejection of the Bill on the second reading, he had been asked by several hon. Members why it was that he proposed the rejection of a Bill of this kind, when this very subject of the rates now charged by railways was under consideration by a Committee recently appointed, and which was sitting upstairs for that very purpose at the present moment. His answer to that, in the first place, was that there might be some hope that that Committee would be able to get through its work in time to report in the course of next year; while, in the meantime, this Bill, or any similar Bill, if pressed, would become law in the course of the present Session. Therefore he felt justified in protesting at this stage of the Bill against the increase proposed to be charged upon certain articles specified in the Bill, and he thought that the increase was proposed in such a manner as to be specially objectionable in detail. Now, as a matter of fact, some time ago this Railway Company did increase its rates, exactly in the same manner as it now proposed to obtain the sanction of law for doing, and it did so without the authority of Parliament. In consequence of the Company having taken that step, the people of the neighbourhood brought the matter before the Railway Commission, and the Railway Commission heard the case. He believed some points were also taken to the Court of Session in Scotland, and after protracted litigation it was decided by the Railway Commission and the Court of Session that the Company had not power to make these charges. The result of the decision of the Railway Commission was that the Railway Company now came to Parliament, and asked for leave to make this very increase of rates which the Railway Commissioners forbade them to make as illegal. The proposals they now made were, in the first place, to increase the rates of carriage on certain artificial manures. That was a matter of the greatest possible interest to all connected with agriculture in this country. But there was another proposal in the Bill which was of far greater interest, and of much greater importance, and it was one by which they endeavoured to increase their maximum rates. The part of the proposal to which he ventured to make the strongest objection was that by which the Company asked to be able to increase their rates for the use of stations and sidings, for the loading or unloading of goods, the warehousing and the wharfage of goods, and other incidental accommodation. That was, he ventured to say, a totally new principle in a Bill of this kind. It was a fact, as stated in a paper circulated among Members by the Great North of Scotland Company that morning, that there was a precedent for that course; and that precedent, he believed, was to be found in the case of the Staffordshire Railway Bill, which became law in the course of last Session. But in that case it became law under circumstances which were totally different. It was done by agreement between the traders and the Railway Company, who met together, and agreed upon certain terms, which were incorporated in the Bill. Without such an agreement he ventured to say that such a novel principle would never have been introduced. But, in the present case, it was sought to introduce that novel principle without any such agreement, and contrary to the opinion of those who were personally concerned in the matter in the neighbourhood. If that principle were agreed to, it would constitute a most fatal precedent in respect of any future Bill, by which any Railway Company might seek to acquire similar powers. He therefore thought he was justified in entering his protest against the principle at this stage of the Bill, in the strongest terms. The hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) said that the Bill was an Omnibus Bill. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) warned the Committee that if they did not take the opportunity, after the second reading, of expunging from the Bill the obnoxious proposals he referred to, he and those who took an interest in the agricultural prosperity of England would come down and do their best to reject it at a later stage. He should not, at present, move the Amendment which he had placed upon the Paper.

Mr. R. W. DUFF said, that as his name was on the back of the Bill he would like to say a few words upon the subject. The objection to the Bill was purely one of rates. When he was asked to put his name on the back of the Bill, he was not aware of any proposal to increase the rates; but he understood that it was simply a Bill for the extension of the railway through a district in which a railway was very much required. The proposed line would pass through about 13 miles of rich agricultural district; it would pass through several fishing villages, and would terminate at the town of Buckie. That town was a very important port. A harbour had recently been constructed there at a cost of £50,000, which had attracted a great number of fishing boats and a considerable amount of coasting trade. It would, therefore, be considerably unfair for the inhabitants to deprive them of the advantage of a railway on what, after all, was a purely technical question, which could be decided upstairs. He ventured to say that there was no precedent for attempting to throw out a Bill of this kind, on the question of what should be charged for the carriage of a ton of guano or a sack of oats. A good many of them had had experience in connection with Committees upstairs. He himself had had a little; but he would appeal to Members who had had more experience than he had had, whether questions of this kind did not come up daily in Private Bill Committees. There was nothing exceptional in the provisions or character of the Bill. With regard to terminal charges, he did not see why the Railway Company should not have the advantage which many other Railway Companies had, of having these terminal charges. It would be too long a story to enter into a history of that subject at that hour; but all the Company asked was power to levy the usual terminal charges, and nothing exceptional. That was his justification for supporting the second reading of the Bill. There was nothing exceptional in the powers asked for. Even if there were, it would be extremely unfair to throw out the Bill, and deprive a large district and population of railway accommodation, which was greatly needed, when the question might be easily dealt with by a Committee upstairs. He thought that the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Stanhope) had taken a wise course in declining to divide the House. If the hon. Gentleman had gone to a division, he (Mr. Duff) was confident the House would not have adopted the unusual course of rejecting the Bill, and of establishing a new precedent, upon such trivial grounds as those which had been stated.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he should, in a very few words, give his reasons for moving the rejection of the Bill. He did not agree with the hon.

Member for Banff (Mr. R. W. Duff) that the objections to the Bill were trivial, because the extra charges which this Railway Company proposed to impose on the agricultural produce would probably amount to 2*s.* per acre on the rent of land under crop in Aberdeenshire. The hon. Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster), in moving the second reading of the Bill, seemed to be under some misapprehension, because, if he understood the hon. Gentleman correctly, he said the Bill was unanimously approved in the district. In point of fact, there was a public meeting called in Aberdeen of all the parties interested in the matter; and, of course, these parties were the landlords, and traders, and farmers of Aberdeenshire. At that meeting the Chairman of the Company came forward and stated the grounds on which they wished to have the rates increased as proposed under the Bill. After hearing the Chairman of the Company patiently and fully, the meeting resolved almost unanimously that it was inexpedient, improper, and unnecessary for the Railway Company to ask for the proposed increase of rates, and further appointed a Committee to oppose the Bill before a Committee of that House. He thought there were three dissentients to the Motion. There would be between 100 and 200 gentlemen present, and he understood the three dissentients were gentlemen more or less directly connected with the Railway Company. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had also said the Company proposed no increase of the rates on agricultural produce. He ventured to think the hon. Gentleman had not read, or, at the least, not fully understood, what the Bill proposed. It proposed to increase or to levy new terminal charges upon all kinds of produce and goods carried by the railway. He had in his possession a document showing what the increase would be in case the Bill were passed. He found that in one case from one station to another the Company would have the power to increase the charge from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 11*d.*; in another case, from one station to another, from 5*s.* 4*d.* to 6*s.* 9*d.*; and in another case from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* 11*d.* This was an increase, not only upon agricultural produce, but upon all kinds of goods carried by the Company. Originally, the Company were bound to carry all kinds of manure at a maximum rate of 1½*d.* per ton. Some years ago they got a Bill through Committee without opposition, under which they increased the charge from 1½*d.* to 2*d.*, and now they wished by this Bill to raise the charge from 2*d.* to 2½*d.* per ton. It could not be urged that the Bill was required to pay the shareholders a dividend, because he might mention that upon that branch of the railway in which he was particularly interested the shareholders already received dividends at the rate of 10 per cent; and upon that branch it was proposed, nevertheless, to increase the rate from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* He ought to explain that the original capital of the Company bore a very small proportion to the preferential charge upon it, and that the original shares were actually selling at a premium if account was taken of the stock which had been allotted to the shareholders without any payment. It was very hard that the people of Aberdeenshire should be under the necessity of coming here to oppose before a Committee of the House, at considerable expense, the attempt to make this increase of rates particularly at a time of agricultural depression. The charges which the Company were entitled to levy were quite as large, and larger, than the rates which any other Railway Company of Scotland had power to levy. Also the proportion of profit that this Company had upon its traffic was larger than that of any other railway in Scotland; therefore it was evident that, even at the present rates, the Company had a larger proportion of profit than other railways in Scotland. Under the circumstances, he considered he was justified in moving the rejection of the Bill.

MR. CRAIG, in seconding the Amendment, said, that, so far as the North Staffordshire Railway was concerned, it was simply a case of *nil* profits to the shareholders, and the position of the Company resulted in an application to Parliament in 1879 for an adjustment of the rates. As long as the proposal was opposed the Company found themselves unable to obtain what they sought; but, subsequently, the matter became one of compromise and agreement between the traders and the Railway Company. Therefore, when the two cases were compared, it would be seen that there was no parallel between them, and it would be unfair to take the case of the North Staffordshire Railway as a precedent for warranting an increase of rates in this direction.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade will have to report to the Committee on the provisions of this Bill when it comes before the House of Lords in accordance with the Standing Orders of this Assembly; and perhaps I may now be permitted to say what is the view we take of the matter. In the first place, I have to object to the argument of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). I understand him to say that the Railway Company propose to take some increased powers of charging, and that their prosals should be rejected, because they already pay 10 per cent on their undertaking. I am informed, as a matter of fact, that the Great North of Scotland Railway Company, so far as regards their main undertaking with which this branch is connected, do not pay anything at all.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: I said that portion of the line which forms the Dee side branch, and in which I am specially interested. That, I believe, pays its shareholders 10 per cent.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I object altogether to this argument of my hon. Friend; and I think it is unfair to this Railway Company to say that because one of its branches is enabled to make a profit out of the passenger traffic to Balmoral, the tourist traffic, the Company should be precluded altogether from applying to Parliament to consider whether they should not be placed in a position which would enable them to make some slight profit on their main undertaking. I quite agree in another remark, that the questions raised by this Bill are of very considerable importance; but I may point out to the House that, as my hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Dr. Webster) stated, this is an Omnibus Bill, and it would be undesirable to refuse the Company the opportunity of going to a Committee for the powers they seek, unless there were the very strongest kind of objection to the proposal. As the Bill is drawn, there are clauses giving power to the Company to increase their terminal rates, and to make additions to their maximum charges under various heads; and I must say that, having carefully considered these clauses, I do think the form in which they appear is extremely objectionable. I am told, and I think the Company will accept the statement, that in justification of their proceedings they have based these clauses on some clauses which appear in an English Railway Bill. But, as has already been pointed out by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), these clauses were introduced with the assent of the traders of Staffordshire; and they ought not, therefore, to form a precedent for any other Railway Company. Representations have been made to this Railway Company in respect to these clauses; and I have the authority of the Chairman for saying that the Company will be willing, when the case goes into Committee, to withdraw them, and to substitute clauses known as the "model clauses," with regard to terminal rates. These model clauses, of which, I think, Lord Redesdale was the author in the first instance, are to be found now in the Acts of almost every railway in the Three Kingdoms. Whether these clauses are in themselves good or bad is not for me to say; but it does appear to me that it would be hard indeed to refuse to this Railway Company the opportunity of having its proposal placed before the Committee, merely because it introduces into the Bill powers which have already been taken by almost every other line of railway in the Kingdom. If any proposal is adopted which, it has been suggested, the Committee appointed to inquire into the question of railway rates may make, I can only say that the Act of this Railway Company—the Great North of Scotland Company—would be subject to any fresh legislation just as much as all other Railway Companies; and, in fact, there is now inserted in every Railway Bill a clause which enacts that all rates taken by the Bill should be subject to any fresh legislation on the part of Parliament on the subject. Under these circumstances, I hope that my hon. Friend will withdraw the Amendment he has made for the rejection of the Bill. If he declines to do so, I think it will be my duty to vote in favour of the second reading, in order that the Bill may go before a Committee.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), but would allow the Bill to go before a Committee. The hon. Member for Forfarshire had informed the House that there had been a large public meeting in Aberdeen, and that it came to the resolution of opposing the second reading of this Bill. He would read to the House the resolution that was come to at that meeting. It was as follows:—

> "That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee to consider that portion of the Bill of the North of Scotland Railway which proposes to increase the rates on agricultural produce."

The meeting did not come to any agreement to oppose the Bill on the second reading, as stated by the hon. Member for Forfarshire; but the only part of the Bill to which objection was taken was that which proposed to increase the rates for agricultural produce. He would now read the Petition of those gentlemen sent to this House in regard to the Bill, which was as follows:—

> "Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honourable House that they may be heard by their counsel before the Committee of your House."

He thought that entirely disposed of the remarks of the hon. Member for Forfarshire on that subject. He must remind the House that the hon. Member did not represent a single one of the persons interested in this Bill. He must also correct the hon. Member opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope), who stated that the bulk of opinion on the part of those interested in the railway was opposed to the Bill. Now, a great majority of the people who were interested in the railway were his constituents; and he had heard nothing whatever on the subject of opposing it. It was an Omnibus Bill, and the extension of the line to Buckie was its main feature. He hoped the House would consent to read it a second time.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 227; Noes 36: Majority 191. — (Div. List, No. 166.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

QUESTIONS.

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PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — ARRESTED PRISONERS.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with respect to Mr. P. J. Sheridan, now lying in Kilmainham Gaol on the charge of

> "Being reasonably suspected of inciting certain persons to intimidate certain other persons from the pursuit of their legal occupations,"

Whether he will furnish the House with the particular words or speeches which constitute the grounds of suspicion; and, whether he will furnish to each man imprisoned under the Coercion Act particulars similar to those stated above, and will consent to receive from him a written statement in reply?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I must answer my hon. Friend's Question in the negative. It is a request that I will furnish particulars of the crimes of which we have reasonable grounds for believing the persons referred to to have been guilty. The hon. Member must recollect that the House, after full discussion, determined that it was not expedient and consistent with the public interest that a public statement of such particulars should be made.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: In reference to this subject, I may ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question with reference to a reply he gave to a former Question asked by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) in my behalf in this House. The Question was with reference to threatening language used by a member of the Castlebar Board of Guardians towards another member of that Board. The right hon. Gentleman replied on that occasion that the Local Government Board had no knowledge of the matter, which probably arose from the fact that the Chief Secretary did not inquire respecting it. In consequence of the answer he gave on that occasion, I now beg to ask him, Whether he approves of gentlemen in that position using threatening language towards each other, especially as in the case where that gentleman foretold the very day and hour at which a fellow-member was to be arrested?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I was wondering how the hon. Member would connect this subject with the preceding Question. I must not be supposed to have stated that the Local Government Board have no power to interfere with Boards of Guardians, or that I approve of a great deal of the language used at Boards of Guardians and other places, and much of which I should hope no other Member would approve of. As regards the statement that somebody I never heard of prophesied that a certain person would be arrested, the fact of anybody making such a statement could have had nothing whatever to do with the arrest.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND)—THE STRAND UNION.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has yet received the Report of Mr. Lloyd Roberts with reference to irregularities in the accounts of the Strand Union, to which his attention was called in July last?

Mr. DODSON said, that an interim Report had been received from Mr. Roberts; but there were still some matters requiring investigation; and as soon as the investigation was closed Mr. Roberts would be prepared to make a final Report.

THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY —NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. BIRLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give any information to the House regarding the negotiations now in progress with the French Government for a renewal or modification of the Commercial Treaty?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, as soon as the progress of the General Tariff Bill in the Senate showed that the time was approaching at which the French Government had indicated that negotiations might be begun, Her Majesty's Government addressed to them a pressing representation as to the importance of proceeding without delay, and of making sure that the new Treaty would be concluded before the former Treaties expired. The French Government expressed, in reply, their readiness to open negotiations as soon as the General Tariff Bill had passed the Senate. We have not only asked the French Government to prolong the existing Treaties for a period sufficient to cover the negotiations, but have also asked them to send a competent person at once to London to discuss with Her Majesty's Government certain details which the French Ambassador cannot be expected himself to explain.

VACCINATION ACTS—NEW ANIMAL LYMPH.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he can state to the House the source whence the new animal lymph is to be obtained, that is, whether the calves are now innoculated from a diseased horse or from a human being suffering under small pox, or from what other source?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, the Medical Department hope to commence their series of calf vaccination from a well-ascertained case of spontaneous cowpox. If such lymph cannot be obtained, they will commence their series from the well-known lymph from The Hague or Brussels station, taking where it has long been in use.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION (LONDON) 1862—METALLURGICAL COLLECTION.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN asked the Vice President of the Council, What has become of the collection illustrative of mining, metallurgy, and mineralogy which was exhibited in the Zollverein Department of the International Exhibition (London 1862), and was presented to the Department of Science and Art on the express condition, as alleged at the time, that it should be kept together and permanently exhibited at South Kensington?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, I have inquired into the matter referred to in the Question of the hon. Member, and I am informed that the Collection of Minerals was presented by the Zollverein Commission of the 1862 International Exhibition to the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, no pledge, I am told, having been given as to exhibiting it in the South Kensington Museum. The late Sir Roderick Murchison having, as Director of the Royal School of Mines, a full knowledge of the Collection, expressed himself unable to place it in the Jermyn Street Museum. An officer of the School of Mines, upon careful examination, found that it contained so many duplicates and unnecessarily large specimens that, without impairing its value, several smaller Collections could be formed with advantage to all concerned. This was done by presenting Collections to several large Provincial towns, besides giving the main Collection to King's College, London.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS, 1866-9—LONDON LOCK HOSPITAL.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the doubt which exists whether the certifying of the London Lock Hospital and the detention of patients therein, under the Contagious Diseases Acts 1866-9, is legal, inasmuch as that institution is not situated in any "Place" to which those Acts apply?

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN, in reply, said, that his attention had only been called to the doubt referred to by the Question of his hon. and learned Friend, and he did not think that doubt was well founded. The Acts alluded to gave the fullest power to the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War to provide and certify any building whatsoever without restriction of place for hospital purposes under the Acts, and he did not think that those general words could be held to be cut down by the previous section limiting the operation of the Acts for police purposes to certain specified areas. He might add that this interpretation was borne out by the mode in which the Schedules to the Acts were framed.

POST OFFICE—FORGING IMPRESSED STAMPS.

SIR HENRY PEEK asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, in order improperly to obtain admission to a meeting of the ratepayers under "The Wimbledon and Putney Commons Act, 1871," at which discussion took place upon the Guildford, Kingston, and London Railway Bill, the Wimbledon Post Office impressed stamp of the 13th of March 1881 was forged upon certain postcards in order to make them facsimile imitations of cards of invitation issued by the Conservators to their ratepayers through the post; whether such an act is not a criminal offence; and, what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that, so far as he could learn, no existing statute provided a remedy for the offence in question. He hoped that the state of Public Business would enable him to bring in a Bill relating to offences against the Post Office, in which, if the House thought desirable, this particular offence might be dealt with. The Department were quite satisfied that there was no ground for attaching the slightest suspicion to the officials of the Wimbledon Post Office in reference to the occurrence.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—RURAL SCHOOL BOARDS.

MR. ROUNDELL asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, considering the great importance of providing for the inexpensive working of School Boards in rural districts, he will reconsider the rigid departmental rule which indiscriminately forbids the employment of a relieving officer as clerk to a rural School Board?

MR. DODSON: Sir, the objection to a relieving officer accepting office under another authority who might require his attendance when his services might be urgently needed in his district are so serious that such a proposal has invariably been refused by the Board; and I am afraid that, in the interest of the Poor Law service generally, I could not undertake to re-consider a rule which, when once relaxed, would form a precedent extremely difficult to resist in other cases, and might often furnish the officer with excuses for the neglect of very important duties.

THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE CROWN—CO-OPERATIVE SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS.

MR. FIRTH asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether any steps have been taken to prevent Civil Servants of the Crown from engaging in the management of trading establishments whilst on full pay; whether it is true that all the managing officers and committee of one of the largest Supply Associations belong (with two exceptions) to this class; and, whether it is proposed to issue a Treasury Minute or take other action in the matter, in order to secure for the public the complete service for which remuneration is given?

Mr. MACDONALD asked, Whether there was not an understanding last year that nothing should be done until the Committee appointed to consider the matter had made its Report?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I was going to refer the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) to an answer which I gave last Session to a somewhat similar Question then put to me by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley). I need only say now, with regard to the second Question, that I do not know whether it is true that all the managing officers and committee of one of the largest Supply Associations belong, with two exceptions, to the class of civil servants of the Crown. With reference to the general matter, the Government have carefully considered the representations made to them both on the part of the traders and on the part of the persons interested in the co-operative movement, and have come to the conclusion that they will not offer any opposition to the re-appointment of a Committee, if the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Westminster (Sir Charles Russell) desires to move for it, and that they will not take any general action on the subject until the Committee has reported; but, in the meantime, the Chiefs of the Departments will, no doubt, continue to exercise their discretion in any case in which they think that the outside duties of their officials conflict with the public interest.

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT—THE REV. S. F. GREEN.

Colonel MAKINS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Rev. S. F. Green, now a prisoner in Lancaster Castle for disregarding a monition of Lord Penzance, acting under the Public Worship Regulation Act, will have the same indulgences allowed him as are permitted to the prisoners confined in Kilmainham Gaol under the Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I presume this Question is intended as a jest; but if it is to be answered seriously, I would say that the gentleman referred to is, as I imagine, committed for contempt of Court, and, consequently, is treated under the Rules laid on the Table as a first-class misdemeanant. The other prisoners referred to are dealt with under the Rules settled and arranged under the Act recently passed by Parliament.

CUSTOMS—THE PORT OF MALDON.

Mr. ROUND asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What is the estimated amount which will be saved to the Exchequer by the arrangements in connection with the recent reduction of the Port of Maldon?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, the reduction will cause a diminution in the staff of officers from seven to four, and a consequent decrease in the expense of the establishment of from £275 to £440 a-year. In addition to this, some further saving will accrue on account of minor expenses incidental to the business and management of an independent force which cannot be accurately estimated.

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—WOOD PAVEMENT IN PICCADILLY.

Mr. CARINGTON asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If he will inform the House why, this time of the year, when the traffic is very heavy, has been chosen to take up the wood pavement in Piccadilly, near Hyde Park Corner; and, whether it was done in order to repair the gas or water pipes, or on account of the pavement being out of repair?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, the streets of the Metropolis are under the supervision of the Vestries and District Boards, and no permission from the Metropolitan Board of Works is requisite for repairs unless it is desired to close the thoroughfare entirely. With regard to the pavement of Piccadilly, I have ascertained, by the courtesy of the Vestry Surveyor, that it was taken up at the request of the contractors, and with the sanction of the Vestry, because it was in a bad condition. The work is being proceeded with now in order that it may be completed by the end of the Easter Recess, after which time, I need hardly mention, the traffic will be even larger than it is now.

THE CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will place on the Notice Paper, when more than one Class of Civil Service Estimates are put down for the Committee on the same day, the numbers of the Votes of each Class which he proposes to take on the day named?

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, when it is proposed to take Votes out of the order in which they stand in the several Classes, I think it is desirable that the numbers of such Votes should be placed on the Notice Paper; but when it is intended to take the Votes in order I do not see that anything would be gained by specifying the numbers.

AFGHANISTAN—THE MAHSOOD WAZIRIS.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that a force of several thousand men is about to start from Bunnoo to chastise the Mahsood Waziris, who are subjects of the Ameer of Afghanistan; and, whether, in the arrangements now being concluded with the Ameer, the necessity has been, or will be, impressed upon him of keeping his subjects on our frontiers in proper subjection in future, so as to avoid the constant recurrence of raids upon our territories, and the necessity of sending large forces to exact satisfaction, at a heavy cost of men and money?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the Mahsood Waziris are not subjects of the Ameer. They form a portion of the independent tribes on the North-Western Frontier. They have always been considered by the Government of India as an independent tribe, and the relations of the Government of India with them have always been direct. Therefore, it has never been considered, and is not now considered, desirable that the Ameer should be held responsible for the acts of tribes over whom his authority is not recognized. As to the particular acts referred to, the facts are that two years ago a body of this tribe, numbering about 2,000 men, in combination with others, committed an unprovoked attack on the British Border, maltreating the inhabitants of a town, and destroying property to the value of £8,000. For this conduct they were required by Lord Lytton's Government to pay a suitable fine, to restore the property they had carried off, and to give up the ringleaders of the outrage. To these terms they never submitted. On the contrary, they committed further depredations on the Frontier. This is a state of things which, in the opinion of the Government of India, cannot be permitted to continue; and they have resolved, on the recommendation of the Punjaub Government, to enforce the terms demanded in 1879, if they are not submitted to voluntarily, by means of a punitive expedition. The latter part of the Question has been already answered in the statement I have recently made.

TUNIS—THE ENFIDA CASE.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether on consideration Her Majesty's Government has seen any reason to sanction a departure from the agreement entered into by the French and English Governments that the Enfida case at Tunis "should be dealt with by the local tribunals under whose jurisdiction the matter properly comes;" whether his attention has been drawn to a telegram from Tunis in the "Standard," announcing the arrival of Commodore Brinckes with two French frigates and a corvette, in addition to the "Jeanne d'Arc," which has been stationed there some time, besides the French despatch boat "Cassard;" if he will state what definite decision has been arrived at regarding the disposal of this case; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will now lay the Papers regarding this matter upon the Table of the House?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the case is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; but no final decision has been come to. Mr. Reade was called upon to furnish further information, and he has already forwarded it by post. A telegram has been to-day received from Lord Lyons reporting that he had been assured by the French Government that the telegram in question is unfounded, but that provisions had been sent to the iron-clads permanently stationed at Tunis in a small vessel which leaves again to-day.

PUBLIC HEALTH—METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD.

MR. FIRTH asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the decision arrived at by the Metropolitan Asylums Board on Saturday last, to continue legal proceedings in the Hampstead Hospital case, has the sanction and approval of the Local Government Board; and, whether the estimated cost of the legal proceedings already incurred, and at present paid or payable by the Metropolitan Asylums Board out of public funds, exceeds £20,000?

MR. DODSON: Sir, the sanction and approval of the Board is not necessary to the proceedings referred to; but I have no hesitation in stating that I have expressed my acquiescence in the decision of the managers not to abandon the second appeal in the Hampstead case. I have no information as to the estimated cost of the legal proceedings instituted against the managers; and I cannot, therefore, say what they will amount to.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—NEGOTIATIONS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Government, Whether they can give the House any information with reference to the proceedings in the Transvaal?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the intelligence that Sir Evelyn Wood has arrived at an arrangement with the Boers, and that the Boers have substantially accepted the conditions of Her Majesty's Government, is correct. The Papers will now be presented forthwith, and they will exhibit the course which has been taken with respect to the arrangement made by Sir Evelyn Wood, which, of course, he had to refer home. But it may be convenient, in the meantime, that I should give, without professing to quote textually, the main propositions of the arrangement. They are these—first, the suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal is acknowledged; next, complete self-government is promised to the Boers; thirdly, the control over foreign relations is reserved; fourthly, there is to be a Resident at the future capital; fifthly, the Royal Commission will consist of Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape; sixthly, the Commissioners are to consider the provisions for the protection of Native interests, and arrangements as to Frontier affairs; seventhly, they are also to consider the question whether any and what portion of the Transvaal territory eastward, within certain limits, should be severed from the Transvaal; eighthly, the Boers withdraw from Laing's Nek and disperse to their homes; ninthly, British garrisons remain in the Transvaal until the final settlement; and, tenthly, the Boers having engaged as above, Sir Evelyn Wood promises them not to advance nor to send warlike stores into the Transvaal.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman what is meant by the expression, "control of foreign affairs reserved." Does it mean reserved for settlement by the Commission, or is it to be taken out and reserved for the Crown?

MR. GLADSTONE: The words I have cited are those contained in the telegram which we have received. I may say, however, that I do not entertain the smallest doubt as to their meaning. They mean that the settlement of foreign relations will be reserved entirely to the Crown and the British Government.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Do I understand that the Boers have not laid down their arms, but are to be allowed to retire to their homes carrying their arms with them?

MR. GLADSTONE: The terms demanded by Her Majesty's Government were the withdrawal of the forces and the dispersion of the Boers to their homes. As to the delivering up of their arms, we have never sought to impose any such condition.

MR. J. R. YORKE: The right hon. Gentleman used the word "suzerainty." Is that term to be considered as synonymous with the word "Sovereignty," or are we to draw a distinction between the two expressions?

MR. GLADSTONE: The word "suzerainty," I believe, in modern times, is perfectly well known to International Law. It is, undoubtedly, quite distinct from Sovereignty, while it has marked relations to Sovereignty. It would not, I think, be convenient for me to presume to give a legal decision, nor would I attempt to go further than the general statement I have made; but I should wish hon. Gentlemen to reserve their judgment until they have had an opportunity of considering the matter from the documents which will be laid on the Table. I quoted "suzerainty," because it is the word the Government have advisedly used in their communications with the Boers, and which will be incorporated in the settlement.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Are we to understand by the expression made use of in the telegram which the Prime Minister has read that the relations of the British Crown to the Transvaal will be analogous to those of the Sultan of Turkey with Eastern Roumelia?

MR. GLADSTONE: The relations will be so far analogous that the relations of suzerainty will be maintained in both cases; but I cannot say that we have adopted the Eastern Roumelian Constitution.

AFGHANISTAN—CANDAHAR—MISSING DESPATCHES.

MR. GIBSON said, he wished to put a Question to the Postmaster General with reference to an answer given last night by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India. The noble Lord stated that the Correspondence relating to Candahar was in an incomplete form, and—

> "The more so, as by some accident or oversight a great part of the despatches which ought to have been received by the last two mails had not reached the India Office."

He wished to know, Whether the Postmaster General had received any communication from the India Office with reference to the "accident or oversight?"

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that, as far as he had been able to ascertain, nothing had happened in the Post Office to account for the non-arrival of the despatches referred to if they had been posted. He had received no communication on the subject from the India Office.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it would have been more convenient if the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given Notice of the Question he had addressed to his right hon. Friend the Postmaster General. He did not wish it to be understood from his answer on Monday that the despatches had been mis-sent, or had failed to be delivered by the Post Office He presumed that the despatches had not arrived in this country because they had not been sent.

MR. GIBSON asked, whether the noble Lord had telegraphed to ask the Government of India if they had posted the despatches?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he had telegraphed yesterday to inquire what had taken place; but no reply had yet been received. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave him Notice, he might be able on some future day to tell him what had occurred.

MOTION.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

RESOLUTION.

MR. CHAPLIN, in rising to call attention to the following facts in connection with the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in England:—That, up till October last, the Country had been for many months perfectly free from that disease; that, during that month, a cargo of diseased animals was landed at Deptford from France at a time when disease was known to exist there; that, within a week of their landing, cases of the disease were detected in London, and that since their detection the disease has spread rapidly among thousands of stock, causing much inconvenience to the general public and serious injury and loss to agriculturists in all parts of the Country; and to move the following Resolution:—

> "This House is of opinion that the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease has been entirely caused by the importation of diseased animals into this Country from abroad; that it is proved by experience that compulsory slaughter on landing does not afford security against the introduction of contagious cattle diseases from Foreign Countries; and that the landing in England, Scotland, or Ireland of foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from countries which are known to be infected, or as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the Laws thereof relating to the Importation and Exportation of Animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importa-

tion therefrom of animals which are diseased into this Country,"

said, he made no apology for bringing this matter before the House that night, because they had recently been suffering, and were still suffering, in many counties in England, from a severe outbreak of contagious disease amongst the herds. The House would remember that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) said, in answer to a Question put to him from that side of the House during the earliest days of the Session, that since the month of January, 1880, down to October last, the country had been perfectly free from what was known as "foot-and-mouth disease." In the accuracy of that statement he (Mr. Chaplin) was, happily, able to agree. It was true that for a period of nine months they were free from that terrible scourge; in fact, it was completely stamped out by the exercise of the severe restrictions which were imposed upon the home trade of the country under the provisions of the Act passed in 1878, and that, too, in spite of all the predictions to the contrary, which he remembered so well on the part of a great many hon. and right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the opposite side of the House, and who, at that time, were most persistent and strenuous opponents. It was interesting to watch the working of the Act from the commencement of its operation, and to see the gradual and steady effect it had had upon the course of that disease, resulting at last in its final extinction. Professor Brown, in the official Reports to the Privy Council, had illustrated so clearly the effect of the Act upon the course of that disease that he hoped he might be pardoned for quoting two or three extracts from his Reports. In the Report of 1878, referring to the progress of foot-and-mouth disease, Professor Brown said—

> "No serious accession of the disease occurred in any month of the year 1878, although the number of attacks varied in the Returns for each month, from 1,365 in January, 1,586 in February, and 2,505 in August, to 684 in September, when the regulations under the Act of 1869 were superseded by the Act and by the Orders under the Act of 1878. . . According to the Returns of the last week of the year 1878, there were only two centres of foot-and-mouth disease in Great Britain; and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to entertain the hope that under the stringent provisions of the Act of 1878 the affection may shortly be extinguished."

That was in 1878. He would quote two very short extracts from page 6 of the Report of the Department in 1878. The first said—

> "Foot-and-mouth disease began to extend its area. At the commencement of the year the declaration of infected places and the consequent limitation of the movement of infected animals had a very marked effect in controlling the progress of the malady."

Later on, the Report said—

> "In the latter part of the year foot-and-mouth disease declined so much that it was commonly spoken of as a thing of the past. The Return for the last week of the year included only three infected places."

That was the experience of Professor Brown, who was probably the highest authority they had, upon the working of the Act in three months of 1878; and it culminated, as they had seen, in the total extinction of that disease during the first nine months of 1880. That, to him, was a most gratifying testimony of the beneficial working of the Act; and when he remembered it was passed during the reign of a Conservative Government, and when he called to mind the charges and taunts brought against the Conservative Government—and he must add so unscrupulously by some of their opponents, and especially during the last General Election, when it was said that they had done absolutely nothing for the farmers' interest during the whole time that they were in power—he must express his own individual opinion that the Act of 1878, which was introduced in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, and carried in the House of Commons by his right hon. Friend below him against a Liberal opposition and a Liberal obstruction such as he had rarely seen equalled in that House, had been proved by experience to be the best, the wisest, the most statesmanlike, and the most beneficial measure affecting the agricultural interests ever carried, certainly, during his time within the House of Commons; and more so, when it had become the instrument of finally extinguishing that terrible scourge of foot-and-mouth disease throughout the country. Well, that disease having been stamped out, having, he said, practically—not only practically, but absolutely—ceased to exist in the country, he felt it his duty to take the earliest opportunity he could find of calling the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that they were again suffering from this disease, which he had stated as distinctly as he could had been absolutely stamped out; and he would endeavour to indicate, also, the means, the reliable means, by which they could ever hope to be free, as they ought to be, from any recurrence of that grievous calamity. That it was a most grievous calamity he could assure the House was no exaggeration on his part. But before he proceeded to trace what he believed to be the real remedy, perhaps the House would allow him to show, as far as he could, what had been the extent of the effect of the outbreak at the present moment, not only upon the producers of stock and the agriculturists of the country, but also upon the interests of the general public and consumers as well. He found that the number of outbreaks since October had been 3,166. According to the latest Returns he had been able to obtain, the number of animals attacked had been 131,260. The number of places infected were so numerous that, he understood, a complete list had not yet been compiled, and there had been 193 infected areas in 30 counties of England. Now, what did that mean? It meant not only immense inconvenience to the producer and owner of stock, but it meant a large additional expenditure of time and labour as well. It meant a large direct pecuniary loss, arising from the diminution in the value of the animals attacked, and it also meant a still larger pecuniary loss arising from two or three causes—partly from what he might describe as forced sales, and partly owing to the limited market, which, owing to the necessity of imposing severe restrictions in the districts where the disease existed, were all that were open to the farmer who was unfortunate enough to live in those districts. More than all that, a still more serious loss resulted to the farmer from the amount of injury done to the breeding prospects of his flocks or of his herds, as the case might be, in future. It was indeed difficult to estimate the absolute pecuniary loss sustained by the farmers, as the indirect loss, so far as he could judge, was much greater than the direct loss they had undergone. He, himself, could not put the loss at less than £1,000,000 or £1,500,000, and he was not by any means satisfied with the accuracy of those Returns. At the same time he said this, he was not making any complaint of the Government or the officials they employed, for anyone knew how difficult it was to obtain anything like accurate Returns. But he would give the House an instance of what he meant. It so happened that in one of the Returns there was included a farm in the county of Lincolnshire which he knew himself. The Returns in this case were given as 12 sheep dead, and 200 that remained on the farm affected by the disease. Well, it so happened that he received only yesterday morning a letter from the farmer himself, full of complaints of the sufferings of the sheep and the loss he had undergone, and he said he had lost 43 ewes by death, and 387 lambs besides, in addition to all the other animals on the farm remaining affected; and so the House would see that, taking the estimate he had done, if that Return was to be a sample of the others, he should not be much over the mark. Then the House ought to remember, as well, that the outbreak had occurred at a period of the year which was peculiarly favourable for its suppression and control; and while he gladly took that opportunity of acknowledging the energy and zeal of the Privy Council, and of expressing his opinion that the thanks of all agriculturists were due to his right hon. Friend opposite, to the President of the Privy Council (Earl Spencer), and others, for the promptitude and vigour they displayed in trying to check the spread of the disease after it had broken out, they would agree with him that if the outbreak had occurred in the summer, when the flocks were scattered over the fields, instead of in the winter, when they were sheltered in homesteads, and, so to speak, isolated, the loss must have been fully four or five times greater. So far he had spoken merely of the loss that had fallen on the producer; but what would the outbreak of the disease do at the same time for the consumer? Undoubtedly, he must be a loser as well by the return of the disease. The unhappy return of this disease would have been a serious discouragement to breeding in the country; and, in consequence, it would have lessened greatly the home production as well, and in all human probability would end in the increased cost of meat, which the consumer would have to pay; and he might say that that, perhaps, appeared to him to be the most serious question of all that was likely to arise through the presence of that terrible disease in the country. They must remember that live stock constituted so large a proportion of the capital of the farmer, that unless he could have a sure guarantee that they would not be subject to contagious disease, his position would always be one of great risk for the security of the capital which he had embarked in his farm. Well, but security for their capital was what they were all of them anxious to give tenant farmers in these days; and nobody more so, if he might judge by the loudness of their professions, than hon. Gentlemen opposite. The security of their capital was what they always wished to give to tenant farmers; and they might rely on this, that there was no security at the present time that could be offered which would be so effective or so beneficial to the tenant farmers of the country as security against the introduction among their flocks and herds of contagious diseases from abroad. He remembered they were told at one time that the whole agricultural produce of the country, with proper security and adequate capital, might be very easily doubled. He did not know who made the statement, and he did not care who it was; but, if he said the whole produce of this country could be doubled, with profit on the outlay, then he (Mr. Chaplin) ventured to say, in his humble estimation, he was simply talking nonsense on a subject he did not understand. But, at the same time, he was ready to admit that there was room for an enormous increase in the production of mutton and beef; but to do that, the breeder must have absolute immunity from the terror of contagious disease at home or abroad. That was absolutely essential; and until that was done he was satisfied they could never hope for any real or permanent advance in the future. So much was that the case, that he himself had known, he might almost say without exaggeration, hundreds of instances of farmers who had given up breeding in this country in disgust and despair; and to his judgment it was deplorable and distressing that, at the present time, just as they had began to entertain hopes that confidence had been restored and fear had been allayed, and just as the beneficial effects of the last legislation on the subject were beginning to be felt, all the good should be undone, and all that mischief have occurred, because of the unhappy importation of disease into the country again. Let him ask the House why was that so, and what was the cause of it? Whence did it come? He did not suppose that there could be a shadow of a doubt. He did not imagine that even his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Mundella) would venture to deny that it had come in that case direct from abroad. What were the facts? In the month of September in last year, there was an outbreak of the disease in the North of France, and shortly after a cargo of diseased animals was landed at Deptford. They were all slaughtered at the port of landing; but, unfortunately, human beings who had been in contact with those animals were liable to convey the disease as well as the live animals themselves. And that it had been conveyed, in this case, there could not be a shadow of a doubt, because within three days—he believed he was perfectly right in saying three days, and if he was wrong the right hon. Gentleman would correct him—after the landing of this cargo the disease appeared in the London dairies, although there had not been a single symptom of a case of that disease anywhere in England previously for nine months. Well, now, he was not making any complaint of the Government; on the contrary, he thought that after the disease had unfortunately been admitted, the efforts to check and suppress it had been of a most energetic and praiseworthy character; but they could not ignore this fact, that the whole of the mischief had arisen from the system under which the trade in foreign meat at the present time was carried on. Under that system the landing of foreign animals was kept entirely to the discretion of the Privy Council. The Privy Council could permit them to be landed, or prohibit them from being landed, as they pleased; but when landed they were obliged to be slaughtered at once. The Privy Council, however, had no discretion as to their slaughter, except under certain stringent conditions which were afterwards mentioned, and were based upon the knowledge and information possessed by the Privy Council as to the freedom from disease of those countries from which the animals might have come. Well, in that Deptford case, all those diseased animals were slaughtered at a port at once; but, notwithstanding that, the disease found its way into the country; and he contended, therefore, it had been shown, by experience, that compulsory slaughter at the port was absolutely no safeguard and security against the introduction of contagious disease. What he would propose, therefore, was simply this—that the Privy Council, in the first place, after giving adequate notice—and the Privy Council must decide for themselves what adequate notice was—let the Privy Council, he said, after giving adequate notice, exercise the power which they possessed already to prohibit the landing of all foreign live animals from countries infected by the disease, and known to them to be infected. Let the landing of all such animals in future be prohibited by law, but subject to those conditions of exemption to be found in the 4th section of the 5th Schedule of the Act of 1878, which applied to animals to be killed on landing, and under which none, except on those conditions, were permitted to leave the wharf alive. Then they might hope for a complete immunity from the disease abroad, and they might also look forward once again to its final and complete extermination at home. He saw the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) was going to oppose the Motion. He should be told, he supposed, that they must not interfere with the food of the people. No one was less desirous than he was to impose any restrictions on the food of the people. He remembered when the Act of 1878 was introduced, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but who was then Vice President of the Council—["No, no!"]—well, he forgot what Office the right hon. Gentleman held, but he was one of the chief opponents of the Bill, and he moved an Amendment to the effect—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the slaughter at the ports of landing of all cattle from the Continent would restrict the supply and increase the price of food, and should, therefore, not be made compulsory, under all circumstances, by Act of Parliament."

Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "It is on my ability to prove these two propositions that I ask the House to base their opinion of my Resolution."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxli. 148.]

Now, what happened? So far from increasing the price of food, the Act had just the contrary effect, for the mean price of meat at the Metropolitan Market in 1878 was 8 1-16*d.* per lb., and in 1879 only 7¾*d.*; and with regard to restricting the supply, he found that in 1878 there were 1,201,498 live animals imported, and in 1879, the year after the passing of the Act, 1,245,022. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were wrong at the time as to the consequences of the Act, and he had every reason to suppose they would prove equally wrong in the future so far as his proposition was concerned. He asked the House to consider what the restrictions proposed really amounted to. He was sorry to trouble the House with so many statistics, but they formed the most important part of his argument; and when it might be legitimately contended that his scheme would interfere with the supply of food, he was bound to show that that result need not be apprehended. Now, our importation of meat into England consisted partly of dead meat and partly of foreign live animals. Taking the Returns of 1879, he found that there was imported of dead meat 6,443,024 cwt., and of foreign live animals—in number—1,245,022. These 1,245,022 live animals, calculating 6 cwt. for the average weight of a beast, and 1 cwt. as the average of the sheep and pigs, would represent 2,483,862 cwt., making a total of meat imported into this country of 8,926,886 cwt. Of these foreign live animals, however, 254,000 came from the following countries:—British North America, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, which were already exempted under the Animals Order Act from slaughter at the port, and would, therefore, under his proposition, be allowed to land. That reduced the number of foreign live animals whose landing would be prohibited to 991,000. These 991,000, on the same calculation as above, represented 1,704,822 cwt., or just about one-fifth, and no more, of the total amount of meat, dead and alive, which was imported into the country. Those figures left out of the calculation altogether the increase in our home production that would be certain to occur, and which, in his opinion, would soon more than counterbalance the temporary loss that would be sustained. He did not know that there were any other possible objections that he could anticipate as likely to be urged against the Resolution. Possibly, the old three-legged cripple Free Trade would be again trotted out; but he wished to remark that he demanded, not protection against foreign meat or food, but protection against foreign disease. It could scarcely be contended that the prohibition of cattle from infected countries would not give us immunity from disease. He had, indeed, heard it argued that the outbreaks were spontaneous, and that the disease was indigenous to the country; but such arguments would not hold water for a moment, as hon. Gentlemen would see if they waded impartially through the Reports of the Cattle Plague Committee of 1877, in which the balance of evidence was conclusively against that view. Lastly, there was one other consideration that he had to submit to the House. It could not be expected that the farmers of this country would continue to submit to the harassing restrictions imposed upon them, unless they received in return immunity from disease from abroad. The main opposition to the Act of 1878 was grounded on two considerations. It was said that the restrictions would never be sufficiently strong to stamp out the disease—and on this point the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had expressed himself very plainly to that effect; and, in the second place, it was declared that even if the restrictions were sufficient our farmers would never consent to them. In both respects, however, experience had shown that the late Government were right. The farmers throughout all England had loyally submitted to severe but necessary restriction; and now, after all their sacrifices and losses and inconveniences, it was most depressing and disheartening to find that their efforts had been fruitless and their sacrifices thrown away, in consequence of the re-admission of the scourge of the disease. If the system of the free admission of cattle continued, he had no hesitation in saying it would be necessary to abandon the present harassing restrictions at home, as to which the farmers could not justly be asked to submit unless they at the same time enjoyed complete and absolute immunity from foreign disease. Freedom of importation, coupled with freedom at home, meant nothing less than universal disease throughout England; and the only alternative was a system such as that which he advocated, and which would utterly stamp out the disease. Once more he claimed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as his supporter, for he had said in the debates on the Act of 1878—

> "If the disease were once stamped out at home, the farmers would have some ground to demand that its introduction from abroad should be rendered impossible."

[Mr. MUNDELLA: What disease was that?] Foot-and-mouth disease. He, therefore, called upon the right hon. Gentleman and on the Government to act up to the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman in 1878, and to support the Resolution which he now moved, in the confident belief that its recommendations were in the interests of the farmers, of the consumers, and of the community at large. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

MR. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, in seconding the Resolution, said, that, as Chairman of the Veterinary Committee of the Royal Agricultural Society, also as representing a county which had suffered more from foot-and-mouth disease than any other county in England, he had had opportunities of obtaining special information on the subject. It appeared to be certain that the disease was introduced last autumn into France by a vessel which put into St. Omer, and that it next spread to the North of France, whence it was brought across the Channel to Deptford. Now, as it was difficult for the Government to put sufficient pressure on foreign Governments, he was driven to the conclusion that the only proper course was to stop the introduction of animals infected from every country in which we believed the disease to be. His point was that the French, in order to prevent the introduction of trichinosis, absolutely stopped the importation of pork. In the same way, as we had no security against the introduction of diseased animals at our ports, he was driven to the conclusion that it would be necessary to prevent altogether the importation of animals from certain countries. There had been a great growth in the feeling with respect to foot-and-mouth disease, and the measures taken with regard to it. Ten years ago, the farmers did not care much about it, and were unwilling to take those precautions which the foresight of Professor Brown would have imposed upon them. But now there was a feeling throughout the country that the disease was so dangerous, that farmers would submit to any restrictions to keep it out. In 1878, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) told them that foot-and-mouth disease did not come from abroad; but it was somewhat strange that since the Act of that year up to the beginning of the present year the country had enjoyed a complete immunity from that disease. He considered that the Act of 1878 had been a complete success. It had not, as the right hon. Gentleman anticipated would be the case, increased the price of meat; while, at the same time, to his (Mr. Wilbraham Egerton's) own knowledge, it had acted as a stimulus to the farmers to breed more stock at home. Those two points were sufficient to show that the supporters of the measure were right, and that those who opposed it were not justified by the results. There had also been a very great increase in the dead meat trade during the last 10 years, and this country need never be afraid of any shortness of supply, seeing how successful the scheme of bringing meat from the Antipodes in frozen chambers had been. He believed the trade in dead meat might be carried on with success, if it were necessary to prohibit the importation of live cattle altogether. There were two or three centres from which foot-and-mouth disease spread, and these were the large markets. The greater part was introduced from abroad; but he believed it had been also introduced from Ireland. He did not say that the disease was in Ireland; but, from information received by the Royal Agricultural Society, he believed that animals had been landed at Silloth, which probably contracted disease in the passage. The outbreak in Cheshire had been traced to a cow in Manchester market—whether an Irish cow or one from a foreign country he could not say; but in a month from that time 390 animals were attacked. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), who represented, probably, the largest dead-meat market in the North of England, was opposed to the Motion of his hon. Friend; and his Predecessor in the representation of the borough (Sir William Charley) on that question took a different view from the Party with which he usually acted. There must be something in the position of Salford as a dead meat market to which the opposition of its Members must be attributed. But the general feeling of agriculturists was that no sacrifices would be too great to stamp out foot-and-mouth disease, provided the price of meat was not increased, nor any restrictions placed on free trade but such as might be justified by the absolute necessity of the case. The absolute necessity of the case was that it was far more important that we should breed healthy cattle at home rather than import them, and the English farmer ought not to be handicapped in the race with other producing countries by increasing the risk of production through the importation of diseased animals from abroad. He begged to second the Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House is of opinion that the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease has been entirely caused by the importation of diseased animals into this Country from abroad:

"That it is proved by experience that compulsory slaughter on landing does not afford security against the introduction of contagious cattle diseases from Foreign Countries:

"And that the landing in England, Scotland, or Ireland of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from countries which are known to be infected, or as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the Laws thereof relating to the Importation and Exportation of Animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased into this Country."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

MR. MUNDELLA said, he hoped it would be found convenient that he should at the very earliest opportunity place before the House the views of the Government with respect to the Resolution of his hon. Friend. He need hardly say it was their intention to give to that Resolution a direct negative. He hoped to be able to show the House that, in the interest not only of the consumer but of the producer, the Resolution was one of the most unfortunate that could possibly be submitted. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire commenced by speaking in terms of the highest laudation of the Act of 1878. He (Mr. Mundella) did not dispute for a moment the value of that Act. He believed its operation had been most beneficial, and that it had mainly succeeded in accomplishing the purpose for which it was passed. But the Liberal side of the House might claim some credit for the modifications which they introduced, and which made it mainly a working Act. ["No!"] What, then, about the restrictions on the import of cattle from America? The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire said that the Act of 1878 was the best, wisest, and most statesmanlike measure ever passed for the agricultural interest. [Mr. CHAPLIN: I said the most beneficial in my time.] Well, if it was such a beneficial, wise, and statesmanlike Act, how was it that the hon. Gentleman asked them to destroy it? For he began by asking them to take away the very principle of the Act, which was the compulsory slaughter at the ports of landing of all animals which had not complied with the provisions of the 5th Schedule. He had looked through the long debates on the Act, and there was not even the mention of the word "prohibition" by any Member who spoke on the question. All that hon. Members opposite had professed to require was free importation with compulsory slaughter at the ports; and prohibition had never been mentioned in the House, except with reference to cattle plague and rinderpest. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), who had the conduct of the Bill, made many speeches all in that sense; and citations might even be made from the speeches of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The hon. Member said that its object was to stamp out disease at home, and prevent its re-introduction from abroad; and that it sought to attain its object by imposing severe restrictions at home, and enacting compulsory slaughter at the ports.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the right hon. Gentleman appeared to misunderstand his (Mr. Chaplin's) present position. What he proposed was—instead of compulsory slaughter at the ports, which was proved by experience to be no sufficient safeguard, but which at the time we were ready to accept for a trial—that there should now be absolute prohibition in regard to the landing of live animals from countries known to be infected, or having laws which did not afford us security.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that was exactly what he had assumed. The hon. Member now advocated exactly the reverse of what he wanted in 1878. It was not intended, said the hon. Member, by compulsory slaughter to stamp out disease, but to prevent infected animals coming in; and it had not been shown that that object would be attained. Of course, it was the common object of all to enlarge the meat supply. But the hon Member now proposed to abolish compulsory slaughter at the ports altogether, and to establish complete prohibition. If that were done, the principle of the Act would be entirely gone; and the hon. Member now practically asked the House to destroy the measure which he and other hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves showed to be so beneficial. He must make his acknowledgment of the way in which the administration of the Act by the Privy Council had been spoken of. He could say honestly he had endeavoured to the best of his ability to administer the Act to prevent the spread of disease; but his part in the work had been very small compared with that of Earl Spencer, who had devoted more time and labour to the business than would generally be supposed. The hon. Member had made certain statements which, for the convenience of debate, he would, as far as possible, admit. It was true that, up to October last, the country had been for some nine months practically free from foot-and-mouth disease. It was also true that during that month a cargo of diseased animals was landed at Deptford from France, at a time when the disease was known to exist there; also, that within a week of their landing cases of disease were detected in London, and that the disease had since spread largely among the stock, causing much inconvenience to the general public, and serious injury and loss to agriculturists in all parts of the country. That he would admit, but with a certain qualification. It must be remembered that the cargo from France to which reference had been made was the 15th that was affected during those nine months, and that we were constantly in receipt of affected cargoes. That only showed how effective compulsory slaughter at the port of landing had been. We had been receiving cargoes from Holland, which was, perhaps, never known to be free from the disease. He made the hon. Member a present of these admissions; but did they justify the hon. Member's Resolution founded upon them? To the assertion that it had been proved that compulsory slaughter on landing did not afford security against the introduction of contagious cattle diseases from foreign countries, his answer was that it was proved to have afforded reasonable security against the introduction of contagious cattle; and the only disease against which it had not afforded absolute security was foot-and-mouth disease, against which neither compulsory slaughter nor absolute prohibition would afford absolute protection. However, against pleuro-pneumonia slaughter afforded absolute security. [Mr. CHAPLIN assented.] Let it be understood that the total prohibition that was asked for by the hon. Member would exclude from three-fourths to two thirds of the vast imports of the past few years, estimated at a money value of about £8,000,000. It was impossible to prove whether it was or was not the specified cargo of October which led to the distribution of the disease in this country. The hon. Member for Cheshire (Mr. Wilbraham Egerton) upset the whole case for the Resolution by suggesting that the disease might have come from Ireland to Cheshire. [Mr. WILBRAHAM EGERTON: I said I could not tell.] He thought the hon. Member seemed to assume that it came from Ireland. He (Mr. Mundella), however, did not believe that a single case of foot-and-mouth disease had been introduced from Ireland during the last two years, although he was constantly receiving reports that Irish cattle were bringing it. Still, it was open to them to ask why might not the contagion be spread just as much from Ireland as from Deptford market? The 2nd and the 3rd Resolutions were entirely unwarranted and inadmissible; and if they were adopted their operation would be prejudicial to both producers and consumers, and consequently to the general interests of the country. To adopt them would get rid of the principle of the Act of 1878, and give effect to its two exceptions; and it would substitute for the present law prohibition or absolute freedom. The Privy Council had done nothing contrary to the principle or the letter of the Act; they had followed strictly the precedents of their Predecessors, if they had not gone beyond them, in order to be in advance with the measures necessary to prevent the spread of disease. Last week a deputation of farmers came to him to say that they preferred the foot-and-mouth disease to the restrictions; and he believed many farmers had said the same thing. There was prohibition of import from Russia, Austria, Greece, Turkish Provinces, Germany, and Denmark. He did not deny that some people thought that the principle of prohibition ought to be extended; and if bad cases arose, and dangerous disease existed in a country previously free, the Privy Council had at present the power to prohibit; but, up to this time, they had never been required or asked to do so. The conditions framed under the Act were perfectly clear. As long as the Privy Council were satisfied that a country was free from diseased cattle, that the laws relating to the export of cattle and the general sanitary regulations in force were such as they could approve of, then they were to allow the animals of that country to be landed at British ports without subjecting the animals to slaughter. That condition had been acted upon; and it was not imputed by the hon. Gentleman that they had admitted a single animal that ought not to have been admitted. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Disease has been admitted.] He had made the largest admissions on that subject, and had nothing to conceal. They could not boast of perfect immunity from disease. Did the hon. Gentleman know any country where such perfect immunity existed, with the exception of two or three? Well, in 1879 it was found that pleuro-pneumonia existed in the United States, and an Order was made for the slaughter of the cattle imported on landing. Later on it was found that some sheep were affected, and all animals from the United States were slaughtered. They had now had two years' experience of the Act; and he maintained that time had proved that its operation had been most beneficial. And yet the hon. Member, at the end of two years, asked the House to exclude from the administration of the Act its main provision. In introducing the Bill into the House of Lords in February, 1878, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon said—

"In view of the danger of spreading disease through the country, I have been urged more than once to prohibit any live stock coming from abroad. It has been suggested that it ought only to come in the form of dead meat. I do not think we have sufficient experience to justify our adopting that course, and I do not think our experience of the dead meat supplies from America and the Continent is sufficient to warrant the recommendation of so grave a change in the trade. But then to make the home restrictions to which I referred bearable in this country, I think it is absolutely necessary for the purpose of getting rid of the foot-and-mouth disease and of pleuro-pneumonia that all foreign animals shall be slaughtered at the port of landing."

And what did the hon. Gentleman himself say?

"The object of the Bill," he said, "was to stamp out diseases at home, and to prevent their re-introduction from abroad, and it sought to attain its object by imposing severe restrictions at home and enacting compulsory slaughter at the ports. It was not intended by compulsory slaughter to stamp out disease, but to prevent disease coming in, and it had not been shown that the object would not be attained."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxli. 345.]

And the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) who introduced the Bill, and carried it with so much good sense and good temper through the House, said, on the second reading—

"The Bill which he had the honour to introduce to the House attempted to deal with the question. It proposed, as far as cattle plague was concerned, to put it down by giving to the Privy Council absolute power to stop the imports entirely from the countries where it prevailed, and by slaughter at the ports and inspection. . . . Combining these two precautions, he maintained that sufficient security against disease was taken."—[*Ibid.*, 144.]

The Government of the day were very much reproached for the provision as to slaughter at the ports, which was considered too strong a measure; and what did the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) say, in reply? He said—

"Hon. Members had treated the Bill as if it were one entirely to prohibit foreign countries from sending live cattle to England. That was a mistake. All the Government said was, 'You may land them alive, but you shall not be allowed to take them beyond a certain limit.' Judging from what some hon. Members said, one might think that the intention was that all cattle should be knocked on the head as soon as they were landed from the ship. Nothing was further from the intention of the Ministry. Cattle could be kept for ten days or longer at the port of debarkation, and only be killed when information was received from the great centres of consumption that a scarcity of meat prevailed."—[*Ibid.*, 244-5.]

Nothing could be more to the point or more satisfactory than that statement of the noble Lord. What was the first act of the then Government under the Bill? They called upon the local authorities to make provision for slaughtering animals at the port of debarkation, and he might add that there had been an enormous expenditure incurred in making the necessary arrangements. He could hardly say what amount had been spent in this fashion by the Corporation of London. The Lord President had had repeated interviews with the Corporation, who met him most handsomely in making a large increase of that expenditure in order to ensure greater sanitary precautions. Surely the hon. Gentleman, who was such an advocate for vested interests, would not ask them to abolish all those markets, and render useless all the vast expenditure indicated, without proposing some means of compensation. [Mr. CHAPLIN: I said you might compensate them.] Yes; but it would be found a very heavy item. He believed £500,000 had been spent in the case of London, and millions all over the country, for the purpose. In reference to the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary said—

"All cattle which now came from abroad would come in still. . . . It had been said that this was a question of cheap and dear meat, of town and country. The only question between them was how the importation of cattle could be most safely carried on."—[*Ibid.*, 1021-2.]

Well, they had had no outbreak of rinderpest or sheep rot since the Act was passed. It was pleuro-pneumonia that was to be stamped out under it. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Pell) was of opinion that the foot-and-mouth disease could not be stamped out in this country. [Mr. PELL: Without slaughter.] The hon. Gentleman said, in June, 1878—

"Even then he had serious doubts whether foot-and-mouth disease would thus be extirpated in England. He, therefore, did not feel at all comfortable at the prospect of imposing these extremely severe measures on foreign animals. . . . He hoped to see that strenuousnes and severity applied in some marked degree to the extirpation of foot-and-mouth disease in England, and not directed too exclusively or sharply to foreign importations."—[*Ibid.*, 239.]

Mr. Kavanagh, who was at that time Member for Carlow, and, he believed, Mr. Clare Read, also at the time a Member of the House, had great misgivings as to whether compulsory slaughter at the ports of disembarkation would have the effect of stamping out the foot-and-mouth disease. It was, therefore, a new feature in the controversy for the hon. Member now to propose that the importation of foreign cattle should be altogether prohibited. The fact was that the operation of the Act of 1878 had been most beneficial. For instance, in 1877, the number of outbreaks was 2,007, with 5,330 animals attacked; in 1878, 1,771 outbreaks, and 4,593 attacked; in 1879, 1,549 outbreaks, and 4,414 attacked; and in 1880, 1,052 outbreaks, and 2,765 animals attacked. That showed that since 1877 the number of cases had come down to one-half; and if the local authorities would only second the efforts of the Government, and have a little more courage in slaughtering healthy animals that had been in contact with diseased ones, there was no doubt that in a very short time they would stamp out pleuro-pneumonia altogether. At present, so far as importation was concerned, there was no danger from that cause, except by direct contact with the foreign animal. Pleuro-pneumonia could never be incubated. In 1871, the Dutch Government tried to extirpate that disease; but they were not very successful till they came down to 1876, and resolved to slaughter the healthy animals. In 1871, they had 6,000 cases of pleuro-pneumonia; in 1872, 4,000 cases; in 1873, 2,500; in 1874, 2,400; in 1875, 2,200; in 1876, 1,723; in 1877, 900 odd; in 1878, 600 odd; and in 1880, only 48. He believed that a similar result would follow a similar course of proceeding in this country. He did not wish to minimize the serious character of the disease of which the hon. Gentleman complained —foot-and-mouth — but, at the same time, it was comparatively slight. ["No, no!"] Well, if hon. Gentlemen so wished, he would say it was a very serious disease. He knew it was a very troublesome one—it was highly infectious; it was communicated by means of a wisp of hay, a milk-maid's apron, almost any medium would convey it. When, however, total prohibition was talked about, it should be remembered that the disease had first been introduced into this country at a time when prohibition of all animals had been in force. He ventured to say that no outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease had been so suddenly grappled with and had led to such small results as in the present instance. He could not claim to have the agricultural authority of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he spoke on the strength of statements by experts. The present outbreak might be said to have commenced at the end of last September, between which time and the end of December the number of reported outbreaks was 1,461, and of animals attacked 32,378. In the last 13 weeks of 1871 there were reported 25,699 outbreaks, and 381,772 animals attacked—or more than ten times the number in the former period. The proximate number of fresh outbreaks and the number of animals attacked in Great Britain during the 24 weeks from October 2, 1880, to March 12, 1881—both dates inclusive—were 3,166 and 131,260 respectively. There being about 36,000,000 head of live stock in Great Britain, this gave a third of 1 per cent attacked, or just over 1 in 300. He did not wish to say that this was not a larger proportion than he would like to see; and he must, in mentioning it, show how the Department were mastering the disease, by stating that the number of animals attacked had steadily fallen from 256 in the week ended January 8, to 55 in the week ended March 19, and this week he believed the numbers were proportionately less. The fact that they were keeping the country comparatively free from the disease while cargoes were constantly coming in, showed that it was possible to keep it comparatively free for a long time. But could it be hoped that they could ever, by prohibition, keep it entirely free? With our enormously increased commerce and our constant communications with countries perpetually affected by the disease, such a hope could not for a moment be indulged in. Anything that came from a French farm or a French dairy might carry infection, and there was no doubt great danger that people coming over to International Cattle Shows might bring the disease in their garments or on their boots. The hon. Member had spoken of the number and value of the animals which were brought to this country. America had found means of bringing to this country enormous supplies of animal food which, previously, it had been thought impossible to bring. The number of cattle that came in last year was slightly in excess of the number in 1876; and how was it that the number was not greater? The answer was, in consequence of the prohibition of Continental cattle and the slaughtering at the port; and America had only just recouped us for what we lost in the Continental supplies. We had averaged 10,000 head of German cattle until 1877, when we prohibited them; and what had since been the result? In 1877 there was imported 2,258 cwt. of dead meat, the produce of 300 cattle; in 1878, 5,541 cwt., as the produce of 600 cattle; in 1879, nothing; and last year, instead of 19,000 head of cattle from Germany, we imported exactly the produce of 19 cattle. He had no hope, therefore, of being supplied by the Continent of Europe with fresh meat. He wanted to ask the House to consider seriously what would really be the effect of cutting off this enormous supply of food. The supply of fresh meat had not increased at all in the same ratio as the supply of cattle. The imports of fresh meat last year were in excess of the year before, and they had been growing for several years past. In 1878 the value of the fresh meat imported was £1,335,299; in 1879 it was £1,501,349; and in 1880 it was £1,865,529. The value of the living animals imported into the United Kingdom in 1880 was £10,242,903, while it was only £7,075,000 in 1879. The increase of live cattle was mainly from America, and it was the quality as well as the quantity of American cattle that was important. Anyone who had read the Report of Messrs. Pell and Read would have an intelligent idea of what kind of meat the Americans were sending us. It was nothing but the primest and the best, for that was the only meat that paid; and instead of reckoning now three cattle to the ton, as used to be the case, we could only reckon two. What would happen if they acted on the principle of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire? It was a rule well known to political economists that immediately the supply fell below the demand there was a rise in price out of all proportion to the falling off. If the hon. Member's Motion were adopted, we should be deprived of from 10 to 12½ per cent of our meat supply, and the price of the article would be doubled. Anything more disastrous for the working classes, and for the interests of the country generally, could not be imagined. The first effect of a rise in the price of food was to diminish employment, and to drive the people from the home to the foreign trade, thus impoverishing the country, and, therefore, impoverishing the farmer. The hon. Member opposite had said that if they prohibited they would have a plentiful supply of meat presently. It was a mistake, however, to suppose that anything they could do in that House would stimulate the supply of meat. When science had found out the means for transporting fresh meat safely to this country there would be no lack of it, and then hon. Members might fairly ask for the prohibition of live cattle. Why was it that we did not at present get a much larger supply of fresh meat from America? Why, because it was a perishable article, and when brought here was brought to a forced sale; whereas the live animal could wait 14 days for a purchaser. American cattle cost in the transport to this country nearly treble what the dead meat cost. Every animal, in fact, cost 2*d.* per lb., while the dead meat cost only ¾*d.* per lb. The cost of insurance of cattle was from 5½ to 10 per cent. The loss in the transport was well illustrated by the fact that last year, out of 154,000 animals sent from America, more than 7,000 had either to be thrown overboard or killed immediately after landing. This was enough to stimulate the active and vigorous Yankees to send their dead meat as quickly as possible to avoid this loss. Dead meat, however, might be expected from other shores than those of America. Australasia, with boundless resources, was eagerly looking forward to supplying England's wants. He had received a letter from a trustworthy correspondent as to the value of meat in Sydney and Melbourne. The writer said—

> "I have made inquiry, and I find that the price of beef wholesale is from 1*d.* to 1½*d.* per lb. As to the quality, it is prime. The sheep and cattle are the choicest. The best sheep and cattle to be obtained from the Old World have been taken out to enrich the flocks and herds."

Let them consider the boundless supply, therefore, which Australia could afford us. In Australia and New Zealand there was a population of less than 3,000,000; in this country we had a population, taken roughly, of 33,000,000, and for our 33,000,000 we owned 9,900,000 cattle and 32,000,000 sheep; whereas Australia and New Zealand, for their population of less than 3,000,000, owned 7,800,000 head of cattle and nearly 70,000,000 sheep. Now, the Australian people had made enormous efforts to send fresh meat to England, and were expending great sums of money with that object. They brought over three cargoes last year, and two of them were perfectly successful. [An hon. MEMBER: That shows it can be done.] When it could be done safely they would see plenty of it; the quantity would be tremenduous, and there would be no need for the prohibition of live cattle. He desired to illustrate briefly how the Resolution, if carried, would affect the British farmer. The first effect would be that the countries to which notice would be given of the prohibition would pour in all the cattle they could. When the time came for total prohibition prices would rise enormously in this country; he would not venture to say how much, but he thought 3*d.* in the pound would be about the amount of the increase in the price if they took away 10 per cent of the supply. Suppose, however, that after two months, America came forward and said, "Our cattle are free from disease," the Government could not refuse to let American cattle in, with a hungry people knocking at the door of the House. [An hon. MEMBER: Dead meat.] The hon. Gentleman knew it did not come in dead meat. [An hon. MEMBER: It would.] Yes, it would when it paid the Americans to send it, and not till then. The effect, first of all, would be to raise the price, and there would spring up a trade of speculation, and the farmers would be reduced to the greatest uncertainty. They would probably have bought their stock while the prices were high, hoping to realize high returns by the exclusion of foreign cattle, while he found shortly after that foreign cattle were again admitted, and that his stock had become suddenly depreciated. He would find that he was not safe for a day, and that he was liable to be subjected to periods of intense depression and consequent disappointment. There would be no slaughter at the ports. He asked hon. Members to consider that there would be no means of testing the cattle. They discovered that American cattle were diseased six months before the Americans discovered it—[Mr. WARTON: Before they admitted it]—and they would have American cattle wandering through the country before it was ascertained whether they were healthy or not. He believed what they were doing now would give them a reasonable guarantee against cattle disease. He had shown that every disease in the category, except foot-and-mouth disease, had been guarded against, and practical immunity obtained by slaughter at the ports. Perhaps the House would ask him why they were likely to be more successful in the future than they had been in the past in dealing with foot-and-mouth disease? His belief was that they had, in this country, relied too much upon slaughter at the ports to get rid of foot-and-mouth disease. He believed they could not keep clear of it unless they had the best possible sanitary arrangements and sanitary police. They had made important changes at Deptford. Immediately that the last outbreak occurred they made inquiries, and found, in the first place, that dairymen in the neighbourhood of London had been taking fat cattle to Deptford to sell in the market with foreign animals. That, of course, brought the dairyman into contact with foreign animals, after which he went home to his dairy, and if there was any chance of disease he took it home with him. Well, the Government at once stopped that. Then they found that Deptford Market was completely overcrowded, and that there was no means of preventing healthy cattle mixing with diseased cattle. To remedy that, six blocks had now been provided, and they were so divided as to effectually isolate six several cargoes, with a slaughter-house for each block. That prevented any contact between one cargo of diseased animals and another. Then they came to the last and most difficult problem—how to prevent dealers, owners, buyers, and butchers who went in and out of the markets, from bringing out disease; because if the disease had escaped from Deptford—and he was not prepared to say it had not—it had been taken out by men. Of course, although they could slaughter the cattle, they could never think of slaughtering the men. But if the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire would go down to Deptford Market, he could there find out by experience what was done to prevent the men carrying out any disease with them.

First, he would have to divest himself of those habiliments which always graced his person so much. He would find that while they were taken charge of by someone he would have to put on a smock frock. He could then take his peregrinations through the market-place, and penetrate the blocks allotted to cattle which were found to be diseased; but when he came back he would have to go into a chamber, where he would be subjected to the action of sulphurous flames, which would cleanse him as pure as the Ghost in *Hamlet*. After being so disinfected, he would next be whitewashed—and he understood the attendants took care to give them in this way a very good dose of a mixture of some chloride of lime, even the hair and whiskers being well rubbed by the chloride of lime and white-wash brushes. Every person who left that market now was disinfected, there being four disinfecting houses, one of them moveable. The same thing was done in Liverpool, and the authorities were now requiring it wherever foreign animals were landed. That, they believed, was the only way of preventing the escape of infection. They did all they could under the Act, which had been described as a beneficent Act, and would be glad to receive suggestions that would facilitate their efforts to keep out contagion. He believed that by the careful steps now being taken they would prevent the foot-and-mouth disease escaping from such centres as Deptford, and at the same time would be able to keep up the supply of food to our enormous and increasing population.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the right hon. Gentleman had made one admission which strengthened the argument of his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin), that the time had come when it might be necessary to re-consider the arrangements made under the Act of 1878, because the right hon. Gentleman had held out the hope that, before long, the supply of dead meat would be almost unlimited. It was quite true, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman, that this disease was seldom fatal, but it led to a serious diminution in the supplies sent to market. There was no doubt that the question of foreign importation affected the Metropolis far more than any other part of the country. In the discussion upon the Bill of 1878, it was shown that the amount of foreign supply represented but 2 per cent of the actual consumption of this country, eliminating London altogether from the calculation.

Mr. MUNDELLA was understood to say that last year the foreign supply was 12½ per cent, and that this year it had largely increased.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, it was indisputably proved that in 1877 and 1878—and he did not suppose the facts were very different now—the country (excluding London) depended on foreign cattle for only 2 per cent. of its supply. Then it came to a question how far the importation of that foreign supply was necessary for the Metropolis, and how far any deficiency that would arise from the adoption of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire's proposal could be met by the dead-meat trade, which was developing and increasing. There was plenty of evidence to show that a very large proportion of meat consumed in London was meat imported from America.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, it was shown that 49 per cent of the live animals consumed in the Metropolis were foreign animals.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he was contending that a very large proportion of the consumption in London was not dependent on the importation of live animals, but on a dead-meat trade, a great part of which was carried on from America. Might they not, then, fairly ask whether the time had not come for them to re-consider what took place in 1878? He held that if the consumers did not suffer by the change, anything that would bring about immunity to the farmer would be practically for the advantage of the consumers themselves, because the increase of the home trade would more than compensate for the stoppage of foreign import. They were only at the commencement of the dead-meat trade, which would supply the void that might arise from the stoppage of importation of foreign cattle. He recognized the energy which the Privy Council had shown; but the question they had to consider was whether the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was feasible, and, if feasible, whether it would not benefit the farmer without injuring the consumer. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman opposite that already the importation of a large portion of the cattle sent from foreign ports had been prohibited; and that in 1878 they had the very same prophecies as to the loss of food for the people as they now heard from the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The result had not justified the former evil predictions. The price of meat had not risen since 1877; but, on the contrary, had fallen, in spite of the restrictions which, it was said, were to operate so injuriously. The Act of 1878 was objected to and fought on the very grounds that were urged against those additional restrictions which were intended as a safeguard to the home stock of this country on which the consumer depended for his supply. The proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) did not preclude animals from coming into our ports from countries which were free from disease. All it said was that in regard to countries where disease existed of so virulent a character as foot-and-mouth disease, instead of allowing animals coming from those countries to be slaughtered at the port of landing, as was done now, by which practice the disease had been again introduced among us, they should prohibit the landing of cattle from those countries, and require them either to create a dead-meat trade, or to cease to send live animals to our ports until the disease had been extirpated within their borders. The subject was well worth the consideration of the House, for, he believed, the change would not to any great extent affect the meat supply of the country.

LORD EDWARD CAVENDISH observed, that from whatever point of view they regarded the debate initiated by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, they were brought face to face with considerations of the greatest possible importance. He thought this subject was one which, beyond all question, Her Majesty's Government and every Member of the House was bound to regard from the point of view of the general interests of the country. It was impossible to exaggerate its importance as regarded the interests of the farmers, large numbers of whom, after the successive bad seasons they had experienced, would be ruined if disease were introduced into their flocks. An outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, moreover, would naturally cause an increase in the price of meat. On the other hand, the adoption of absolute prohibition would so largely increase the price of meat that it would debar many poor families from using it. Some hon. Members would, no doubt, be disposed to support the proposition of the hon. Gentleman opposite, from a feeling that they would be benefiting the agricultural interest thereby; but, for his part, he had arrived at the conclusion that the hon. Gentleman had not given sufficient reasons to justify the adoption of his proposal. The disease was one which, although causing grave injury and loss to agriculturists, did not demand so vigorous a remedy as absolute prohibition; and it was rather to the adoption of the precautionary measures indicated by the Vice President of the Council that the country must look for relief.

COLONEL LEVETT observed, that to the agricultural population in and around the borough he had the honour to represent this subject was, he might almost say, of vital importance. It was not very long since they heard from a Member of the Government that if there was any class that deserved the consideration of the House, it was the class of tenant farmers. He had hoped that this Motion would not have been met with a direct negative. When he looked at the statistics as to cattle coming here, he found that more than half of the importation into this country came from Ireland. The importation of cattle from Canada and the United States appeared to be increasing to such a degree that it was practically without limit, and Canada, as was well known, was altogether free from disease. If it were possible to encourage the importation of dead meat, and to exercise greater control over the importation of disease from Ireland, he thought it might be found advisable to adopt the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The question deserved the anxious consideration of the House.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, that he had suffered such losses in his own flocks and herds from the ravages of contagious diseases, that he was not likely to under-rate the importance of keeping the foot-and-mouth complaint out of the country. He thought the subject was one which should be approached entirely free from Party bias; and he therefore regretted when the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), soon after the commencement of his speech, plunged into Party politics, and attempted to raise political capital out of the action of the late Government, of which he was so zealous a supporter. The hon. Member had, by that course, entered upon a dangerous path. He (Mr. Howard) wondered whether it had occurred to him why Mr. Clare Read left the Government, of which he was so useful a Member. If the memory of the hon. Member was at fault on this subject, other hon. Members had not forgotten the reasons. Mr. Read left the Government because of its supineness, its apathy—he might say its obstinacy—in refusing to amend the defects of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act. It was not until Mr. Read had retired from the Government, and the farmers throughout the country had condemned, in the most unmistakeable manner, the neglect shown by the Government on the question of stamping out disease, that the Duke of Richmond could be induced to turn his attention to the subject, and to bring in a Bill to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee which had sat and reported upon the subject. So much for the political aspect of the question. Turning to the general aspect, whilst sympathizing with the object which the hon. Member had in view, it was with great regret that he could not arrive at the same conclusions as to remedies which the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) entertained. No one, however, could question the desirability of drawing our supplies of animal food from pure sources. But what were the facts which the House had to consider? Before the passing of the Act of 1878, the farmers of the Kingdom had demanded and clamoured for compulsory slaughter of infected animals at the port of landing. This was conceded by the Act of 1878, and the farmers were satisfied. Since the Act was passed there had been but one outbreak — the recent serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease—which, for want of prompter action upon the part of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, for the want of more vigorous action on the part of local authorities, had been allowed to spread itself over the face of the country. It was under those circumstances, and those circumstances only, that the hon. Member asked the House virtually to repeal the Act of 1878—an Act he had so loudly applauded. The House was asked to upset the compromise arrived at after years of contention beween the great centres of population and the agricultural interest. He ventured to think that was not the wisest course; he held that it would be wiser for Government to render their own regulations more efficient. It would be in the remembrance of the House that when the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) brought forward a Motion last year for relaxing the present restrictions, he (Mr. Howard) moved an Amendment with a view to upholding them; and it would be remembered that the House carried the Amendment by a very large majority. He believed that the country indorsed the action of the House on that occasion; but he did not believe the country would concur or consent to the proposals of the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin). The evidence of their necessity was too slight for the country to consent that the great trade in foreign animals, amounting to more than £10,000,000 per annum, should be endangered; much stronger grounds would have to be adduced before the country would consent to such interference. If the House were to adopt the Resolution submitted to it, he feared the effect would be that the country would be less willing than it was at present to put up with the existing restrictions. Nor did he himself see the necessity for such a sweeping measure as that now proposed. He should be very glad if it were possible to carry into practice the principle of the Resolution, and draw our supplies from countries only which were free from disease; but that was impossible. He believed that Canada was the only country in the world that was free from contagious diseases. He objected to the Resolution, because he believed it would have the effect of arraying the great centres of population now friendly to the farming interest against it. All that was wanted, in his opinion, to secure the country against similar outbreaks and spread of disease in the future, was that the Veterinary Department should carry out more efficiently our own internal regulations; and profiting by recent experience, that would doubtless be the case, not only with the Privy Council, but with local authorities.

On those grounds, he felt very reluctantly compelled to oppose the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire.

MR. J. C. LAWRANCE said, he could not help thinking that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council was founded on a misconception. The object of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was not to upset the Act of 1878; but, that Act having proved ineffectual, to go a step further in the same direction in the hope of excluding foot-and-mouth disease altogether from this country. It could not be necessary to show how a serious a matter an outbreak of this disease was in this country, affecting, as it did, not only the supply of meat, but also that of wool. Everyone who had had their cattle or sheep attacked knew how great their misfortune was; therefore it was not useful to labour the point as to the loss which resulted from the introduction of the disease into the country. The only question for consideration was, would it be possible to carry out what was proposed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire? He was sorry to hear that the Resolutions would be met with a direct negative, as he had hoped that the Government would continue to carry out the new *rôle* which they adopted last year of being the farmers' friends. Considering the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella), they ought to think themselves most fortunate that the disease had not been spread all over the country before, as it appeared that 14 previous cargoes of diseased animals were imported before the one of the 15th of October last, which caused the outbreak. So it appeared that while the farmers were restricted from sending their cattle and sheep to market, and were entirely at the mercy of butchers and jobbers, the authorities in London were introducing cattle by thousands from other countries, which were liable to spread disease amongst our flocks and herds. It was quite clear from what they had heard that all the European cattle, at all events, might be slaughtered where they were grown. There could be no difficulty about that, if the American meat came over in such large quantities. The Privy Council had the Irish ports under their own control, and could prevent infected cattle coming from Ireland to this country. [Mr. MUNDELLA dissented.] Then, Irish cattle were, he presumed, subjected to the same conditions as those which came from foreign countries?

MR. MUNDELLA explained that Irish cattle were regarded as English cattle.

MR. J. C. LAWRANCE said, that in that case they would not be allowed to be sent out of the country from infected areas. The Privy Council thus had a control over Ireland. [Mr. MUNDELLA: The Privy Council of Ireland has.] He (Mr. Lawrance supposed the Privy Council of Ireland would perform its duties as well as the Privy Council of England. There was no such control over any foreign country. While the Privy Council were restricting people in our own country they were allowing the importation of cattle from infected countries under the provisions of the Act of 1878, which, according to the right hon. Gentleman's own admission, were insufficient to secure the object for which that Act was intended. Experience had shown that the Act had proved useless for the purpose of keeping out foot-and-mouth disease, and, therefore, if the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire should press his Motion to a division, it was his intention to vote for it.

DR. LYONS wished to say a few words on this question, because it was one which considerably affected the interests of Ireland. The present condition of cattle in Ireland had an important bearing on the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, inasmuch as England drew a considerable supply from the Sister Country. It was, however, unfortunately the case that England could not for some few years rely upon such a full and large supply of cattle from Ireland as in recent years. This was due to a most important reason—namely, that there had been a very general diminution in the general stock of the country, and that, he thought, was a very serious question for England at the present moment. The statement that the foot-and-mouth disease had been imported from Ireland, or that it might have been contracted on the passage to this country from abroad, was an entirely gratuitous assumption in face of the fact that the cattle in Ireland had, for the last three or four years, been completely free from the disease. It was, indeed, true that there was a very serious diminution in the number of cattle in Ireland, and that the diminution was likely to continue for some time; but it was due to an unfortunate and unwise restriction of credit on the part of the banks, owing to the panic which prevailed at the commencement of the bad harvests three or four years ago, and which led to the sacrifice of large numbers of the younger stock by the small farmers. The stock, however, in Ireland had never been in a more healthy condition than it was at present, although, as he had already stated, this country must not calculate, for the reason which he had given, on anything like the same supply for years to come of cattle as she had hitherto drawn from that part of Her Majesty's Dominions. He could not assent to the proposition of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire that the present outbreak had been mainly caused by the importation of animals from abroad; but he would not enter into a discussion in that House on the way in which disease could be disseminated. He wished, however, to point out, so far as Ireland was concerned, that that country suffered from the want of any proper system of training for veterinary surgeons. That want, he hoped, would be supplied, and an educational establishment set up, so that Irish veterinary surgeons might be educated at home, instead of having to be sent to London and Edinburgh to learn their profession.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he did not wish to trouble the House with more than a few remarks; but as he represented a constituency mainly engaged in cattle feeding, he did not desire to be altogether silent on the question before the House. The hon. Member who had just sat down had made an able speech, containing some statements which he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) did not for a moment dispute, particularly those relating to the supply of cattle in Ireland. There was a statement, however, in that speech which he took exception to. The hon. Member characterized the assumption of his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin), that the foot-and-mouth disease had been imported from abroad, as gratuitous. He did not know what precise meaning the speaker attached to the word gratuitous. He supposed it meant an assumption without a basis; but, in the Report of the Committee of 1875, he found that the foot-and-mouth disease was attributed to a foreign origin. Now, he supposed that before drawing up that Report the Committee had before them the evidence of those who were skilled in the knowledge of such diseases, and, therefore, it was hardly justifiable to call the assumption of his hon. Friend a gratuitous one. But he should not have intruded himself on the notice of the House merely to make a criticism on the hon. Member's speech. He really rose for the purpose of expressing the disappointment and the astonishment he felt at the course which the Vice President of the Council had taken in meeting the Motion of his hon. Friend with a direct negative. No one had a greater admiration and was more inclined to congratulate the Government on the success and the energy with which they had encountered this disease than he. He was certain, too, there was all over the country a sense of gratitude to the Government for the course they had taken, and the energy they had shown. When, therefore, he found the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) meeting this reasonable and modest Motion with a direct negative, he could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman was not consistent in the course adopted. Surely the right hon. Gentleman must also have somewhat misconstrued the Motion of his hon. Friend. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of it as advocating a course which would result in absolutely stopping the importation of live cattle into this country. He had spoken of the outlay by various municipal bodies in the erection of slaughtering places and apparatus connected with the traffic, and he had asked how they were to be compensated for that sacrifice. He (Sir Herbert Maxwell) ventured to think that the Motion of his hon. Friend would not have the effect anticipated. Even granting the fact assumed by the right hon. Gentleman, he felt sure that when those countries which sent us live animals found the market of this country closed against them, they would at once take the precaution pointed to by the Resolution of his hon. Friend. The Vice President had said that his hon. Friend had magnified the effects of the disease; but he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) fancied that the disease was only felt at its worst in certain districts of the country, one of which was the county which the hon. Member represented (Mid Lincolnshire). The disease was distinctly local in its effects. It fell upon the local rates; and although one county might enjoy an immunity from the disease and expense, the neighbouring county might fall under its attacks. The right hon. Gentleman said that a day or two ago he received a deputation of farmers, who said they would rather run the risks of the disease than have the trouble and annoyance of the restrictions put upon them by the Privy Council. He could understand some farmers taking that view—they probably came from a county that was never affected by the disease. Further, in some counties, in the one, for instance, that he represented, under the Act the local authority had the power of rating both the owners and occupiers alike for the compensation of those whose cattle were slaughtered; while, in other counties, the rate was confined entirely to the owners. Therefore the farmers who lost cattle by disease were compensated by the owners in those counties—a fact which, he thought, was sometimes lost sight of. If the farmers that went as a deputation to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) came from counties where that arrangement prevailed, he could quite understand them being willing to run the risks of the disease. The right hon. Gentleman said truly that foot-and-mouth disease was not so deadly as pleuro-pneumonia and other diseases; but he was not sure whether he admitted the additional risk of contagion. The main difficulty in excluding this disease was the extraordinary risk of contagion; but he did not think the worst result of that disease had been touched upon that night—its effect on dairy stock. No statistics could show, in his opinion, the amount of damage done to various stock, and the direct and invariable results of foot-and-mouth disease. Nothing throughout the whole course of this debate had struck him as more extraordinary than the wonderful tenderness shown by the Government for the producer, who lived thousands of miles away, and the want of thought for those who lived at our doors. He was at a loss to account for this. He thought, however, a little more consideration might be extended by the Government to those who were at home, and who were able to show their gratitude in a manner which those who lived on the other side of the Atlantic were not in a position to do.

MR. EVANS did not hesitate to say that more damage was done in the county which he represented by foot-and-mouth disease than by the more terrible and frightful diseases—the cattle plague and pleuro-pneumonia. He was not prepared, however, to go so far as the Resolution. He thought, on the whole, what had been done was very successful, and he believed the precautions would be successful in the future. The Government was alive to the danger which existed, and it was inclined to take stringent precautions. The farming interest had shown a wonderful disposition to submit to these stringent precautions. If, in the long run, it should be proved that the foot-and-mouth disease came over and over again into this country, and that it was impossible to keep it out by the present precautions, he did not say that it might not be necessary, and even advisable, to go further; but at present he considered it would be premature to act upon the principles enunciated in the Resolution of the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). At the same time, he must bear his tribute to the ability and moderation with which the hon. Member had brought forward his Motion. In conclusion, he would say that he would have been better pleased had the Motion of the hon. Member been met by the Previous Question.

MR. RODWELL said, he could not reconcile it with his duty to his constituents to give a silent vote on that occasion. He could hardly picture to himself the astonishment with which some of them to-morrow would read the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, when he told the House that he had received deputations of farmers who pooh-poohed the foot-and-mouth disease, and that there were parties in the country who treated this disease as a non-serious malady. He could only say he had taken the opportunity of seeking information, and he had statements from quarters on which he could rely, and he could state that an amount of terror and dismay was spread all over the Eastern Counties of England by this disease, which was quite inconsistent with the idea that this was a trifling disease. He had received a Return which showed that in Suffolk no less than 2,171 animals were now suffering from foot-and-mouth disease. The evils of the disease were specially felt in the lambing season. It was not denied by the Vice

President of the Council that the disease came from Deptford, and yet nothing had been done to render impossible its introduction from abroad. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for South Derbyshire (Mr. Evans) that the disease was so mischievous and troublesome that it was quite as serious a matter as cattle plague or pleuro-pneumonia. The Committee of 1877 had stated that the disease was of foreign origin, and he thought their statement conclusive. The only question was how to get rid of the evil. The farmers had never come before the country with so good a case as the present. They had done everything required by the Privy Council, and had been exposed to much trouble and loss. They had cheerfully and loyally submitted to the restrictions that had been imposed upon them. Surely, it was not too much to ask in their behalf that means should be taken to prevent that which, in their opinion, admitted of prevention. If it was wise to place restrictions on the movement of cattle from village to village and county to county, *à fortiori* a stop ought to be put on the importation of diseased animals from abroad. Why should the producer 500 miles away be placed in a better position than the producer five miles off? The evidence given before the Committee of 1877 proved that the disease was not indigenous, and that it had not become acclimatized. They were now dealing with precisely the same matter as that with which they dealt in 1865. All the steps that had been taken since that time had failed one after another. The course proposed by his hon. Friend was, therefore, quite logical. He said—"The remedies hitherto applied have failed, and consequently I am entitled to ask for a new and stronger one." The Vice President of the Council affirmed that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was proposing to repeal the valuable part of the Act of 1878. As a matter of fact, the hon. Member's proposal contemplated, instead, an extension of that Act. It was not intended that cattle should be indiscriminately excluded from England, but only such cattle as came from infected areas abroad. With the fact staring him in the face that the disease had been imported from abroad at Deptford, could the right hon. Gentleman deny that compulsory slaughter did not afford security against its introduction? The right hon. Gentleman talked of its affording reasonable security; but security in this case should not be a question of degree; absolute security should be given if they could possibly have it. The agriculturists of this country would feel greatly disappointed when they found that the Government, which had lately professed to have the farmers' interests so much at heart, refused them simple justice in this important matter. He held in his hand a book, which was read in 1879 by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson), who brought on a Motion with reference to the Agricultural Holdings Act; and he found from it that that hon. Gentleman, acting as a kind of volunteer Commissioner, put to the farmers this, among other questions—"What can Parliament do to remedy agricultural distress where it exists, and to increase the production at home?" Various replies were given. One of them was—"Get rid of Lord Beaconsfield's Government." But the answer, in a very great majority of instances, was this—"Defence from foreign disease; security against disease; keep out cattle disease." That was what his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin) now asked the House to give the farmers. He thought his hon. Friend had made out a very strong case, which had not yet been even attempted to be answered —in fact, it had been admitted. If the English cattle-breeder had the protection from disease which he required the effect would be beneficial both to him and to the consumer, and the price of meat would probably be reduced. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) had answered one of his own objections to the Motion, because he had spoken of the period when Australian meat would be in such great abundance that it would be brought home to every man's door at 2*d.* per lb. Again, with the power of scientific invention existing in these days, he believed that if it were known on the other side of the Atlantic that live animals could not come into this country because of their infection, means would be found to increase the supply of dead meat sent from America, and our people would not pay a farthing more for their food than they did now. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, need have no apprehension that, if this Motion were adopted, there would be any difference in the amount of animal food introduced into this country from abroad. The question, then, might be stated in this way—would they not, by protecting home cattle, be doing more to cheapen food and supply the wants of the people than they could do by allowing their flocks and herds to be invaded by disease through the introduction of foreign animals? In his opinion, the balance of advantage was decidedly in favour of excluding cattle coming from infected countries; and he should, therefore, cordially support the Motion of his hon. Friend.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD admitted that the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) had made a very plausible speech in support of the Motion. He also thought that a word might be said in extenuation of the introduction of that Motion, because the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire must have been, to some extent, encouraged and emboldened by the course which the Government felt it their duty to take last year in regard to a Motion which he himself then brought forward. He did not wish to minimize the importance of foot-and-mouth disease. Although foot-and-mouth disease, as hon. Members were aware, was not a deadly malady, yet it undoubtedly diminished the value of cattle. One of the strongest allegations of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was that the disease spread from cattle in Deptford Market. Particular attention was paid by Professor Brown to the possibility of foot-and-mouth disease coming from that market. He had endeavoured to infect animals in his charge by communication from Deptford Market, and had not succeeded in carrying the contagion. Hon. Members who were on the Committee would remember that Professor Brown mentioned in his evidence that foot-and-mouth disease was introduced at a time when this importation of foreign animals was prohibited. Professor Brown said foot-and-mouth disease had been in this country 30 or 40 years at least, that the probability was that the disease had no connection with foreign importation, and that he regarded it as a disease which had become naturalized in this country. Mr. Clare Read, in his evidence before the Committee, said that the virus had no great force, and that it quickly died out. The question was whether it was expedient, that foreign cattle should enter alive at Deptford and other markets and be there slaughtered. It was most expedient, in the interest of the vast majority of the population of this country, that the entry of cattle should be so allowed. The hon. and learned Gentleman who preceded him had spoken as if it were a matter of indifference whether the supply of the food of the people entered this country as dead or as live meat. It was of vital importance to the health of the people that as large a portion as possible of their food supply should enter this country in a live condition. Of the dead meat imported into this country perhaps the greater part had been for a long time in a frozen condition. At the moment of freezing, the vessels which contained the juices of the meat burst, according to a well-known law of science. When the thaw of that meat took place the juices passed into the muscle and fibre of the animal, and that meat became deteriorated by that fact, and on cooking that meat those juices either passed away altogether and left the residue comparatively useless for human nutriment, or if the meat were long kept in a shop it became discoloured, and the butchers had great difficulty in selling it. He was very familiar with the operations of Deptford Market. He could not say that those operations were perfect. He thought that much might be done in that market to avoid the possibility of contagion arising from it. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had adduced a number of statistics as to the dead meat trade, and had shown that the mean price of meat was less in 1879 than in the preceding year; but the reason for that was painfully obvious, and was not connected with the Act passed in 1878. The hon. Member was possibly not aware of the extent to which wages had been withheld in manufacturing towns, or of the great sufferings that the people of those towns had endured while the depression of trade lasted. And when the hon. Member had spoken of the hardship inflicted on the farmer by the forced sale of his stock, he might with more than equal justice have dwelt on the similar but greater misfortunes of the importers. The depression of agriculture was severe, no doubt, and attracted more and more attention every day; but if the hon. Member, instead of coming forward with these hankerings after Protection—["No, no!"]—if, instead of coming forward with measures which had not due regard to the interest of the people, he would either introduce, or support those who were willing to introduce, measures with respect to the land which would give agriculture that expansion which it needed, he would do some good. He opposed the Resolution on the ground that its Mover had not proved his facts, and because his arguments were founded upon a careless—he would not say thoughtless—disregard for the interests of the great mass of the population of this country.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT observed, that the House had learnt a good deal from the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), who, since last year, had acquired some new facts. Last year, for instance, he had said that Texan fever was not contagious.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD explained that he had quoted that from a Blue Book.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT thought that the statements of Blue Books ought not to be quoted in the House as actual facts, unless the hon. Gentleman so quoting them was quoting them as facts. However, the hon. Member knew now that Texan fever was contagious. He had also learnt another fact from the Vice President of the Council—namely, that foot-and-mouth disease might be conveyed from place to place by human agency. When the hon. Member acknowledged that 15 cargoes of cattle had been slaughtered at Deptford, and that the last outbreak of the disease probably originated there, he had practically admitted the cases he had set himself to disprove. The Government deserved all credit for their endeavours to carry out the Act of 1878; but they ought to remember the cost of enforcing that Act. It amounted to this—that by restricting the markets of the farmers, their live stock, on being sold, fetched something like 15 to 16 per cent less than the proper price. He himself had been obliged to sell cattle which should have brought £24 at £20, and he lost 6*s*. or 8*s*. a-head on his sheep, which he had been obliged to sell at home. The Government knew that the agriculturists had borne the depression well, and they ought now to recompense them by making the introduction of the disease impossible. He was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman had ordered special precautions to be taken at the Deptford Market; but there was another market, that at Islington, which had much to answer for on account of the laxity of the way in which cattle and calves sold there were, in ordinary times, allowed to be sent all over the country. As for the dead meat trade, the right hon. Gentleman had destroyed his own arguments by admitting the extreme cheapness of meat in Australia, and by his own statement that arrangements for its exportation were being perfected. It was surprising that the right hon. Gentleman should have immediately afterwards contended that it would be against the interests of the English people to restrict further the importation of cattle from a neighbouring country that was known to be infected. As he had said before, the Government were carrying out the Act very well; but what was now wanted was a pledge, such as the right hon. Gentleman showed no intention of giving, that further steps should be taken to prevent the occurrence of the disease in future. What was being done would not stop the disease. It had been detrimental to the agricultural interests, in spite of their being subject to restrictions such as they had not known before. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) in the statement that since 1863 the House had been adopting, step by step, tentative measures to prevent the importation of disease. The junior right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had always opposed anything which might benefit, or even protect from disease, the agricultural interest; and he would defy that right hon. Gentleman to show that the agricultural interest could be properly protected otherwise than by more stringent measures against importation. All the steps that had been taken hitherto, it was admitted, had not advanced the price of meat. It was said it had to be shown that for the consumer absolute protection was the best thing we could have. Well, suppose there were a great war, and suppose we could not obtain our usual supplies from abroad, what would be the position of this country? [*A laugh.*] He noticed an hon. Professor laughing at that remark; no doubt he thought the supply would come whether we were at war or not. But a wise and prudent Government would look ahead, would consider what was to be done in such a contingency, and would determine that with such a population there should be no necessity to go away from home for the supply we required. This could be done only by protecting our own herds and flocks. There was no more insidious disease, and none more damaging to the stock of the farmer, than the foot-and-mouth disease. The only way to keep it down was to adopt more strenuous measures affecting importation. It was admitted that the disease affected more or less many of the cargoes that made up that import—he did not say so, but some even said three-fourths of our foreign supply—and that showed the grave responsibility that rested upon the Government if they did not adopt every means in their power to stop the importation of disease.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down had challenged him to justify the conduct he had pursued in a previous Parliament, when, as the hon. and gallant Baronet said, he was opposed to everything which could protect or, as he subsequently said, could benefit the agricultural interests. Certainly, he had some dislike to the term Protection, whether applied to agricultural or to industrial interests; but he absolutely denied that he had ever been opposed to anything which could be proved to be likely to benefit the agricultural interests of the country. He believed nothing could be done to secure the permanent advantage of these interests —which, after all, was the greatest industrial interest we had—that would not also re-act to the advantage of the other industrial interests. He did not, however, believe in any proposal in any manner intended to benefit the agricultural or other interests at the expense of some other party. Those who had followed this debate, and recollected the debate that took place two years ago, when the Act that had been under discussion was passed, would know there were always present two interests, interests which were not necessarily inconsistent, but both of which had to be considered by the Government of the country. First, there were the interests of the consumers generally, and especially those of the inhabitants of large towns, who were concerned in the cheap and plentiful supply of food. There were, next, the interests of farmers, who desired, not unnaturally, to be as far as possible preserved from anything in the shape of the foreign importation of disease. Those interests, he repeated, were not necessarily inconsistent; for if they could, without unnecessary interference with trade, protect the farmer they would stimulate the production of food; and that, no doubt, would result in a cheapening of the supply. These objects could be reconciled by endeavouring to follow out the recommendations of the Committee of 1869, whose aim was to secure the maximum of protection against disease with the minimum of interference with trade. To this he might add, as another condition, that any form of protection from foreign disease must be accompanied by the willing submission of our farmers to stringent domestic legislation. The question was, whether, two years after the passing of the Act by which these things were secured, it was necessary to increase the protection against foreign disease, or the stringent character of the domestic legislation? He did not deny for a moment the serious character of the disease which had been under discussion; and any further protection which could be devised that did not constitute an improper interference with enterprize might fairly claim the fullest consideration from the House. But he confessed he looked with some suspicion upon propositions having that avowed object when they came from hon. Gentlemen who, like the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, assured them that they had not the slightest concern in favour of Protection generally, and that all they desired was protection from disease, but who afterwards went on to anticipate that, in the course of debate, the "old three-legged cripple, Free Trade," would once more be trotted out. Another ground of hesitation with regard to such propositions was that they came from the Members of a Party who were continually increasing their demands. There was no satisfying them. The hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) had said that he grounded his case, in a great measure, upon the existence of agricultural distress. Whenever there was agricultural distress in this country, there always came from that Party propositions which, if they were not Protection, were something so very much like it that it was very difficult to distinguish the difference. It was only two years ago that an Act on this subject was passed, with, apparently, the almost unanimous approval of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but to-night, after hearing the debate, he was really doubtful whether that Act was, as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had said, one of the wisest, best, and most statesmanlike legislative performances he had ever known in his time; or whether it was an Act so futile and so incomplete that it required to be repealed as regarded its most important provisions. They had heard a good deal as to the failure of the predictions made by Liberal Members when that Act was under consideration; and he must say that, looking back upon that time, those who predicted, whether on the one side or the other, had had the usual fate of prophets. He hoped they would take the lesson, and, perhaps, indulge less in vaticination for the future. On his own side, undoubtedly, it was said at that time that, as one result of more stringent regulations, the price of meat would advance; and it was also thought that the farmers would not submit to the stringent restrictions which alone would justify the provisions as to foreign importation. He was bound to admit that the price of meat could not be demonstrated to have risen in consequence of the restrictions of the Act of 1878—thanks to the unexpectedly large and continued importation of live meat from the United States—and that the farmers had shown an intelligence which some had hardly expected them to exhibit; and that they had, apparently, willingly consented to very severe restrictions in the belief that by such means alone they could stop the prevalence of the foot-and-mouth disease. If their anticipations had not been entirely fulfilled, those of their opponents had been equally unconfirmed. Those gentlemen assured the House that if it only passed those regulations, they could promise an absolute immunity from disease. And now, within the short space of two years, they said, in the language of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, that the Act of 1878, requiring compulsory slaughter at the ports, was no security whatever against disease. He was not prepared to deny that the time might come when both sides might re-consider the position. But if there must be re-consideration it ought to be mutual, and not be confined to hon. Gentlemen opposite. Having re-considered the matter, he was inclined to say that their experience up to the present time did not justify any considerable change. The case of the hon. Member rested upon four assumptions; but before they made so tremendous a change in the law, and risked such considerable consequences to the population, he ought to produce a case based upon something like certainty. The hon. Member alleged, in the first place, that the Act of 1878 had the effect of immediately reducing and, very shortly after, of extinguishing foot-and-mouth disease; in the second place, that the disease was re-introduced from abroad by the importation of diseased cattle from France; thirdly, that absolute immunity from risk of that kind was necessary to the British farmer if he was to proceed with any energy in his undertakings; and, fourthly, that this absolute immunity could only be secured, and would certainly be secured, by the prohibition of the importation of live animals. Not one of those allegations was in the nature of an axiom to be accepted without much more evidence. It was not absolutely certain that the Act of 1878 was the sole cause why the foot-and-mouth disease diminished, and for a period of nine months was almost extinguished. On previous occasions the disease almost disappeared for a time. In 1876 there was hardly any foot-and-mouth disease in the country. They had that on the evidence of Professor Brown before the Committee. And yet at that time there were no restrictions of anything like the severity of those imposed by the Act of 1878. Foot-and-mouth disease was like many diseases to which human beings were subject, and was capricious, and subject to periodic variations in intensity. There might be times when cattle were more susceptible of it. As to the disease being propagated by immediate contagion, as maintained by the hon. and gallant Member (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), gentlemen of great authority declared before the Committee that they had done all in their power to induce contagion by taking the virus from the foot and saliva from the mouth of a diseased animal, and they had failed. He did not deny that there was evidence which pointed in a contrary direction; but it was too much to be asked to undertake such extravagant legislation upon a basis of theory and not of fact. As to the British farmer not being able to carry on his business unless he was protected in the way proposed, if that were so, then the British farmer stood upon a different footing from other persons. There was no manufacturer or shopkeeper who did not carry on his business with certain risks. Lastly, he was not able to admit as a positive fact that the absolute stoppage of the importation of cattle would prevent the reintroduction of the disease. Professors Brown and Simonds gave evidence before the Committee that they did not believe in putting an end to the disease by the prevention of foreign importations, but relied on the most stringent home regulations. Some witnesses before the Committee of 1878 declared that this as well as other diseases could be imported in hides, wool, and even dead meat. He had very little confidence that if the House were to assent now to the imposition of the more stringent regulations desired, in two years hence, if agricultural distress were to continue, some of the hon. Gentlemen would not come forward and promise absolute immunity from disease if they would only protect the British farmer by prohibiting the importation of hides, wool, and dead meat. The argument of hon. Members he understood to be that, inasmuch as the Act of 1878 had not increased the price of meat, they might still further limit importation. Why had not the Act operated in that way? Simply because the importation of live animals was not stopped. They were told in 1878 that they might rely on the importation of dead meat to prevent a rise in the price of meat. If they had done so they would certainly have been disappointed. In three years the importation of dead meat had only increased to the extent of £500,000, while that of live animals had increased nearly £3,000,000, or six times as much as the other. In the case of the Continent there was no dead meat trade to take the place of the live supply; and, as the importation from the Continent had considerably diminished, there would have been a great difference in the price of meat if it were not for the supply of animals from the United States. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had pointed out that there was a prejudice against foreign dead meat, because the English consumer preferred fresh-killed beef. It might be said that the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) would apply only to infected countries. But at present, and it would probably be the case for some time to come, most foreign countries were infected. His right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council had pointed out that the proposal would not be beneficial, even in the narrowest point of view, to the British farmer. They would have to provide £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 out of the Exchequer to compensate the local authorities for the provision they had made under the former Act, and then there would remain one of two alternatives—absolute prohibition when any country was infected, and absolute free trade the moment that country appeared to be healthy. But, as his right hon. Friend had pointed out, there might be *primâ facie* evidence of a country being healthy, while there might really be some disease in it, which might be imported under the proposal of the hon. Gentleman. The Act of 1878 was a compromise. It was said that it had met with strenuous opposition from hon. Members representing town constituencies, and no doubt that was so; but those hon. Members did not sit on one side of the House only. That opposition was not due to any prejudice against the farmers, but from a desire to protect the food of the people against unnecessary restrictions and interference. Hon. Members opposite sought to obtain in the Bill powers of compulsory slaughter, and they obtained those powers, with certain modifications. What had happened since? So many foreign countries had proved to be diseased that hon. Members opposite obtained practically all that they had been demanded. They must all, he thought, admit that the legislation of 1878 had been fairly successful. It had been borne by the country, first, because the live meat trade had continued to increase, and, next, because the farmers showed themselves willing to meet the restrictions on foreign importation by very stringent domestic restrictions. The country had, in fact, obtained a reasonable guarantee of security against disease; and he hoped in time, with proper precautions, the disease would be further restricted and practically extinguished. It was too much to hope that that would be the case after two years' experience of the Act, and he considered that they were no true friends of the British farmer who would provoke an agitation which might end in the present restrictions being entirely swept away. It would be much wiser for the House to watch for a further period the working of that Act, and not to pronounce it a failure, when, with more experience, it might prove to be a success.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE trusted he might be permitted to occupy the attention of the House for a very short time, as he happened to represent, not only an agricultural constituency, but a constituency sufficiently numerous in large towns to give him a significant hint if he did anything to shorten their food supplies. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had touched on the subject of Protection; but he begged to inform the right hon. Gentleman that he supported the Motion so far only as it related to protection from disease. The debate had been fruitful in charming surprises. It had caused to be exhibited in the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council a strong symptom of the Toryism which lately sat on that Bench; and he (Sir William Hart Dyke) began to wonder whether there might not be some contagion left there. Then, again, it presented the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. J. Howard), the presiding member of a powerful organization for supporting the interests of the British farmer—a leading feature in whose programme was the protection of the capital of the farmer—as an opponent of the Motion. And yet the very thing that deprived the farmer of security for his capital was the apprehension of cattle disease. The hon Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), too, had evinced a sudden knowledge of agricultural matters; but he mentioned the county of Lincoln as a veritable Garden of Eden. The hon. Member had dived into a Blue Book, and found that the state of agriculture was truly lamentable, for it was stated that at the Midland Hotel, Derby, 300 lb. of French butter was sold each week. The hon. Member described that as a disgraceful fact, and he thought he might claim the vote of the hon. Member. But why was not English butter sold there instead? Because the English farmer had been for so many years in terror of this disease that he dared not purchase and keep the necessary stock. Hon. Members opposite talked of the importance of the agricultural interest; but they did not seem to realize its importance. They talked of facilities for selling land, and other matters. He had a considerable quantity of land of which he might have got rid with great facility; and if hon. Members would carry out their argument practically and buy that land he would be very glad. He desired to show the dangerous position of agriculture at the present moment. Corn growing was at a discount, and there were hundreds of farms in this country the tenants of which were brought to the verge of bankruptcy because they dared not invest in cattle, owing to the terror which was inspired by this disease. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had referred to the Bill of 1878, and acknowledged that it had done good; and he seemed to look with great fear lest anything should happen to it. Well, very soon the right hon. Gentleman would be discussing a great Land Bill, which would set aside the Land Act of 1870; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not forfeit his present position from any fear of the alteration or destruction of that Act. He did not see why the right hon. Gentleman should be terrified at the idea that the Act of 1878 might, perhaps, be amended. To his (Sir William Hart Dyke's) mind, they ought, as practical men, to deal with these difficulties as they arose. He could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that the farmers of this country ought to be content with the present condition of affairs, because post legislation had relieved them, to a great extent, from the diseases which in past times ravaged their flocks and herds; because it could not be forgotten that, as a class, they had by no means got over the difficulties that were thrust upon them by the want of legislation in their interest which existed in former days. With regard to the food supply of the country, the Vice President of the Council had tried to terrify them by saying that if these restrictions were imposed the food supply of the country would be injured. But the next instant the right hon. Gentleman had read a letter which knocked that argument most completely on the head by threatening us with such facilities regarding food supply from Australia as would certainly destroy the landed interest of this country. He should not have the least difficulty in supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire. He wished, in conclusion, to express the satisfaction with which he had observed the tone of the debate — a tone entirely different from the town and country cry which was raised in 1866, when the House discussed a similar question under the influence of the cattle plague scare.

MR. DUCKHAM entered his protest against the argument that this was an attempt to return to Protection under another guise. There could be no doubt that great injury had been inflicted upon the agricultural classes in this country by the existence of the foot-and-mouth disease, which, in his opinion, was a national disaster, and was far more worthy of consideration than either rinderpest or pleuro-pneumonia. He begged to remind the House that the Farmers' Club and the Central Chamber of Agriculture, which had their head-quarters in London, had passed resolutions expressing their opinions in favour of the Privy Council taking steps to prevent the importation of live cattle from all countries in which contagious disease was known to exist. He was pleased to hear that the Privy Council was about to enforce stricter rules in respect to the landing of foreign cattle. The men who attended to and foddered the cattle at Deptford performed the same duties at the Caledonian Road Market, so that it was a wonder that the spread of the disease had not been more general. It was, however, a satisfaction for hon. Members to learn that regulations had been adopted at the Deptford Market, such as disinfecting the buildings, which he hoped would have the effect, whether the present Motion was carried or not, of stamping out the disease, for the farmers had a right to protection.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he did not believe his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) desired the repeal of a tittle of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1878; but simply wished, by means of a Resolution of the House, to induce Her Majesty's Government to bring in a Bill to provide—what? That it should be within the discretion of the Privy Council to prohibit the importation of cattle from any country in which disease was known to exist, and where there were no internal regulations adequate to the stamping out of disease. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council seemed to assume that his hon. Friend wished to repeal the Act of 1878. He (Mr. Newdegate) would certainly not vote with him if he thought his hon. Friend had any such intention; but he meant to vote with him for this reason—that, having watched this legislation from step to step, and remembering that when the Party opposite were in Office in 1865-6 they kept the country a whole year without legislative protection against the rinderpest, and were at length obliged to pass the first Contagious Diseases Act under the pressure of public opinion. Remembering that, he thought his hon. Friend did good service by moving in that House, when the occasion required it, and he held that the recurrence of disease furnished the occasion. He (Mr. Newdegate), therefore, concurred in pressing hon. Gentlemen opposite to take one step further in the direction they had been long pursuing, so that where disease was known to exist abroad, perhaps only across the Channel, and where the Government of that foreign country had not adopted efficient means for the repression of disease, in that case the Privy Council should have power to declare that the importation of cattle from that country should cease for a time. That proposal appeared to him to be perfectly consistent with the whole course of legislation on the subject. He had never regarded that course of legislation as being based on mere commercial considerations. On the contrary, he had voted on all the existing measures for the exclusion or repression of cattle disease as measures of quarantine; and, in that sense, he believed that the proposal of his hon. Friend was the only one which would have the double effect of positively excluding disease, and thus giving the farmers of this country something like an adequate security against the importation of disease, and, at the same time, of giving foreign Governments to understand that if they desired the free importation of their agricultural produce into this country, they must adopt measures within their own country which were adequate to the suppression of disease. It was from that point of view that he had looked at all the measures kindred to the present proposal that had been passed. It was lamentable that hon. Gentlemen opposite should be so jealous lest there should be some infraction of their favourite commercial theory, the system of free importations, that they were willing to imperil the safety of our flocks and herds by allowing the free importation of disease. Hon. Gentlemen might depend upon it that they had not carried public opinion with them in taking that course. Instead of securing the commercial policy, to which they were attached, they would endanger it, because it was contrary to all sound reason and common sense that the principles which were applied to their commercial policy should be introduced into matters of quarantine. The fact was, that adequate reasons for the proposals of his hon. Friend had been furnished by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Council; for what did the right hon. Gentleman say? Why, that hundreds and thousands of animals coming from the United States were thrown overboard. [Mr. MUNDELLA: I said from 6,000 to 7,000 last year.] Well, 6,000 or 7,000 last year; and why were those animals thrown overboard? Because they were diseased. And if they went on throwing overboard 6,000 or 7,000 a-year they might clear their cargoes of disease. Considering this argument, he held that they were not in so much danger of the importation of disease from the United States as from the Continent of Europe, and that there were stronger reasons for the adoption of his hon. Friend's proposal with respect to the trade with the United States. With the present facilities of telegraph and steam communication, information might be conveyed to France, to Holland, to Belgium, or to Germany, so that, slaughtering within their own territories, the owners of cattle and sheep in those Continental States could accommodate the supply to the demands of the market here in England. Why, then, should not the House adopt the Resolution of his hon. Friend by enabling the Privy Council, in the exercise of their discretion, to declare that cattle should no longer be imported from France, or from the other States of the Continent respectively, until means for the suppression of disease had been taken in that country. The French stockholder might be informed by telegram of every turn in the market, and have his cattle slaughtered within the confines of France in time to catch every turn of the market in this country. It was from the Continent that the greatest danger of disease was to be apprehended; and considering that all these measures were, properly speaking, not measures of commercial policy, but simply measures of quarantine, and believing that the supply of food to the consumers of this country, in abundance and cheapness, could never be so well secured as by preserving the health of our flocks and herds in England, which, at all events, afford 70 or 80 per cent of the total supply, he (Mr. Newdegate) could have no hesitation in giving his vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, with the clear understanding that his hon. Friend did not intend to touch any provisions of the Act of 1878, but to add to the provisions of that Act power in the hands of the Privy Council to exclude for a time the cattle of any country in which disease prevailed, and which had not internal regulations of its own for securing the health of the supply.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT said, it seemed to him unfortunate that the Party opposite were almost always engaged in discussing questions which tended to imperil the supply of the food of the people. Having succeeded in getting the cattle slaughtered at the port of entry, the next step was to prevent the introduction of cattle at all, and then would follow the prohibition of the introduction of dead meat on the ground that disease could be brought by dead meat also. ["Oh, oh!"] Evidence to this effect had been given in a Committee of the House. If that was the case, the effect of the hon. Gentleman's proposal would be to cut off two months' supply of the animal food of this country. Who would suffer by that? None but the poor families, who got too little animal food already. The adoption of the Motion would have the effect of increasing the price of meat, so that the poorer classes, both in counties and towns, would have to eat less animal food. Before the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) attacked the food of the poorest portion of the inhabitants in the counties of England, he ought to wait until the county franchise allowed their own representatives to decide this question. He regarded the proposal of the hon. Member as the most rash and the most foolish that had ever been made in the House on such a subject. He did not think the hon. Member really thought he would be able to carry the Resolution when he proposed it; and he would venture to say that he did not believe any English Government would ever dare to adopt a policy which would suddenly cut off one-sixth or one-eighth of the food supply of the country. The hon. Member's proposition might be advantageous to the Party opposite with regard to the opinions of farmers; but it would certainly be disadvantageous to them in regard to the feeling of the boroughs of the country.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said the whole of the last speech was based on the assumption that the Motion, if adopted, would have the effect of increasing the price of meat. This the supporters of the Motion entirely denied. The ground they took was, that in the interest of the producer, as well as in the interest of the consumer, this Motion was deserving of consideration, and ought to be passed. He never listened to a debate in which so many arguments in support of the proposition had been adduced by those who had risen to contend against it. The Vice President of the Council himself, after dividing the Motion into two parts, admitted the truth of one part, and then set himself to prove the truth of the other. The right hon. Gentleman allowed that the disease was spread in consequence of the importation of French stock at Deptford; and when he came to treat of the difficulty which would arise if foreign live stock were excluded, he showed how easy it would be to meet the difficulty by the enormous importations of dead meat, which were ready to enter our ports from foreign countries. The President of the Board of Trade had remarked that he saw no reason why a farmer should expect an exemption which was not enjoyed by the ordinary shopkeeper; but the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that there was no disease of which the shopkeeper had to dread the importation, and which, if it broke out, would destroy his muslins and silks, or whatever his commodities were. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had lost sight of the fact that science was constantly progressing. A few years ago there were doubts whether this disease was not, so to speak, indigenous in England; but it was now established that a spontaneous generation of disease was among the impossibilities of nature. The disease must be spread from some active source, and if they got rid of it, it could not come again unless it was imported. If one thing was more clearly accepted than another, it was that the disease was easily conveyed. A question had been raised as to what became of diseased meat. They wished to prevent diseased beasts entering the country at all, and to supply only sound and healthy meat. We could have no safeguard against the introduction of disease unless we prohibited the entry of any live animal from a tainted source. The supply of dead meat would increase to make up for any difference resulting from further restrictions. They affected only a fraction of the supply, for no one suggested that any restriction should be placed on the freest importation from healthy countries. The trade would soon suit itself to the new circumstances by establishing slaughter-houses on the foreign side of the water. He believed this debate would do good if it had no other effect than to secure the recognition of the truth, which had been so constantly denied, of the great injury done to the agriculturists of this country by the foot-and-mouth disease. In the agricultural constituency which he represented the estimated loss from that cause alone in one year exceeded £200,000. He appealed to the sense of justice of the House to support the Resolution of his hon. Friend, which, he believed, would have the effect, not merely of freeing the farmers from the risk of disease, but of increasing, and by no means diminishing, the supply of food to the people of this country.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, that at that time of night—12 o'clock—he would not have troubled the House with any observations if it had not been for a remark which had been made by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob

Bright). The hon. Member said that anybody who supported the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) must wish to restrict the supply of meat to the working classes, and also to enhance its price. Now, if he thought that, it would be the very last vote he should think of giving.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: What I said was that it would have that effect; not that anybody wished it to have that effect.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE would certainly not vote for the Motion if he thought it would have that effect. Representing as he did a very large constituency, and not a purely agricultural one, but a very large constituency of working men, he should feel ashamed if he thought he was doing anything that could advance the price of meat to the working classes. But he believed that the carrying out of the principle of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire would have just the contrary effect. He wished to impress upon the House, and upon the country at large, that one reason why the price of meat was so high was that the tenant farmer, and all those who had to do with the agriculture of the country, were really afraid of breeding cattle on account of the diseases they were likely to contract. It was admitted that the price of meat was very high. And why was that? It was because the farmers had to buy in their cattle at high prices, because so few were bred; and, therefore, the price of live stock was kept up. If they could breed with more impunity and freedom from disease, he believed that the price of meat would very much decrease, and that the farmers would not suffer in consequence, and the consumers would obtain their meat at a lower price. He had listened attentively to the speech of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire; and he regretted very much, when the Vice President of the Council began his speech, that he should have said, on behalf of the Government, that he intended to meet the Motion with a direct negative. Although he gave the noble Lord the President of the Council, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President, and all those who worked under them full credit for having carried out the Act of 1878, and he endorsed every word which had been said in praise of the Act, yet he thought that the right hon. Gentleman went on to show that the Act itself was not perfect in every respect. At all events, if the Privy Council had the power, they had not exerted it in trying to stop the foot-and-mouth disease coming into this country. Upon the right hon. Gentleman's own showing, 15 cargoes of infected cattle had come in without any remonstrance being made with the country—France—from which they came. [MR. MUNDELLA: Those 15 cargoes came from all countries.] At all events, the first cargo came from France; and if the Privy Council had made remonstrances at the time, through the Foreign Office, to that country, he should have had more confidence in the Privy Council, and the disease which broke out in consequence of the importation from France would not, in all probability, have occurred. Instead of meeting the Resolution with a direct negative, he thought it would have been better for the right hon. Gentleman to have moved the Previous Question; and his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire might then have been satisfied with the assurance that the Privy Council would do all in its power to keep out the disease. He believed that foreign countries were willing to assist us in keeping out the disease; but when we were shipping cargoes from France animals might be infected without the disease having time to develop itself. In the conveyance of cattle between America and this country, the case was different, and the disease had ample time to develop itself; but when cattle were shipped from France they came over to this country so quickly that disease might break out the day or several days after they were landed without anyone having had the slightest knowledge of the diseased condition in which they were shipped. He was glad to hear that there were still more restrictions to be put before sending cattle into Deptford Market. That, however, would only apply to one market, and what they required was that the regulations should be applied to all ports where cattle were landed, and that the restrictions should be carried out to the letter in every market. A good deal had been said, especially by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), as to the impossibility of further extending the dead meat trade, and it had even been contended that the people would not eat meat so imported. But he had recently read the Report written by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), in which it was stated how very much this country was behind hand in the means it adopted, not only for the killing, but for the storing of meat. He had not yet heard that any people in America had been poisoned by beef and mutton so kept, and he did not see why the same state of things should not prevail here. In spite of what the hon. Member for Salford said, the dead meat trade would develop very considerably, and very quickly. What induced a foreign country to lend itself to the propagation of cattle diseases was the knowledge it possessed, that it could not send dead meat here, and that nothing had been done by the Legislature of this country to free the markets from the contamination of infectious diseases. When France and other countries found that they could not send their infected animals here, they would take effectual measures to keep diseases out of their own country. He was sorry to have troubled the House with these observations, and he felt he could only support the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire to a certain degree. He could not go with him to the extent of crippling Free Trade in any way; but he did not believe that it was desirable, even in the interest of Free Trade itself, that disease should be imported into this country.

MR. PELL said, he was afraid that an hon. Member, who had spoken on that side of the House, had spoken a little too soon when he congratulated the House on the tone in which the debate had been conducted. If he had waited until the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) had addressed the House, he would not have expressed that opinion. He (Mr. Pell) regretted that after so long an acquaintance with the sentiments of hon. Members on that side of the House, the hon. Member for Manchester should not yet have learned that it was not one of their principal objects to enhance the value of their produce at the cost of the consumer in order to put money into their own pockets. None of them desired to do that, and in the few words he should address to the House he should direct the attention of the House to the evil consequences that were likely to arise, if the condition of things which now prevailed in regard to the foreign cattle trade was allowed to continue. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said they were always increasing their demands. He admitted at once that their demands had increased; but so had their knowledge of the necessities of the case increased also. They increased their demands, as they found they were able to improve upon the system, and methods, and practices which they could employ. There was a time when a large portion of the country, including many very able men, was of opinion that rinderpest could be kept out of the country by a system of Orders in Council, and by internal regulations. No one was now of that opinion, and it was admitted that slaughter alone stamped out the disease, and that the entire prohibition of importation from infected countries was necessary. As soon as the importation of cattle from any country in which foot-and-mouth disease was known to exist was prohibited, what had been proved to be true in regard to rinderpest would probably be found to be true in reference to foot-and-mouth disease. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council told them that, even if the country assented to the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, and assented to the prohibition of the importation of live cattle from the country where foot-and-mouth disease existed, they might still have disease brought in by means of articles used for packing, by farm produce, and so forth. But had that been the case with regard to rinderpest? Since the country in which rinderpest existed had been prohibited from sending their stock here, he could not call to mind one occasion in which the disease had been introduced by articles which formed part of a ship's cargo without the diseased cattle themselves being actually on board ship. The last attack of rinderpest in this country was brought about by contact with diseased animals from another country. It was hardly fair, therefore, to say that the prohibition which had proved to be effectual in the case of rinderpest might not equally prove effectual in the case of foot-and-mouth disease. Foot-and-mouth disease, we all knew, was a most infectious disorder, but not more so than rinderpest; and if rinderpest had been got rid of out of the country by prohibiting the introduction of live animals, it was only reasonable to infer that similar treatment might keep out the foot-and-mouth disease. It was asserted that there was a large amount of capital invested in the trade; and an argument was made use of by the President of the Board of Trade, and by the Vice President of the Council, was that immense capital had been invested by the municipalities in making provision for the slaughter of cattle on shore, and that it would be unfair now that that capital had been sunk to turn round, and alter our policy in regard to the question, and say—" These wharves must now be shut up, and you are to have no compensation." It had been also suggested that compensation might be paid out of the Imperial Exchequer. But compensation was not wanted. The City of London had taken very good care to compensate itself before the Deptford Market was started. He was in the House when the Bill for that market was introduced; and before a single place was fitted up for the reception of foreign cattle, the tolls on English cattle were raised very materially, in order to furnish a foreign market. It was not, therefore, correct to say that the City of London had sunk money, and that money had been provided by the municipal funds, when, in fact, it had been provided by the country, in shape of increased tolls on English as well as foreign animals. They had now to consider the condition of the trade. Whatever proportion the foreign trade in cattle might bear to the English trade, there was no one who would not admit that the English trade was a most important one. We bred in this country the very best cattle in the world, with the exception of the Shorthorns bred in America. We bred the very best sheep in the world without any exception, and we should act most unwisely if we permitted the monopoly of pure blood which we now enjoyed to be seriously endangered and contaminated, year after year, by the importation of diseased animals from abroad. He could conceive no return to the country that would compensate for the serious mischief that might ensue in that direction. The present debate had turned very much on the effect the disease had upon the supply of meat. Very little had been said with regard to milk. Now, he was glad to say that every day there was a less demand for beer and a greater demand for milk. This milk was supplied from British homesteads, and there was no disease that interfered so materially and distressingly with the supply of milk as the foot-and-mouth disease. In the first place, it produced abortion among the cows, and thus lessened the supply; and, in the next place, it had had the effect of imposing upon the farmers of England the dairy order, which required a farmer to register himself as a dairyman, when, if the foot-and-mouth disease broke out among his cattle, his business was at once gone, as he had to cease supplying milk tainted with the infection. There appeared to be a contest going on now between the supply of meat in the shape of live stock and dead stock. They had been told that the live trade had been increasing, and that there was every prospect of its superseding the trade in dead meat, and becoming a very large trade indeed in the country. He hoped that it might. There could not be too much of it, and the price the people had to pay for meat now was heavy enough. The farmers would not make any demand upon the Legislature on the score of the bad price of meat; but so long as the English Parliament continued to trifle with the question foreigners would continue to thrust their cattle alive upon the English market, even if they had disease, and the English butcher would avail himself of the chance of buying. In America, although America abounded in cattle, and although the people ate a great deal too much meat, and lived too much upon it to the exclusion of vegetables, what did they do there? Dead meat was sent East, West, North, and South in ice from the great centres of the meat supply at Chicago and other great cities, and there were admirable regulations in force for the conveyance and storage of dead meat. In England there were no regulations of any kind. America sent her dead meat to Liverpool in as good a condition as it left the slaughter-houses in Chicago or New York. What did we do when we received it at Liverpool? We had no ice to store it in, no proper carriage for its conveyance to Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, London, and the other great towns. It was seized by the butchers as soon as it reached Liverpool, and the work of destruction at once commenced. How, under these circumstances, could we expect the dead meat supply to be what it ought to be in England; and how could we expect it to supersede the introduction of live cattle from places where the disease was existing? He had one other word to say about the English farmer increasing his demand. His hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin) now asked the House to assent to a proposal for dealing with foreign countries as he (Mr. Pell) was dealt with in the county of Northampton at the present moment. If a case of foot-and-mouth disease occurred on one of his own farms the district was declared an infected district; and he could not take his cattle into Lincolnshire, let them be ever so fat, nor could he send them to a market town. He supposed that if he farmed in America or France he could send them to England. Therefore, if they were told, as they were told truly by the Vice President of the Council, that the restrictive measures were operating well in England, he said, extend and apply these restrictions, if only as an experiment, to foreign countries. They had got foot-and-mouth disease now, and he was afraid it was too prevalent for them to hope to get rid of it at once. Did the right hon. Gentleman know what it meant to the English farmer when the market was not open? He submitted to it quietly, because he hoped the disease might be got rid of by restriction; but it meant a bad price for everything he sold. When Free Trade was restricted, if there was but for a moment a deficiency in the supply, if only a very small quantity of cattle entered the market, the price would at once be enormously enhanced. But if the butcher found that they had only half-a-dozen more beasts in the market than they wanted the price equally went down at once, and the sellers went away discontented and disappointed. He would not enter into any question as to what country had sent us the foot-and-mouth disease. From France, during the last two or three years, the amount of importations had been infinitesimally small. All that she sent out in 1879 was something like 248 beasts, and last year not more than 150; and yet this insignificant supply had contaminated the whole of the stock in England. In conclusion, he thought there was good reason in the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, although it was rather a long one. He thought there was sense and justice in it, and a great deal in the circumstances of the case that would justify him in voting for it, Free Trader as he was and had ever been.

MR. MAGNIAC was not disposed, at that late hour of the night, to make more than a few observations; but on that side of the House there had been last Session great willingness to meet the views of the farmers, and even to support demands which many of them would themselves be disinclined to ask. He thought they had, therefore, a right to say that the arguments which had been addressed to the House throughout the whole of the debate from the other side of the House had been based upon assumptions, and on the assertion of principles which had no real foundation. He and others who sat upon the Liberal Benches were quite as competent as hon. Gentlemen opposite to understand and speak upon these questions. Many of them had studied it fully and with quite as much personal interest as hon. Members opposite. Nevertheless, they had no confidence whatever in the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), but absolutely and entirely preferred the Act of 1878. To his mind that Act gave much greater security to the farmer than the proposal of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member himself seemed to doubt the wisdom of his own proposition, for the proposal, as it stood upon the Paper, was entirely different from that which the hon. Member shadowed forth in his speech. The hon. Member told them that the British farmer must have absolute immunity from disease; but his Resolution only went to this extent—that he wanted "reasonable security." [Mr. CHAPLIN dissented.] The hon. Gentleman by his Resolution, the terms of which the House had a right to discuss, asked not for total immunity, but for reasonable security; and the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) asked the Liberal Members what reasonable security was. He (Mr. Magniac) did not know why that question should be addressed to hon. Members on that side of the House; it ought rather to have been addressed to the hon. Member who framed the Resolution. It was altogether the hon. Member's affair, and not that of hon. Members who sat on that side of the House. They knew well enough what they meant by reasonable security. They believed that the Act of 1878 gave reasonable security, and if it had not been so, such a Resolution as that which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had placed upon the Paper, would never have been proposed. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) urged that there must be total immunity by importing dead meat only; but the hon. Member knew very well that the country would never stand such a Resolution as that. Every argument used by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire went direct to the point that dead meat, and dead only, should be imported into the country. ["No, no!"] He asserted that it was so. He asserted confidently that if total immunity were claimed on logical grounds they could not obtain it by such half-hearted proposals as this. What they should require was the slaughter of every animal before it left a foreign shore. They must import dead meat, and dead meat only. If the hon. Member made such a proposition it would be something upon which they could join issue; but the proposal now before the House meant neither one thing nor the other. The hon. Member wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. He could not do both. If he wanted total immunity there was only one way of getting it. Let him, then, submit a proposal in that form and see how many Members would support it.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he would not detain the House except for a very few moments at that hour of the night (12.20) after the kindness and patience with which he had been listened to in opening the debate. The hon. Member who had just sat down had informed them that he approved the Act of 1878 a great deal more than the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. If the hon. Member had given attention to the Act of 1878 he would have known that the whole of the last clause of the Motion had been taken from the 4th section of the 5th Schedule of the Act of 1878. After the speech of the Vice President of the Council he had no alternative but to take a division upon the Resolution before the House. The right hon. Gentleman bluntly declared in almost the first sentence of his speech that he would meet the Motion with a direct negative. What was still more surprising, he went on to say that he was about to take that action in the interest of the British farmer. It seemed to him the right hon. Gentleman had never taken the trouble to study the terms of his Motion. Many believed that compulsory slaughter would be sufficient to prevent the introduction of disease; but, unfortunately, the experience of the last few months showed that compulsory slaughter at the port was no guarantee and no security whatever against the introduction of disease. He, therefore, proposed to go a little further, and ask for a prohibition against the landing of live animals from foreign countries. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) alleged that under the system of compulsory slaughter our Continental trade in meat had been superseded by the American trade. It was true that the Continental trade had been so superseded; but why was this the case? Because the American meat was better, and because it could be sent forward at a cheaper rate. The right hon. Gentleman also complained that the dead meat trade had not increased as it ought to have done. He admitted that this was so, and regretted the fact; because, as far as the consumer was concerned, the dead meat was cheaper. The reason why the dead meat trade had not increased to the desired extent was because it paid the exporter rather better to send live cattle. If once the importation of live cattle was prohibited, the dead meat trade would increase with gigantic strides. The right hon. Gentleman declared that compulsory slaughter afforded a reasonable security against the importation of contagious diseases from abroad. But what did the right hon. Gentleman mean by reasonable security? The Act of 1878 had been in force for two years, and in that time there had been one severe outbreak of disease. Did this outbreak of disease in two years conform with the right hon. Gentleman's idea of reasonable security? The right hon. Gentleman was followed by the President of the Board of Trade, who, being of a more venturesome disposition than his Colleague, appeared to throw the right hon. Gentleman over altogether. The Vice President of the Council admitted that his (Mr. Chaplin's) facts were true; but the President of the Board of Trade declined to admit their truth, though he was not prepared to deny it. The right hon. Gentleman complained that his allegations were based upon assumption, and not upon certainty; but surely if the Government were not prepared to deny the serious allegations which he had made, he was justified in assuming that they were true. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had protested against his assumptions. In his turn, he must protest against those of the right hon. Gentleman. There never had been, and he felt sure there never would be, a desire on the part of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House to defend measures which they believed would impose harsh and unnecessary restrictions on the supply of food to the people. Before concluding, he would add that he could not conceal his surprise and regret at one speech which he had heard that evening, delivered by a pretended champion of the farmers' interest. He referred to the hon. Gentleman who, he was informed, was Chairman of the organization called the Farmers' Alliance. The apology made by that hon. Member for opposing the Motion appeared to him to be the lamest apology ever made by a farmers' friend for opposing a Resolution. But although the hon. Member would not support him, he trusted he should be followed into the Lobby by every real supporter of the agricultural interest.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 147; Noes 205: Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [21st March] *reported.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am anxious, Sir, for the convenience of the House, to put a Question to the Government with regard to the debate which will take place on Thursday, and probably also on the following day, with respect to Candahar. I understood yesterday that it was probable that the Government might desire that the debate should be concluded on Friday, if arrangements could be made for clearing that day for the continuance of the debate. But my hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) has a very important Motion on the Paper for Friday; and he would not be disposed, I understand, to give way unless he were assured that he would have some early opportunity, say on Monday next, of bringing on his Motion. I have reason to believe that an arrangement is in contemplation which would meet that case; but it would be for the general convenience that we should know publicly if that is so, and, if not, in what shape an arrangement can be made. My hon. Friend's Motion is on going into Supply. Would it be proposed that Supply should be taken, and he should stand first on Supply, or that he should make his Motion as a definite and substantive Motion on Monday, and the Orders of the Day be postponed until that Notice has been taken?

MR. GLADSTONE: It appears that it would be for the convenience of the House that the debate on Candahar should be continued and disposed of on Friday. That being so, I conceive that we should have no option but to clear the list for Friday by the necessary purchasing of the time on Friday. We are, undoubtedly, under obligation to the hon. Member for Oxfordshire to give him on Monday as fair an opportunity as he would have had on Friday, subject only to the one stipulation that if we think it necessary to place the second reading of the Mutiny Bill as the first Order, we shall do so. I do not imagine that the second reading of the Mutiny Bill is likely to be subject to debate; but we could not properly run the risk of any difficulty about that, inasmuch as I do not think it would be possible for us, otherwise, to get that Bill into Committee. Subject to that understanding, we should have no difficulty in giving the hon. Member Monday for his Motion.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Would my hon. Friend's Motion come first on going into Committee of Supply?

MR. SPEAKER: Probably the most convenient course would be to postpone the Orders of the Day after the Mutiny Bill, so as to admit the Motion of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire.

Resolutions *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 2) BILL.

Resolution [March 21] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PLAYFAIR, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time.

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 23rd March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Inland Revenue Buildings * [125].
Second Reading—Agricultural Tenants' Compensation [10]; Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (No. 2) * [31]; Leases [108]; Sligo Borough Re-enfranchisement [62], *negatived;* Consolidated Fund (No. 2).
Committee—Report—Municipal Franchise (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) * [82].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

AGRICULTURAL TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL.—[BILL 10.]

(*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. James Cowan, Mr. J. C. Lawrence, Mr. Birkbeck.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. CHAPLIN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that he would not detain the House with any lengthened remarks, as he had last Session fully explained the details of a very similar measure. The object of the present Bill was in all cases to give security to tenants for their improvements, and in that way to remedy the defects that had been found by experience to be wanting in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. That Act, although it had undoubtedly done, and was gradually doing, much good in the direction indicated, had not altogether fulfilled the purposes which it was hoped it would effect. The experience of six years, and the evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which had been laid on the Table of the House, showed that in some parts of the country, at all events, the Act had given little or no compensation to tenants for unexhausted improvements in the event of their leaving their farms. That was the blot in the Act of 1875 which he desired by this Bill to remedy, and he proposed to do it in this way. He did not intend to make the Bill necessarily compulsory in all cases. That would be a great mistake. He was opposed to the Act of 1875 being made compulsory, at the time of its introduction, and was still opposed to its being made compulsory by any hard-and-fast line in all cases at the present time. What he now wished to do was to render the Act of 1875, either directly or indirectly, operative in all cases in which it had remained a dead letter up to the present time, and where adequate compensation for improvements was not already given by other means. There were many parts of the country in which the arrangements between landlords and tenants, so far as security to the latter was concerned, were all that at present could be desired; and it would be the greatest possible mistake to interfere unnecessarily with those arrangements, which were known to be satisfacfory, and which had been proved by experience to answer remarkably well. He proposed to accomplish the object of the Bill in the following manner. First, by repealing all the clauses in the Act of 1875 which gave power to landlords and tenants to notice themselves out of its provisions; and having done that, he provided three different modes by which they might agree upon compensation between themselves; and in the event of their neglecting or refusing to avail themselves of any of these modes, the Act of 1875 would *ipso facto* come into force. According to his scheme, the two parties might agree as to compensation, first under the compensation clauses (Clauses 4 to 50, inclusive) of the Act itself; secondly, under the schedule system, as was the custom in Lincolnshire; or, thirdly, under a special contract according to the situation of the holding, or the locality, and all the other circumstances of the case. In the absence of any agreement by either of these methods, then, as a matter of course, they would come under the Act of 1875. Further, provision was specially made in Clause 7 of the Bill to insure that the special contracts thus made should give real compensation, and should be of a fair and *bonâ fide* character. That was his proposal, in its main outlines; and he need hardly say that he should be glad to listen to any suggestions for modifying the details of the Bill; but its principle, that compensation for tenants' improvements should be secured in all cases by the methods and in the direction proposed, he must respectfully adhere to. He could not help expressing his regret at finding that he was going to be opposed again by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard), who professed in an especial degree to represent the views of the tenant farmers in this country. He had seen the Amendment of which that hon. Member had given Notice, and was at a loss to know what he meant by the words "stability of tenure," which smacked more of Irish than of English legislation. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government some years ago described "fixity of tenure," "continuity of tenure," "perpetuity of tenure," and "stability of tenure," as meaning pretty much the same thing. But, however that might be, the hon. Member for Bedfordshire must admit that the Bill, though, perhaps, it might not go so far as he would wish, could, at all events, do no harm, and that the tenant farmers throughout the country under it would, at least, find, from its operations, a considerable improvement on the position which they occupied at the present time. The hon. Member also knew that an immense proportion of the tenant farmers of England had declared themselves to be in favour of the Bill, and he (Mr. Chaplin) had received communications almost daily from every part of the country from those interested in the subject; and, therefore, he must once more express his regret that, for the second time, on a measure that was undoubtedly introduced in the interest of the farmers, he should find himself opposed by the one Member, of all others in the House, from whom he was entitled to expect and receive support. He now begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

MR. JAMES HOWARD, who had given Notice of the following Amendment:—

"That no measure for the Amendment of the Law, affecting the relations of Landlord and Tenant, will prove satisfactory or be calculated to attract the capital and enterprise so necessary, under the altered circumstances of the Country, to the successful cultivation of the soil and the full development of its resources, which does not give full compensation to the tenant for such enhanced letting value of his holding as is due to his own outlay and skill, and which does not also make adequate provision for stability of tenure,"

said, that if any hon. Member of the House imagined that he had placed the Amendment upon the Paper without recognizing the weight of responsibility which rested upon him he was under a very erroneous impression; the responsibility of raising the important question of stability of tenure had occupied his anxious thoughts for weeks past, nor had he given Notice of the Amendment without consulting men in whose judgment he had confidence. He was sure that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and he was also quite sure the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Thomas Acland) had brought forward their Bills with the conviction that the provisions would to some extent tend to restore prosperity to agriculture; the interests of the two hon. Members were so intimately bound up with the welfare of agriculture that no one could for a moment doubt their sincerity of purpose. Seeing, also, that his (Mr. Howard's) interests, direct and indirect, were also bound up in the success of the same industry, he was not likely to stand upon the floor of the House to advocate changes except he believed that they would add to the material prosperity of the greatest of all our industrial pursuits, the agriculture of the Kingdom. British agriculture was face to face with difficulties such as had never been encountered in the past, and it behoved all concerned to approach the subject of remedies without Party bias; the issues he felt to be too momentous to allow the mind to be swayed by political feeling. Endeavouring to approach the subject in that frame of mind, he had arrived at the conclusion that the sufferings of agriculturists were too acute to be reached by the prescriptions to be found in either of the Bills before the House; the patient was too far gone to be restored by homœopathic treatment; indeed, he feared that any hopes of speedy recovery, under any treatment, would be futile; however, dropping metaphor, he would express the belief that, if remedial measures were to be applied, they must be more far-reaching and comprehensive than the two Bills under consideration. The object of the Bill of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was to amend an Act which had proved notoriously ineffective and inoperative; yet it did not touch some of its most radical defects. That the Agricultural Holdings Act would prove a failure the Government which passed it were duly forewarned. He (Mr. Howard) was not disposed to criticize the Bill of the hon. Member harshly; for he would confess, if he were compelled to accept either Bill, he should prefer that of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. He believed, also, that it was an honest attempt to grapple with a very difficult subject; further, it did hit one of the greatest blots in the Agricultural Holdings Act —the permissive clauses. He would, on that point, venture to congratulate the hon. Member upon his conversion to views upon freedom of contract which he (Mr. Howard) had held many years. He was not sure that he ought not to claim credit for the conversion of the hon. Member, for about 15 months ago a rather voluminous correspondence had passed between them upon the subject of interference with freedom of contract; and he was gratified to find, a few months after, that the hon. Member had completely changed his views upon the subject. He would indulge a hope that if the hon. Member did not already share his views upon stability of tenure, that not many months would elapse before the hon. Member became as ardent a supporter of the principle as he had become of controlling freedom of contract. He would presently explain what he meant by stability of tenure, and probably the House would not deem the proposal so revolutionary as some hon. Members imagined. He had remarked that the Bill did not touch certain radical defects of the Agricultural Holdings Act. One of the most glaring defects of that Act was the complicated machinery it set up for the settlement of compensation cases. In the Landlord and Tenant Bill which he brought in when formerly a Member of that House, and from which, he would observe in passing, that the Agricultural Holdings Act was taken almost bodily, the settlement of compensation cases was left entirely in the hands of two arbitrators, or their umpire, whose decision was final, but whose powers and duties were defined and limited by a Schedule attached to the Bill. Instead of following that course, which was according to the Lincolnshire custom, the hon. Member had adopted in the Bill, now under consideration, the complicated machinery of the Agricultural Holdings Act. The fear entertained by many tenants of becoming involved in litigation by coming under the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act appeared to have been well founded; for a well-known barrister, in a letter he (Mr. Howard) received from him on Saturday last, said—

> "I have at present a great deal of work going on with reference to arbitrations under the Agricultural Holdings Act. I really quite shudder when I contemplate the costs of references under this Act. The solicitors seem determined to make them as heavy as possible."

He (Mr. Howard) contended that any Bill which sought to amend that Act should have swept away the complicated machinery complained of, and introduced the simpler method he had referred to. He would now call attention to another vicious principle of the Agricultural Holdings Act, which had also been adopted by the hon. Member. He objected altogether to the principle that a tenant's claim to his improvements lapsed by the effluxion of time. He saw neither reason nor justice in such a provision; he maintained that it would be just as reasonable to provide that after the money of a depositor had remained in a bank a certain number of years, and he had secured the interest regularly, the principal should become the property of the banker. He contended that a tenant who should sink a well, dig a pond, plant an orchard, drain a field, or make any other improvement set forth in the first-class list of the Agricultural Holdings Act, should, upon quitting his holding, have a claim to the unexhausted value of such improvements, without reference to the time which had elapsed since they were executed. In such matters a tenant ought to be able to look upon his farm as a bank, that what he put into it was safe, and that when he could no longer enjoy the interest, what remained of the principal should be his. He might be told that this principle of a tenant's claim being barred by lapse of time was to be found in his own Landlord and Tenant Bill. He would admit it; but when he drew that Bill he had to consult his then Colleague, Mr. Clare Read, who sat on the opposite side of the House; moreover, he confessed that his views upon the subject, like the views of the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) on another point, had advanced with the effluxion of time. With respect to the three courses left open in the Bill, as to the mode of securing compensation, he deemed them highly objectionable, and calculated to lead to confusion; the class of landlords which required binding would be sure to choose the method considered most advantageous to themselves, and probably the least satisfactory to the tenant. Then, again, in Clause 6, he found the words "securing to the tenant reasonable compensation"—words, he contended, much too indefinite to be used in an Act of Parliament. He held that uniformity in the law on such matters was highly desirable; it was for the Legislature to discover which was the best method for securing compensation, and to make that method compulsory. On those grounds, he objected to the three courses proposed by the hon. Member. Then, again, the objectionable principle was introduced in the Bill of exempting tenancies beyond a certain duration. He held that a tenant should be encouraged to improve his farm and to leave it in an improved condition just as much when holding under a long lease as under a yearly tenancy. With the permission of the House he would read an extract from a speech of an hon. Baronet, whose form a few years ago had been familiar to every Member of that House—the late Sir John Pakington. Speaking at a meeting of the Chamber of Agriculture, he remarked—

> "I have no right to expect that my farms shall be cultivated to the greatest advantage, unless I put the occupier in a position to make the most of his capital. The reason why I think a lease is preferable to a yearly tenancy is this—that, partly judging by theory, and partly from my own practical experience, I do think a farmer sets about his farming with more energy and more vigour, and feels more independence, if he is holding under a lease, than if he is holding under a yearly tenancy; and however good tenant right may be under a yearly tenancy, he may still be subjected to be dispossessed of his farm, subject to the arrangement of the tenant right. But I am rather disposed to go a step further, and ask why, under a well-regulated system of land tenure, we should not allow leases and tenant right to go together?"

He (Mr. Howard) would commend that speech to the attention of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. Turning to the 1st Schedule in the Bill of the hon. Member, he discerned an omission, a serious defect, which he ventured last year to point out to the hon. Member; through that omission the farmer's choice of feeding stuffs in the manufacture of beef and mutton would be restricted. Whilst the hon. Member would give compensation for American cake, for Marseilles and other foreign cake, he would, most inconsistently, refuse compensation in the case of home-grown food for stock. Further, since the repeal of the Malt Tax, malt was becoming a considerable article of food in the manufacture of beef and mutton; and, from his own experience of its use, he was convinced that it would become a regular article of diet upon most of the stock farms of the Kingdom, and compensation should therefore be given for the consumption of any feeding stuffs the farmer found it to his interest to use. Then as to the tile-draining. Under the Agricultural Holdings Act the tenant had a right to compensation for 20 years; in the Schedule of the Bill of the hon. Member he had cut it down to 10 years. Altogether, he should much prefer the Agricultural Holdings Act, amended simply by the elimination of the permissive and the complicated clauses for settling compensation cases to which he had already referred. Turning to the general aspect of the question, eminent writers and public men imagined that the true solution of their agricultural difficulties was to be found in the creation of a peasant proprietary; in reducing the size of farms—in short, a resort to *pétite culture.* In his opinion, no one acquainted with practical agriculture, or the exigencies of farm life, could endorse that view, for it was impossible to change the system of agriculture prevailing in any country, except by slow, very slow degrees. As was well known to hon. Members, estates across the Channel were very much subdivided, and small farms in France were the rule. In Hungary, on the other hand, proprietors farmed their estates themselves in thousands of acres. In either case it would be vain to recommend the adoption of the English system to the proprietors of those countries; because, in the first place, no proper tenants could be found, and, in the next place, neither the houses nor homesteads were suitable for the system. Again, a few years ago a friend of his own came into possession of an estate in one of our most fertile counties; this friend had resided a great deal on the Continent, and had become enamoured of the small farm system, and he therefore determined to introduce it upon his own estate. He (Mr. Howard) met him not long since and inquired how the small farm plan was progressing; his friend confessed that he had had to abandon the idea, for he had found the building of a suitable house or homestead, and providing the necessary water supply, cost as much as the land of his 12-acre farms was worth. He had mentioned these cases, not with a view to disparage the small farm or any other system, but simply to show the difficulty of changing our own; whether it was the best or the worst system need not be discussed; they could change it only by very slow degrees, and, seeing that to be the case, it behoved them to make the best of the system as it existed. In the past, capital had been repelled from agriculture by requiring political subserviency—had been driven away by the enforcement of antiquated customs, by restrictive covenants, by insecurity of capital, by insecurity of tenure, by game reservations, by the raising of rent upon a tenant's own improvements. In the last book of Mr. Caird's—*The Landed Interest*—a very significant table would be found, showing that between 1857 and 1875 the agricultural rental of England had risen by £9,000,000 a-year. In those 18 years it had been computed that rents in England had advanced 21 per cent, in Scotland 26 per cent, and in Ireland 6 per cent. The agricultural value of the land during that period had increased by the enormous sum of £331,000,000, and, as estimated by Mr. Caird, at a cost to the owner of £60,000,000 only. Mr. Caird did not estimate how much of that increased value was due to the expenditure of the tenants' capital; but, if it could be ascertained, he (Mr. Howard) had no doubt that it would amount to a prodigious sum. Landed proprietors, above any other class, had the deepest interest in the solution of the problem now before the House. If prosperity was to be restored to agriculture, if prosperity was to be permanent, the full energies of the tenant must in some way or other be called forth. Landowners had a permanent interest in securing that result, for the tenantry might turn their effects into money and depart, as so many he regretted to find were doing, to other lands; but the owners could not follow; they must remain. The main question for landed proprietors, the main question for the Legislature was—How was the exodus of farmers from the land to be arrested, how was the necessary capital and enterprize to be attracted? Great Britain possessed the best race of tenantry in the world; no other country possessed anything akin to our own tenant farmer class, either in respect of numbers, capital, or intelligence. Desirable as he felt it was to secure to that important class compensation for improvements, he ventured to submit that there was something even of greater importance. He maintained that the most likely way to keep the tenantry on the land, to call forth their energies, was to secure to them stability of tenure, to make them feel that neither they, nor their homes, nor their property were in the hands of, or at the mercy of, one man, be he landlord or land agent. As a rule, English landlords had been kind and considerate, and he was acquainted with a large number of land agents, for whom he entertained great respect, but not a few were harsh and tyrannical; and, although cases of oppression were not relatively numerous, when they did occur, no one could allege that they did not beget widespread distrust, and over a wide area a sense of insecurity resulted. It was this feeling of insecurity which paralyzed the efforts of the tenant. A man who might have a good and liberal landlord was always in doubt who would come after him. Some painful instances had very recently come under his notice. Not many weeks ago he met an intelligent farmer in the prime of life, whose letters in *The Times* many hon. Members had doubtless often read with pleasure, who made known to him the following circumstance. His father had occupied a farm for nearly 50 years under a kind and considerate landlord. He was succeeded in the estate by his son, who was leading a dissolute life in Paris; and the agent, in order to provide for the extravagant expenditure of the son, had had to raise the rents during these depressed times some 30 per cent. Could not the Legislature, asked the son of the tenant, provide an appeal against such extortion? He confessed that he shared the feeling of the son. Take another case—An estate he knew very well, formerly belonging to a nobleman, changed hands a few years ago. The rental of the estate had been quite up to the average rents of the neighbourhood, for the nobleman, although liberal, was poor; however, it had no sooner changed hands than the rents were raised some 50 or 60 per cent. A few weeks ago, when in a Western county, he had met the son of the oldest tenant on this estate, who told him that this raising of the rent was ruining his father and breaking his heart into the bargain. He (Mr. Howard) desired to call attention to the fact that the estate had not been purchased by some successful manufacturer or merchant; the owner was no new man; it was under the Crown that tenants had been treated in this arbitrary fashion. Many might say such a tenant had the remedy in his own hands, he could throw up his holding; but to tell a man of 70, if not satisfied to go elsewhere, to turn out of his home, with its life-long associations, and to seek another, was little short of mockery. He would mention another fact as an illustration of another class of cases—A Scotch farmer, of high repute in his own neighbourhood, a man of wealth, whom he (Mr. Howard) had known many years, informed him toward the close of last year that he had just returned from America, where he had been to purchase farms for his sons, and that he intended to follow them in two or three years, when the lease of his own farm would expire; his main reason for having taken that course was that his rent had twice been raised upon his own improvements, and that he did not intend that his sons should be subjected to similar injustice, nor would he expose himself to a repetition of it. [Lord ELCHO: How long was the lease?] He did not know, nor was it a point, the rent had been raised upon the man's own improvements. About last Christmas he met with the following case:—A very skilful farmer—a native of Lincolnshire—a fine fellow, who had won many first prizes at ploughing matches—not, therefore, one of the kid-glove class—this man informed him that his rent had been considerably raised four or five years ago; that the agent had been very hard upon him and would not meet him in the rent, and he had therefore sold off his stock and was off to America, as he remarked, "while he had a feather to fly with." That was the very kind of man that England could ill afford to lose; and the country could much better spare the land-agent, or the squire who owned the estate. The question was, How could stability of tenure be secured without trenching on the just rights of the landlord? That he confessed was a grave question; but it was one which, as surely as he stood on the floor of that House, would have to be faced at no distant day. A noble Peer, formerly a Member of that House, had adopted a very suggestive course. Lord Tollemache, recognizing the need of stability of tenure, had settled the question in his own way. His Lordship had entered into an agreement with his Cheshire and Suffolk tenants, by which he had bound himself not to disturb them in their occupation, nor to raise their rents for the next 21 years; whilst the tenants were at liberty to leave upon giving the usual notice. In a letter he (Mr. Howard) had recently received, his Lordship informed him that the experiment had, so far, proved highly satisfactory; that he had not an acre to let, that his tenants were content; and, notwithstanding the bad times, they were draining their land faster than his kilns could supply them with tiles. This arrangement of Lord Tollemache might be said to be one-sided, but it leant to the right side, and he had no doubt it would answer his Lordship's purpose; at all events, it was something for a great landowner like Lord Tollemache to have recognized the need of stability of tenure, the principle he (Mr. Howard) was contending for. His own idea of securing stability of tenure, in the simplest and least objectionable way, was to give the tenant the right of appeal against the arbitrary exercise of an unjust power to a properly constituted County Board, or perhaps to the present Assessment Committees, enlarged by the addition of an equal number of landed proprietors. He was not sanguine enough to suppose that the proposal would be acceptable to the great body of landowners in the Kingdom; for all men naturally object to parting with power they possess. But he would point out that while such a power of appeal would beget a feeling of security in the breast of the tenant, no just or good landlord would have anything to fear from its exercise; he would rarely or never be affected by it, and if an isolated case should occur upon his estate, his interests would be perfectly safe in the hands of the tribunal he had indicated. He had ventured to lay that subject before the House, being convinced that if its adoption did not bring about a restoration of prosperity it would have the best results in the future, and this to each class interested—landlord, tenant, and labourer alike. In conclusion, he would observe that he did not share the gloomy views entertained by many as to the future of agriculture. He could not believe in the permanent depression of this great branch of our industry. England, in the past, had been visited with cycles of unpropitious seasons; and these had been succeeded by a series of genial and productive years. Our agriculturists had many things in their favour. They had the best climate in the world. ["Oh, oh!"] That might appear a startling statement; but it was true. For root growing, for corn growing, and for grass combined, no country in the world could compare with England—the greater yield per acre proved it. Then, again, they had customers ready to buy all, and more than all, that could be produced, and this for consumption at their very doors. If favoured with genial seasons in the future, which they had a right to expect—[*Laughter.*]—hon. Members appeared to distrust Providence. He maintained that with the return of better seasons, with all the impediments cleared away which had handicapped the British farmer in the race with his foreign competitors, he had no fear for the future of the agriculture of the country. Acting under advice, he should refrain from moving the Amendment which stood in his name.

Mr. J. C. LAWRANCE said, that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. James Howard) had adopted a very unusual course. He had put down an Amendment on the Paper and then run away from it. The hon. Gentleman was looked upon by some as the champion of the agricultural interest; and yet, whenever his assistance was needed, he was always found wanting. The whole gist of the various speeches which the hon. Member had made upon the subject was that the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 was a sham, and ought to be made compulsory. The hon. Gentleman wanted, not only compensation for improvements, but stability of tenure. Well, the Lincolnshire custom had the effect of giving to farmers in Lincolnshire such compensation for improvements that the land was cultivated as highly as possible; and when a tenant desired to leave his occupation it was well known that he was paid every shilling to which he was entitled. The hon. Gentleman said that if a man dug a pond he should have a claim on account of it for ever. But the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was desirous of having every practical improvement that might be required introduced into the Schedule. He quite agreed with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. James Howard) that allowance should be made for everything the tenant put into the land which he did not take out of it. He quite agreed with him that the manurial value of corn and malt used on the holding should be taken into account. But the great object was to arrive at some rule which would apply to lands generally. That was the system which prevailed in Lincolnshire for so many years, and which had brought the agriculture of that county to its present high condition. What did the Bill of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire propose? It proposed to extend the principles of the Lincolnshire tenure, or some tenant right, which would be equally as good for the tenant in all parts of this country; and the best thing that could be said in favour of the Bill was that not one of those cases of hardship mentioned by the hon. Member could have happened if this Bill had been in operation on those farms. The tenant would have been paid for everything he had put into the land; he could have put the money in his pocket and gone away. He did not suppose the hon. Gentleman wanted to keep a man on a farm for the term of his life, and say he should not leave it if he chose. His (Mr. Lawrance's) own experience of Lincolnshire, at present, was that tenants did not require leases. Indeed, many a man would do anything to get out of a lease. Several cases had been brought to his knowledge in which men who were ready to pay 20*s.* in the pound had liquidated for the purpose of being relieved from carrying out the terms of the lease, which in these times would have ruined them. That was not right; and, therefore, when they spoke of stability of tenure, they should remember that it was the very worst thing a man could have when the best thing he could do was to get out of the farm he had got. He wished that farmers would learn to take a more manly view of their position, and make their contracts with their landlords fair and provident, and such as they could carry out. Then they would not have cases brought forward as if the landlords of the country were only extortioners. If this Bill were adopted, every man, landlord and tenant, would be on an equality. The hon.

Member spoke about effluxion of time; but he (Mr. Lawrance) did not understand what he meant by that.

MR. JAMES HOWARD: I objected to a tenant's compensation being barred through lapse of time.

MR. J. C. LAWRANCE said, it was a claim that a man was not likely to leave sleeping very long. The great point made by the hon. Member was that capital was repelled from the land. But where there was a good system of tenant right plenty of capital was brought on the land. Had Gentlemen in the hon. Member's position, who had plenty of capital, and who both owned and farmed land, made a profit during the last few years? ["No!"] Well, they brought capital on the land, and yet they had made no profits. That showed it was not legislation which was at fault. If the hon. Member was not a wealthy man, he would be in as bad a state as the poor farmers whose little capital had been lost upon the land. The fact was, without good seasons it was impossible for anyone to farm with profit. Notwithstanding the Lincolnshire customs and the high farming that had been carried on in that county, the farmers there were in as bad a condition as they were elsewhere. It was a common thing in that county for farmers who occupied under large landowners and had a good tenant right, when they bought land, to let it again to others, in order that they themselves might continue to occupy the land they held as tenants. They seemed to indicate that, in the circumstances, they preferred to sink their capital in land which was not their own. They knew they held under a good system of tenant right, and that if they left their farms they would be fully repaid what they had put into the land; and on similar terms they could let their own land, even at a higher rent than they were giving for that they occupied. If by "stability of tenure" the hon. Member for Bedfordshire meant the right to permanent occupation he could not agree with that; but if the "stability" were limited to the tenant being recouped for all he had put into the land which was not consumed when he left, such stability was enjoyed under yearly agreements in Lincolnshire, and changes of tenants were almost unknown.

MR. GURDON said, there was abundant proof of the necessity for some legislation in the direction of the Bill. In the county with which he was connected, farmers who, a few years ago, were prosperous men, possessing sufficient capital, were day by day going into the Bankruptcy Court utterly ruined. Hundreds of acres were being farmed at a loss by landlords for want of tenants, and hundreds of acres were going out of cultivation; while much of the land still held by tenants was deteriorating in quality every day. It would be a mutual benefit if the tenants had perfect security for the capital they invested in the land, and if the landlords had security that farms would be maintained in as good a condition as they were in when let. The Bill that was wanted must be both simple and comprehensive; it must be simple, in order to be quite understood by the smallest and least educated farmers, as well as by the largest yeomen; and it must be comprehensive, so that it might last for a few years without requiring to be amended. It must also be compulsory, for they knew by bitter experience, notwithstanding the good intentions with which the last measure was passed, that permissive legislation was useless. If the Government did not see their way to bring in a Bill, he would recommend that this Bill and that which stood next on the Paper should be referred to a Select Committee, which might be able to produce a measure that would be beneficial to both owners and occupiers.

MR. RODWELL said, that the course pursued by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard), in unexpectedly withdrawing the Amendment which he had put on the Paper as against both that Bill and the succeeding one in the Orders of the Day, in which he (Mr. Rodwell) was interested, had placed them in some difficulty, for it was that Amendment he intended to have dealt with while opposing the Bill under notice. As the Amendment, however, had been withdrawn, and as he objected to the Bill of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), he should conclude by moving that the second reading be postponed for six months. He did so, for the simple reason that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had puzzled him, and his embarrassment had been increased by the hon. Member for South Lincolnshire (Mr. J. C. Lawrance). He did not understand whether they meant the Bill to be compulsory or not; and he would defy anyone to say which it was. It seemed to him that the object of the Bill was to make people volunteer—if he might use the expression—[Mr. CHAPLIN: Hear, hear!]—his hon. Friend seemed to approve of the suggestion; but he (Mr. Rodwell) would remind him that was a kind of legislation which ought not to be approved of; it ought to be either compulsory or permissive. The Bill would not enforce contracts, nor place them upon a proper footing, and he objected to it, because it did not give to the tenant that security which his hon. Friend professed to give. His hon. Friend had boasted that it had received the approval of agriculturists and Chambers of Agriculture all over the country; but from the reports of their proceedings it appeared that the reason was that it gave three different modes of securing to the tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements. The first was that afforded under the provisions of the Act of 1875; the second was that given under the scheduled system favoured in Lincolnshire; and the third was that of special contract. One of the arguments used in favour of the Bill was that the third condition was stronger than either of the other two; but that third condition was one through which you could drive not only a coach and four, but even a traction engine. Indeed, it amounted to nothing at all. It was said that a landlord and tenant might enter into a contract in writing. Suppose a landlord asked a rent of £500, which the incoming tenant could not afford to give; suppose the landlord consented to accept £450, on condition that nothing was said about unexhausted improvements, and suppose a simple memorandum were made at the time that, in consideration of this reduction of rent, no claim was to be made for unexhausted improvements, this would be a form of special contract, and it would be no advance upon the Act of 1875. If the Bill were designed to make it compulsory it entirely failed to do so. The view he took of the matter was this. There were certain portions of the Act of 1875 which ought to be made compulsory. In order to do that, a line might well be drawn between tenants' improvements and landlords' improvements, between outlay with a view to an immediate return and outlay with a view to increase the permanent letting value of the land. If those two distinct objects could be kept in mind, compulsory powers might well be exercised; but not with regard to improvements, which were properly improvements of the landlord. So far from the Act of 1875 having been altogether ineffectual and the total failure that it was alleged to have been, Mr. Clare Read and many other witnesses had said before the Royal Commission that it had done immense good, that it had led to great alterations in covenants, that it had opened landlords' eyes, and that it was silently and steadily doing a great deal of good. The evidence that had been given before the Royal Commission showed that tenants as well as landlords had given notices to exempt themselves from the operation of the Act; but it went further, and showed why they had done so. One was that landlords wished to make certain improvements themselves and not leave them to the tenants. Another was, that tenants had secured better terms by agreement than even the Act would give them. Another was, that many tenants did not understand the Act, and therefore preferred to be outside it until some experience had been gained of its operation. Surely it was not right to ask the House to make compulsory an Act which had been disowned by so many parties. Why should that Act, or the customs of Lincolnshire, be forced upon the whole country? The Lincolnshire custom might do very well for Lincolnshire; but he did not see why it should be equally good for the rest of the country, and he was not certain that the condition of farmers had been so very favourable even under that system, for they had lost more money than the farmers of any other part. Mr. Law said that, in the existing state of our knowledge, no simple rules applicable to various soils, seasons, crops, and manures, could be laid down for the valuation of unexhausted improvements; that any attempt to enforce them would involve injustice and lead to litigation; and that much better evidence would be required before attempting to apply a scale of allowance adapted to particular agricultural districts to the country at large. Some seemed to regard this as a landlord's and tenant's question; but the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devonshire (Sir Thomas Acland) treated it as almost entirely a question between the outgoing and incoming tenant. If they classified the improvements, making some the landlord's and some the tenant's, they would get rid of a great deal of difficulty, as the question would simply resolve itself into the incoming tenant paying the outgoing tenant the value of what was left on the farm. Without going into the Bill, he submitted that the proper way of dealing with the question would be to make tenant right compulsory as regarded improvements made by the tenant for his own purposes, and to allow the landlord and tenant to settle between them by agreement as to such buildings or improvements as might have been made either by one or the other. The purchase of these improvements by the incoming tenant was a much simpler arrangement than that proposed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire; while, as had been pointed out, there were objections to forcing on landlords and tenants the complicated and costly machinery of arbitration. The arguments of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire were really in favour of the view of separating the interests of landlords and tenants in the way suggested; and the hon. Member's explanation of "stability of tenure" was more moderate than that which he gave amid cheers at the meeting of the Farmers' Alliance, when he spoke of the possibility of Parliament ordering, in the interests of the public, that there should be an appeal to a local authority or a local tribunal against unjust eviction or the exorbitant increase of rents. He (Mr. Rodwell) believed that the difficulties of Ireland were largely owing to the fact that, in former times, the distinction had not been maintained between what the landlord ought to do and what the tenant ought to do, and the tenants had been allowed to do what were substantially landlords' improvements. He did not want to see English landlords dragged into the same position. The best way to avoid that was to keep the landlord's improvements distinct from those of the tenant, and to let the outgoing tenant be fully compensated by the incoming one. Instead of that, the question of drainage, buildings, &c., had been introduced in the Bill of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln, which ought to have been kept distinct. He agreed to a certain extent with the Home Rulers, for he was inclined to say that the tenants of Ireland had a case, which the English tenant had not as yet, and which, he hoped, no legislation would give them. The English Question could be best dealt with by such a Bill as that of the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devonshire, as it dealt with the rights of outgoing and incoming tenants without any prejudice to those of the landlord. For that reason, he now moved the rejection of the Bill before the House.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Rodwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that if the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) had moved the Resolution which he had placed upon the Notice Paper, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) would have been very happy to have supported him, not on the ground that the Bill under notice was not a step in the right direction, but because, in his opinion, it was totally inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. He congratulated the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) and the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) on the progress of their opinions since the Agricultural Holdings Act was before the House. At that time, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) moved a Resolution to amend that Bill, with the object of accomplishing very much what was now proposed to be done by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire and the hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Thomas Acland). He proposed that the Act should come between the outgoing and the incoming tenant, and make a bargain between two parties who had not an opportunity of making a bargain for themselves. But he did not recollect that, on that occasion, he had the support of either the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire, or the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, or the hon. Member for North Devon. They had made, in the last seven years, very decided progress in regard to compulsory legislation; and he should be surprised if, long before the lapse of other seven years, they would not be prepared to go a great deal further than the present Bill, and recognize that any measure which did not fully secure to tenant farmers compensation for the increased value of their holdings would be totally inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. He thought hon. Members had not yet realized the gravity of the crisis under which the agriculture of the country at present laboured, or the depth of the existing agricultural distress; and it was to him very distressing indeed to think of the calamities which it seemed would be necessary to educate hon. Members to what must be done. From week to week they heard of farms being abandoned, particularly in the Midland and Southern districts of England, and, if the present system continued, there was very great reason to fear that a very considerable portion of the soil of England would go altogether out of cultivation; while those who really knew what was taking place in agriculture were firmly persuaded that over a great part of the arable land of England the fertility of the soil was steadily decreasing, thus making any hope of returning prosperity more and more desperate. It seemed to him that a revolution was taking place in agriculture of no less magnitude than what took place in manufactures, when the steam-power loom superseded the old system of hand-loom weaving. The hand-loom lingered for a time, but had to succumb. Having considered this matter for many years, and knowing something of the competition which might be expected from foreign countries, he was perfectly persuaded that, under the present system of agriculture, it would be impossible for the farmers of this country to meet the competition from abroad. In these circumstances, he thought the wisest and best thing—not only in the interests of the tenant, but even more in the interests of landowners—was that they should recognize what was really indispensable to improved cultivation; and conform, as much as they possibly could, to that system of land tenure which would enable the tenants to make the most of the land, and so enable them to pay the highest rent to the landlords. So much had habit and custom blinded their perceptions as to the conditions on which farmers carried on their business, that it seemed impossible to realize the difficulties under which agriculture laboured, however often they were explained. If the House would allow him, he would endeavour to bring home to their minds the difficulties of the farmers' position by supposing that the manufacturers of this country had to carry on their business under similar conditions. No doubt, he should make a large draft upon the imagination of hon. Members; but he thought that in that way the House would be able to apprehend more clearly the difficulties of the farmer's position, and so appreciate more thoroughly the reforms which had now become absolutely necessary. Let them suppose that all the mills of this country belonged—not to the manufacturers, but to other persons; and that the number of mills was limited. The millowners would, with a growing population, be in a position to dictate to the manufacturers the conditions upon which they should hold their mills. Such being the circumstances, it might not be difficult to imagine that the millowner, like the landlord would not probably undertake to carry out improvements which might become necessary from the growth of invention and the progress of discovery, or to replace antiquated machinery with new. If the tenant of the mill chose to carry out such improvements, he might; but they would, at the conclusion of the lease, belong to the millowner, without any payment to the tenant. Further, let them suppose that the millowner, under some idea that certain work would do injury to the machinery of the mill, restricted the tenant to manufacture only certain kinds of materials; and also, although it was almost impossible to conceive it, made stipulations as to what the manufacturer should do with the produce of the mill. These, no doubt, were extraordinary suppositions; but they were precisely the conditions on which the farmer stood with regard to the land he occupied and endeavoured to cultivate. If the manufacturer were placed under such conditions, should they not hear of a continual depression in manufactures—of our manufacturers being undersold from abroad, and a clamour now and again for the protection of the manufactures of this country? The number of farms in this country was so strictly limited, that till within the last two or three years, when the agricultural depression had become so intense, the landlords, or, rather, land agents, were able to dictate to the tenant farmer such conditions in respect to the cultivation of the farms as suited themselves. Covenants were imposed upon the tenants with regard to the processes of cultivation, and the manner in which they were to dispose of the produce of the farm. It was utterly impossible for a farmer to carry on his business with success under such conditions. He knew about practical farming, and he knew, to a certain extent, about other kinds of business, and he was able to say that no other business of which he knew anything was less a matter of routine than the business of farming. Every operation in which the farmer engaged was matter for careful consideration and judgment; and only when the farmer had full authority and power to exercise his judgment in the freest manner and to the best advantage could he hope to be successful. There was no doubt that in the most favourable circumstances the farmers of this country would have a very uphill fight with the foreign competition in agricultural produce; and they could only hope to succeed by having the freest hands and the most complete power to deal with the land which they cultivated in the way which to them seemed best. They must also have security that, if they invested their money in increasing the value of their holdings, they should reap the full fruits which their industry, their capital, and their skill might produce. Hon. Members opposite seemed to suppose that if a farmer occupied for a certain number of years under lease he would be indemnified for any improvements which he could make upon the holding. If the profits of farming amounted to 10 or 15 per cent per annum, it might be held that the farmer would recoup himself in 10 or 15 years—not only for the interest, but also for the capital of his expenditure. But anyone who had practical experience of farming knew that, even in the best of times, improvements made by farmers on their holdings did not return more than 4 or 5, or, at the most, 6 per cent; and 6 per cent was small enough interest for the money and the skill of the farmer. If the farmer got only fair interest, the capital would not, therefore, be paid back to him by any length of a lease. Hon. Members who thought that a farmer would be indemnified by a lease of 25 or 30 years' duration thought also that the landlord should appropriate, without any compensation, such value as a farmer might leave upon his holding; but no hon. Member had ventured to point out on what grounds of equity a landlord should be entitled to appropriate any part of the improvements effected by the tenant. In any case, he was fully persuaded that unless farmers were perfectly free to reap the full fruit of their labour, whatever that might be, it was not possible to farm on a large portion of the soil in this country and pay any rent to the landlord. It was usually supposed that compensation for exhausted improvements was the solution of this difficulty. He had devoted considerable attention to the subject, and he was quite prepared to admit that, so far as regarded a certain class of improvements, it was possible to indemnify the tenant for the unexhausted value, with some approximation to accuracy. That class of improvements was building, drainage, and other tangible improvements, which might be pointed at as separate and distinct from the landlord's estate. But the kind of improvement to which he looked forward as the hope of the future was the increased productivity of the land. Unless the farmer could increase the produce of his land, it was utterly impossible for him to hope that he would be able to meet the competition from abroad. This demanded increased fertility of the soil. Whether fortunately or unfortunately, no standard had yet been discovered for determining the degree of fertility of the soil. Only the farmer who cultivated any particular farm for a series of years could say with any approximation to accuracy what was the produce of any particular field, and, consequently, what rent it was worth. With respect to the most essential improvement, the increased fertility of the soil, there was no means of determining with any approximation to accuracy what the outgoing tenant ought to get, and what the incoming tenant ought to pay. In those circumstances it seemed to him—and the proposal was quite as much in the interest of the landlords as in the interest of the tenants—that the only hope of British agriculture was to be found in granting the tenants perpetual leases, which might, in other words, be described as fixity of tenure under certain conditions. He quite recognized that it was impossible for the State to interfere between landlord and tenant on the question of rent. That was a point to be decided between the landlords and the tenants themselves. When he spoke of perpetual leases, he contemplated that the landlord and the tenant would agree together as to what should be the rent, on the essential condition that the occupancy should be a perpetual holding by the tenant, so long as he conformed to the conditions of the lease and paid the rent agreed to between him and his landlord. He did not know how those views might approve themselves to landlords in the House; but he stated frankly that, having now considered the question of agricultural reform very carefully for 10 or 15 years, this was the only solution which appeared to give any hope to British agriculture. He thought he should carry the tenant farmers with him in saying that for such a holding they would be prepared to pay a considerably higher rent than for any other form of tenure whatever, even with such security for compensation as could be given by Act of Parliament. That, therefore, was the system of holding which would give the greatest pecuniary advantage to the landlord. The hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire had referred to the fact that in England a very large proportion, if not the whole, of the permanent improvements were executed by the landlords, while in Ireland they had been executed by the tenant; and he considered that difference would justify him in giving fixity of tenure in Ireland, and not on this side of the Irish Channel. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) would say nothing as to England; but, speaking of Scotland, or, at all events, of the parts with which he was well acquainted, he had no hesitation in saying that as large an amount of permanent improvements had been effected by the tenants there at their own expense as had been effected in Ireland, and if improvements by the tenants were to give the tenant farmers in Ireland a good claim to perpetuity or fixity of tenure, the tenants in the North of Scotland had no less a claim for fixity of tenure than had the tenants in Ireland. He advocated this question in the interest of the landlords, as well as in the interest of tenants and of the public at large. The proposed tenure would bring the highest possible rent to the owner of the land. It would enable the tenant to make the most of his land, to increase the produce of the land to the largest possible extent; and, by so doing, he would not only benefit himself and his landlord, but he would benefit the public at large. If the public were interested in a large increase of the produce of the land of Great Britain, then this was the system of holding which was of the greatest interest and importance to them. It was also of importance to the labourers upon the land, because the increased capital applied in the cultivation of the soil necessarily involved a much larger demand for labour upon the soil, and compelled the farmer to offer better terms to the agricultural labourer. He was not going to enter at length on the question of peasant proprietorship. He would only say that, however well it might look as a theory, he had very great doubts whether in this country an extended system of agricultural proprietors would work well in practice. Under the system of perpetual tenure which he advocated, the cultivator of the land would possess all the advantages which he could have as a peasant proprietor, and they got clear of this difficulty—that the proprietor of a small holding of land was very apt to have an undue proportion of his capital in the fee simple of the soil; and, although it might do very well so long as the peasant proprietor was himself alive, yet, when he died, and his estate came to be divided—a small holding was a kind of subject which could not be conveniently or readily divided — the farm would have to be sold in order that the property might be divided among the children, or would have to be mortgaged — a far more expensive system than the perpetual rent system which he advocated. With a perpetual rent the farmer could more easily enter upon a holding—that is, he would not require so large a capital — mortgaging would be avoided, and the perpetual tenant would have all the freedom in cultivation and all the security in his improvements which a peasant proprietor had. The true principle was that the cultivator of the soil should have continuity of occupation on certain known fixed conditions, and he considered the practical application of the principle indispensable to improved cultivation. If the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire had not moved his Amendment, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) should have moved an Amendment—not condemning this Bill absolutely, but declaring the remedies proposed in it were altogether inadequate to meet the necessities of the case.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he wished to say a few words with regard to the Bill of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). If he felt any difficulty in reference to that Bill, it did not arise as to its intention, but as to the machinery by which it was proposed to carry it out. The intention was to cure a defect, one which was admitted on all hands, in the Agricultural Holdings Act. When that Bill was brought in there was a great unwillingness to make it compulsory ; and he did not believe that either the tenants or the landlords of the country would even yet agree that it should be made compulsory on both parties. On the other hand, those who were instrumental in passing the measure—and he, among others—did not desire or expect that a a mere notice would be sufficient to exclude the question as to the compensation a tenant was entitled to for unexhausted improvements. The object of the Bill was that such compensation should be secured to the outgoing tenant, and so far he was prepared to go ; but he thought it was a mistake for his hon. Friend to have inserted in the Bill a second statutory form of compensation, the effect of which would be to confuse the legislation on the subject. It would, he thought, be better to provide that the Agricultural Holdings Act should take effect compulsorily, in default of some other *bonâ fide* contract between landlord and tenant for securing compensation to the tenant; and he had no doubt that with that view his hon. Friend would be willing, in Committee of the Whole House, or before a Select Committee, to agree to any arrangement which would carry out such a system of compulsory compensation as he had indicated. A draftsman could, he thought, arrange a general form of contract which would settle once and for all the question of compensation between landlord and tenant, and which could be inserted on the Committee stage of the Bill, supposing it were allowed to go so far. Having admitted the desirableness of giving compensation to the tenant for unexhausted improvements, he must say that the hon. Gentleman who spoke last (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had gone a great deal further, and said there should be compensation given for the increased value of the holding at the end of the tenancy. Now, a great deal of such increased value was, no doubt, due to good farming, of which the tenant ought to have the benefits; but it was due also to the improvements of the landlord. The increased value, also, to a certain extent, was due to the increased wealth of the country, and probably to local circumstances; and, therefore, the suggestion of the hon. Member went too far. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was in favour of a system of leases, and wished they were more popular with both landlords and tenants. At the same time, it seemed to him that it would be essentially unjust to the landlord, if, on the expiration of a tenancy, a landlord was not to be at liberty to obtain the best price he could for the article he had to supply. The Bill of his hon. Friend, and the Bill also of the hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Thomas Acland), went as far as he was prepared to go, and he thought they would cure the grievances of the agricultural community generally. As he had said, complicated arrangements were not desirable, and what they wanted was some simple arrangement about which there could be no dispute at the end of the tenancy; whereas a second statutory plan of compensation would tend to complicate and confuse legislation on the subject. He did not believe that, as a rule, rents had been raised against existing tenants; but, as English tenants were not so fond of remaining in one holding as the Irish were, landlords had taken advantage of the changes when they occurred. He did not think that tenants wanted perpetual leases; they liked to be free to move about, from time to time, when they had exhausted their efforts in a particular locality.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, this Bill of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) is, in many respects, an interesting Bill. It is an interesting Bill in that which it proposes, and it is, perhaps, a still more interesting Bill because of the quarter from which it proceeds. It shows, I think, a great intellectual progress on agricultural questions on the part of the authors of the Bill. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire has greatly advanced in this subject in the course of the last five or six years. I see the second name on this Bill is one well known in this House, being that of a Gentleman who has lately been acting in very close alliance with the promoters of the Land League, and who, I suppose, is willing to join with my hon. Friend in the principles which characterize that body—I mean the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen). That hon. Member, who now forms a fifth Party in this House, a Party which represents very advanced views, is the second sponsor of the measure. Now, the history of this measure is also very interesting. My hon. Friend said he had always maintained the doctrine that it was for the interest of agriculture, and for the interest of the nation, that the tenant should be encouraged, as well as the landlord, to put capital into the soil, not merely for his commercial benefit, but for the general national advantage, and that unless that were done, no tenant would really put capital into the soil, except in such a form as he might expect to enjoy during his tenure. Those are principles for which, on this side of the House, we have always contended. There was, as we are told, in 1875, a very eminent agriculturist, Mr. Pusey, who, the late Prime Minister, when introducing the Agricultural Holdings Bill of 1875, said, had during the whole of his lifetime called attention to a blot in the hierarchy of the land, which was a defect in security of this kind to the tenant; and the avowed object of the Act of 1875 was to erase that blot, and give that security to the tenant which, under the existing arrangements of this country, did not exist, and which, consequently, he did not possess. The case was the same as that of the tenure of a house at the fag-end of the lease. When the Bill was introduced, it was strongly criticized by hon. Gentlemen who then sat on the Opposition side of the House, and I took the liberty of pointing out that the measure would necessarily fail in consequence of its permissive character. I opposed the Bill, because I thought, as did others who thought with me, that it ought to be opposed, not on account of what it was likely to achieve, but on account of what it professed to aim at, and the changes to which I felt certain it must ultimately lead. We were told that all our ideas on that subject were wrong, and that such a thing as making the Bill compulsory would never be tolerated. The Bill was a permissive Bill, must be a permissive Bill, and would always be a permissive Bill. We pointed out that the clause which secured freedom of contract would inevitably result in the landowners contracting themselves out of the Act, and I think no one can say we were not false prophets in that respect. It turned out, as I said at the time, to be a piece of sham legislation. That remark was, perhaps, more terse than polite, and the author of the Bill took me to task for that phrase, and said it was only called a sham Bill by vulgar and ignorant persons. I must accept all the severity of that language; but I say that the language of vulgar and ignorant persons is now admitted by the whole of the Conservative Party. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman says No; but if the Act of 1875 was not a sham Bill, what was the necessity for this Bill? The great cardinal clause of the Act of 1875 was the clause allowing parties to contract themselves out of the Act; and it is perfectly well known that, practically speaking, the whole land in England has been contracted out of the Act. What are the circumstances which render it more necessary in 1881 to repeal the fundamental portion of the Act of 1875 than in 1879? If there is any fundamental principle at all in the present Bill, it is its non-permissive character. Nothing, therefore, can be more calculated to demonstrate that the Bill of 1875, which was permissive, was a sham measure. The great and cardinal principle of that Bill was contained in the 54th clause—

"Nothing in this Act shall prevent the landlord and tenant from entering into and carrying into effect any such agreement as they think fit, or shall interfere with the operation thereof."

Now, I find the object of the present Bill, in the 6th clause, is to repeal the 54th clause of the Act of 1875, and cut out that sacred root of freedom of contract. I cannot understand why the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire has waited for the year 1881 to repeal that clause. During the period of the late Administration it is perfectly well known that, practically speaking, the whole land of England has been contracted out of the operation of the Act of 1875. Let us look at the scheme of this Bill. It professes to offer three alternatives. First, the alternative of the Act of 1875; second, the Lincolnshire custom contained in the Schedule to the Bill; and, third—

"Tenant's compensation for improvements to be made by him on the holding shall be under the Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Act, 1881, according to the special contract following, that is to say."

The two parties not satisfied with the Lincolnshire custom, under the Bill of 1875, are to draw up a scheme which is appropriate to their particular holding, and will be most beneficial to the contracting parties. I can understand that. But then the two parties, having drawn up the special contract and entered into all the details, having plighted their troth to that agreement, and it having been enforced for a certain period, by Clause 7, if the tenant can show in arbitration that the special contract does not secure to him reasonable compensation, he may in lieu thereof claim something else. I have never been enamoured of freedom of contract; but this is not the way in which I should proceed if I were dealing with it. A more remarkable piece of machinery for defeating freedom of contract was never yet invented. It looks like the ingenious device of a person who wants to destroy freedom of contract, and does not like to say so. When I had the responsibility of introducing the Ground Game Bill, I did not proceed in that way. I made it perfectly clear that the tenant should have a right to the ground game, and that by no contract should he be allowed to evade this provision. What would the House have thought of me if, in proposing that Bill, I had said that the landlord and tenant should draw up an elaborate special contract, and that, having done so, after the lapse of any time, the tenant should turn round and say he would not be bound by that contract, but by something else entirely different? I cannot but think that such a piece of legislation as would allow a man to make a contract and then to break it, would be to throw everything into confusion, and create a great amount of doubt in the minds of all, or most, of the persons interested. I suppose, however, it is a plan which commends itself to the hon. Gentleman and his Friends who are in a process of conversion, and we cannot expect men under these circumstances to have very clear ideas on the subject. We have made up our minds long ago. We shall go directly to the point; but I am far from wishing to discourage or interfere with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire in the promising attitude which he has assumed in reference to this question, and which gives an encouraging prospect of his complete conversion at no very distant date. Those who have clear views on the subject are not in the same difficulty. Having voted for the Bill of 1875, not because of the very little that it would actually achieve, but for what it involved, and also as the beginning of a new system which struck at the foundation of the ancient edifice of entail, and would clear the way for a speedy and certain reform of the laws affecting land, I shall, upon the same grounds, vote for this Bill. In the debate which arose on the Bill of 1875, the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) said he believed the measure laid down principles which would have their consequences in the future. The present Bill proves the accuracy of that prediction in that it, in my opinion, contains within it the germs of principles which may prove extremely useful in the reform of the Land Laws, which cannot be long delayed. I do not think, unless the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire still adheres to his principles, that we shall hear anything more after this Bill of freedom of contract, in the sense in which we have used the word. While under the existing law there was freedom to make contracts for the holding of land, there is here a still greater freedom to make a contract and a freedom to break it. That is a new form of freedom of contract; but I do not think that so promising an attempt in the direction of securing something to the tenant ought to be discouraged by the House. I shall certainly not follow my hon and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Rodwell) in voting against the Bill. The fact is, that I am not in the position of my hon. and learned Friend. I have not got a rival Bill in the field. The straightforward way would, undoubtedly, have been to say distinctly that the tenant should be entitled to fair compensation for what he had put into the land; but the Government, as the House is aware, are not able to deal with the Land Laws in England during the present Session, and it would ill become them to act the part of dogs in the manger. If the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire and those who sit around him, think that a measure of this kind, enabling a man to make a contract and to break it, will be of advantage to the parties which they represent, the Government offer no sort of objection to it; but, at the same time, I cannot hold out any hope to the hon. Member that his proposal will effect a permanent settlement of the question. I hope that before the end of this Parliament Her Majesty's present Advisers will be able to undertake to deal with it on more intelligible principles than are contained in the Bill of the hon. Member, and to place the whole matter on a more solid foundation than that on which it at present rests. In the meantime, if the supporters of this Bill desire that a man should have leave and licence to do what he likes with his contract, and if they desire that we should show the sympathy which we all feel for agricultural distress, which nobody can deny, then it may be a proper way to testify that feeling by reading this Bill a second time. There is, I may add, one suggestion with which I cannot agree—I do not think it would be desirable to refer it, with other measures of a like character, to a Select Committee. I think we are all capable of understanding and appreciating the principles on which it proceeds; but I have no opposition to offer to the second reading.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL, in supporting the Bill, said, he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman had been a little hard on the Conservative Party, in twitting them, as he had done, on having changed their opinions slightly in regard to the sanctity of freedom of contract. He would, however, admit that the Conservative Members who brought the Bill forward had, in a certain degree, somewhat altered their views upon the subject since 1875. When the Act of 1875 was passing through Parliament, it was thought right for landlords and tenants to have power to contract themselves out of the Act; and he (Mr. Staveley Hill) would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that, at that period, one of the strongest supporters of the principle of freedom of contract was a noble Duke, now a prominent Member of the Administration, who thought so strongly about it that he not only spoke in defence of the principle, but disseminated his speech by means of a pamphlet throughout the country. He should like to know whether that noble Duke had likewise changed his opinions? He (Mr. Staveley Hill) himself introduced a Bill in reference to the question last Session; and as that measure was somewhat on the same lines as the present Bill, he hoped that if the measure was to be referred to a Select Committee, he would be allowed to re-introduce his Bill in order that it might be referred to the same Committee. The Agricultural Holdings Act did confer appreciable advantages upon the tenant farmer; and it was now sought to secure to the tenant all the compensation that was given to him by that Act. He could not admit that the cost of carrying out the provisions of that Act was unduly large; and as to stability of tenure, he contended that all that was wanted was, not perpetual leases, but an Act under which tenants should hold their farms without unnecessary restrictions, and with a security that on giving up their holding they should receive sufficient compensation for improvements, either from the incoming tenants, or from the landlords. For the purpose of ascertaining whether the amount of compensation was sufficient, it was desirable that he should have the option of the three systems proposed in this Bill. The last thing that English tenants wished was to be rooted to the soil, and they were also opposed to having leases.

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE, who had on the Paper a Motion to refer the Bill, together with the Agricultural Holdings Act (No. 2) Bill, and two Bills relating to Distress for Rent, to a Select Committee, said, he must congratulate the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) upon the fact that he had elicited from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department the satisfactory assurance that the Government would deal with the subject. After that intimation, it would be futile for him (Mr. Story-Maskelyne) to persist with the Motion, of which he had given Notice, to refer this and other Bills on the same subject to a Select Committee. He considered the Bill was really a re-enactment of the Act of 1875, with the permissive clause left out, and the insertion of an alternative scheme for that of the Act, consisting of the well-known Lincolnshire custom—a custom by no means adapted to the rest of England. To his mind, that was not a satisfactory way of dealing with the question of compensation to the tenant for what he had put into the soil and had not taken from it. He believed the simpler the form in which the compensation was insured to the tenant the better would be the Bill which embodied it. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) proposed to reduce the landlords to a set of copyhold landlords, by compelling them to give perpetual leases to their tenants. The result of that would be to introduce between the class of landlords and the working men a class of permanent tenants, whom Parliament would ultimately have to deal with over again in a measure similar to those now before the House, because they would act exactly as proprietors did now. That proposition put itself out of court the moment it was looked at, for it would effectually check the accomplishment of the desire of the labouring class to become farmers themselves. If that proposition was eliminated from the discussion, there was a practical unanimity on all sides of the House in favour of giving the tenant such full compensation as that the landlord or the succeeding occupier should not reap advantage to the loss of the outgoing tenant on account of work or material put by him into the soil. He (Mr. Story-Maskelyne), though he felt his proposal was a reasonable one, and indeed the most advantageous way of dealing with all the Bills akin to this, withdrew from the position which he had taken up with the less regret, because, after what had fallen from his right hon. Friend, he felt that in the hands of the Government the question would be dealt with simply, shortly, and thoroughly.

MR. R. H. PAGET, in supporting the Bill, said, the hon. Member in whose charge it was (Mr. Chaplin) only wished to gain the assent of the House to the principle involved, and was perfectly content, after that had been done, that it should be submitted to any process by means of which its provisions could be investigated and possibly improved. The Bill had received the support of the Central Chamber of Agriculture; and it was a great mistake to suppose that it was put forward as a remedy for agricultural distress or grievances. The reason for its introduction was simply that the Act of 1875, though very largely used, had not operated to the extent to which its promoters expected it would; and its object was to set forth clearly a just principle that ought to be included in every agreement between landlords and tenants. The provisions of the Act of 1875 were not made compulsory, because of the difficulty that was felt in setting forth within the four corners of an Act of Parliament provisions applicable to all the circumstances of the case; and that circumstance had, doubtless, prevented that statute from being brought into extensive use. But if that measure had not been directly used to any great extent, its indirect effect had been very great by causing agreements to be entered into in thousands of cases which embodied its best provisions. The object of the present measure was to give an elasticity to, and extend the operations of, that Act, so that every holding in the Kingdom might be brought within its scope. It was desired merely to render it available as an alternative for the benefit of tenants in cases where it could advantageously be resorted to; and all that was intended was to give the tenant in every case reasonable compensation, without being absolutely submitted to every detail that was in the Act. That, he maintained, was distinctly the object of the Bill. It did not want to thrust the Lincolnshire custom down the throats of everyone. If it did he should vote against it, because he did not apprehend for a moment that the Lincolnshire custom was one applicable to the whole of England. If a landlord chose to let his land worth £500 a-year for £450 a-year, and the tenant agreed to take it on condition that he should not be entitled to compensation, he could not see why any Act of Parliament should interfere to prevent two sensible men from coming to such an arrangement. He wished to see the Bill read a second time; and he was satisfied that the principle of it was one that would meet with general acceptance, though the details were open to criticism in Committee, and would require considerable amendment.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, that he should not have ventured to trespass on the House, but for some remarks of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). He must say that, as a Member for Scotland, he was surprised to hear that improvements were made by tenants in the North of Scotland quite as much as they were by tenants in Ireland, and that, therefore, they were entitled to be placed in the same position. That was a statement which must have startled some of the Representatives for the North of Scotland. He (Mr. R. W. Duff) quite admitted that there were a great many cases where tenants in the North Eastern counties of Scotland had done a great deal for their farms. They generally held their farms on 19 years' leases, and had entered into arrangements with their landlords as to these leases; and he ventured to say that drawing a comparison between the rights prevailing in the North of Scotland and the rights prevailing in Ireland was utterly misleading, as they had nothing of the character of tenant right as it was in Ireland. Such a thing was not recognized in the North of Scotland; therefore, the conclusion that the hon. Gentleman came to that they should have fixity of tenure, as they were in the same position as Irish tenants, was altogether erroneous. He ventured to say that the proposition of fixity of tenure would not grow in the opinion of the country or in the opinion of the House, and that when they came to have an extended franchise, that idea would not be so popular as the hon. Member for Forfarshire seemed to think. There were always farm servants looking forward to taking farms, and tenants who looked forward to taking larger farms, and they would not like to have a new class created occupying the relative positions that proprietors now occupied. He (Mr. R. W. Duff) did not know how to meet a statement like that of the hon. Member, except by stating what came under his own observation. The custom in Scotland, as he had said before, was to let a farm upon a 19 years' lease. Any reasonable improvements used to be made by the landlord; but he was sorry to say that that state of things no longer remained, because now, when the farm was out of lease, the practice was for the landlord to pay for certain improvements. Consequently, the landlord was very lucky if he got the old rent. Therefore, it was misleading to say that improvements were paid for by the tenant. There was a considerable difference in the tone adopted by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) and the hon. Member for Forfarshire, though they both represented the Farmers' Alliance. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire was very moderate; but the hon. Member for Forfarshire told them very distinctly what he meant, and they knew what he wanted; but he (Mr. R. W. Duff) ventured to think those opinions would not be so popular as the hon. Gentleman supposed they would be. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire told them that his idea of an unobjectionable lease was that which was granted by Lord Tollemache, and that security of tenure was granted by 20 years' leases. If the hon. Member was satisfied with a 20 years' lease, why did his Colleague in the Farmers' Alliance come forward and talk of fixity of tenure? Now, a sa Scotch Member, he would not go into details of the Bill, because, as far as it went, he believed it would do good; but he did not attach much importance to it. He thought that in this manner of dealing with land they were putting the cart before the horse. That was a Bill to give compensation to agricultural tenants; but it was well known that many of the landlords were so situated that they were not in a position to give compensation; and, that being so, it would constantly occur that there would be cases, as there were now, where a tenant went to his landlord and said—"I am willing to do this and to do that, if you will give me compensation." The answer often was—"Your demand is perfectly reasonable; but, in the position I am placed by law, I cannot afford to grant compensation." If they wished to do some real good, they must begin at the other end, and apply the remedy to the landlords. Everyone could tell them that what was wanted in agriculture was more capital to apply to the soil. And where was that capital to come from? The most likely man to supply it was the landlord; but by artificial restrictions, by settlement laws, and entail, there was no possibility of his doing justice to the land. That was what he called the real grievance, and it would not be remedied by any such Bill as that. It was in the direction of freeing the land and freeing the capital that they must look for the remedy of agricultural distress. The noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) was a very great advocate for freedom of contract, and he (Mr. R. W. Duff) quite admitted that if it could be brought about by efficient laws, it was the best thing they could have; but, by the existing laws, it was perfectly impossible to have freedom of contract, because the restrictions on landlords placed them in a position in which they could not deal with the tenant on the ordinary footing of trade. He was very glad indeed to hear the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department that the Government intended to deal with this question in a large sense; and he hoped that when they did they would deal with it in a manner which would meet all the requirements of agriculture, and be worthy of the reputation of the Liberal Party.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON supported the second reading of the Bill, and pointed out that it had been unanimously approved of by the various Chambers of Agriculture throughout the country. But it was a great mistake to suppose that the value of agricultural land had increased in the last 20 years, as stated by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard). The mistake Mr. Caird fell into in making that statement was in taking the new assessments which had been put up to the proper value during those years some 20 and some 40 per cent. Agricultural land had rather decreased in value in the last 20 years. In his opinion, the two Bills on the subject might well be combined in Committee, The Bill of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) appeared to be the most popular, and it might well be altered in Committee so as to render it a most useful measure. He should be prepared to advocate both the Bills being sent to a Select Committee; and if the present Bill were read a second time that day, it, at all events, might be sent before such a Committee. The farmers were anxious for the Bill; and he thought that in it were to be found the bases of a very satisfactory settlement of the question.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he must congratulate the House upon the unanimous feeling that now prevailed upon the subject. If the Bill were passed as it stood, it would make the Act of 1875, which was now permissive, compulsory throughout the whole of England, in the absence of agreements of another kind. Had it stopped at that, he would have thought it a very reasonable measure; but he scarcely approved of some of the other provisions. However, he should not oppose it upon the second reading, as it contained an important principle he should like to see carried out; but he thought the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had been ill-advised when he inserted the 6th clause; and in Committee he should like to see that struck out. He could not see why the tenant should not be secured in a much simpler form; but if there was no immediate prospect of the Government dealing with the whole question, he would advise the acceptance of this measure. At the same time, there were grave objections to its clauses, especially in Clause 7, because it would enable a landlord to slip out of an agreement after he had once entered into it. What was to be done in the case of the tenant of a holding on an estate held by a tenant for life? The fact was, as the hon. Member for Banff shire (Mr. R. W. Duff) had pointed out, that the question of the position of the owner of the soil lay behind the Bill. They would have to deal with that question very soon, unless they wanted to see a very great increase in agricultural distress and a perpetuation of it. As to "stability of tenure," he could not agree with the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), as his proposal for perpetual leases would be revolutionary, and he doubted if the principle would be a wholesome one. He (Mr. W. Fowler) was no advocate of revolutionary changes; but he wanted to see the land of England held by competent owners and occupiers; and when that was the case, there would be far less necessity for tinkering legislation and making such elaborate arrangements as were proposed. He was not prepared to accept the revolutionary doctrine that the landlords should be turned into mere rent-chargers. He denied that there was diversity of interest on the part of the landlord and tenant. He was afraid that our present system was breaking down in consequence of our adhering to our old-fashioned, absurd, and preposterous Law of Entail. He believed in freedom all round, and especially in freedom of contract. It was generally agreed that it was necessary to do something more for the farmer than the existing law provided. What was required was to give the tenant security; and if he left his holding, ample compensation for his improvements. There was no class of persons more to be pitied than that of embarrassed landlords. How were such persons to hold and do justice to their tenants? All that could be done was to turn all the tenants for life into tenants in fee simple. With better Land Laws, and, consequently, better cultivation of the soil, there would be no need for fixity of tenure. He (Mr. W. Fowler) knew the case of a noble Lord who was supposed to have an income of £70,000 a-year, but who said that he had not as much to spend as when he was only a younger son. How could such a landowner do justice to his estate or his tenantry? In another case, the owner of a very large area of land was so poor, that he did not like to ask a friend to dinner. What could be more preposterous or ridiculous than laws which maintained such a state of things? He hoped the House would grapple with the question, and would also take into account the much greater and more difficult question respecting the owners of the land.

Lord ELCHO said, that he had no intention of taking part in the discussion; but personal reference had been made to him, it being implied by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department that, possibly, he (Lord Elcho) had abandoned those views as to freedom of contract which he had feebly endeavoured to explain last year and at other times in that House. He had not abandoned those views, for he believed that freedom of contract was the only sound principle of legislation between full-grown men. He thought it was a sound principle that to full-grown men there should apply freedom of contract. That was a principle which had ruled in the House of Commons from time immemorial, and which ruled specially most Liberal Members up to a peculiar time. As long as the Liberal Party was prosperous and in the ascendant, they were true to their principles of freedom of contract as full-grown men. It was not until they found themselves on the shady side of Opposition, when this Bill of 1875, to which they had had frequent reference, was brought in by a Conservative Government, and which did not impugn freedom of contract, for it enabled full-grown men to contract themselves out of it—it was not until then that the Liberal Party, a large portion of which sneered now at everyone who said a word for freedom of contract, turned their backs on the past, and all that had been written and spoken, whether by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) or anyone else. He was still convinced that the views advocated by all the great writers on political economy were sound, and that this sentimental rubbish on which it was now endeavoured to found legislation would in the end be proved to be foolish, and would do far more harm than benefit to any class to whom they might apply it. ["Oh, oh!"] Those hon. Gentlemen opposite who sneered at those who advocated freedom of contract were very loud themselves in denouncing any kind of interference with what touched the kind of interest with which they were themselves specially connected. As a proof of that, he would refer to the Mines legislation of last year and the legislation of last year with reference to workmen. Anything, then, that interfered with freedom of contract with the right of every man to deal freely with these matters was objectionable. He would, however, turn from that point to his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), to whom, as the "Farmer's Friend," he looked up as a great Pundit on agricultural matters. He (Lord Elcho) approved of his Motion last night; but in this matter the position of his hon. Friend was peculiar. This was the second time his hon. Friend had brought in this Bill; and let them recollect who his hon. Friend was who had brought it in. He was a Member of an Agricultural Commission, to whom had been referred this and all other cognate questions, and almost before that Commission had touched the fringe of this question, he last year rushed down in hot haste to that House and laid before it a Bill to legislate upon an important matter, specially referred to him. That, he (Lord Elcho) thought, was unique in a Member of Parliament. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for West Staffordshire (Mr. Staveley Hill) took the same line, and the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) also took the line of endeavouring to do away with freedom of contract, and to make legislation compulsory which, in the year 1875, they maintained ought not to be compulsory. When he (Lord Elcho) heard the arguments of these hon. and learned Gentlemen, it reminded him very much of an illustration. It was as if at cards they were playing the twos, the threes, and the fours, and the sixes, when they knew that if they tried that game, and got the farmers' vote by it, the Government, led by the real Farmer's Friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department—the real honest Farmers' Friend—had the higher trump cards in his hand, and would not hesitate to play them. The right hon. Gentleman told them they were to have an honest Bill. Well, it would, no doubt, in one sense, be an honest Bill; but it would be the kind of honesty that would trump the hon. Members for Mid Lincolnshire, West Staffordshire, and Cambridgeshire. Whatever little Bills they might bring in, the king of trumps would come forward, and would overtrump them; and it would be, therefore, a thoroughly honest Bill to keep them, as far as farmers were concerned, in Opposition, and to keep the right hon. Gentleman himself and his Friends in power. He (Lord Elcho) had very great doubt of the wisdom of the policy of the Conservatives in tampering with this subject; because, what was the only chance of the Conservatives coming back to power? It was this. That when hon. Gentlemen opposite quarrelled among themselves upon the Church or some other matter—when the Government had plundered some interest, and, by plundering one interest, had frightened all the others—they had done that before, and they were not unlikely to do it again—the only chance for the Conservatives was that the electors of this country, who knew there was at any rate one body of men who were true to principles, and would not tamper with principles, would vote for men who took their stand upon sound and steady ground. This discussion was on that account very useful. But the debate had been useful in another respect. It was a warning. The speech of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) was a warning. He had not heard it, because when the hon. Member for Forfarshire got up, he went to lunch, and therefore he lost the speech. But the hon. Member alluded to perpetuity of leases in Scotland as a remedy. Now, that was a warning, because it showed the forces that prevail, and how far one might travel when they got on the wrong line of rails. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) had gone in for two of the three F's. At any rate, he had given Notice of an Amendment that day, from which he had run away, but which had served its purpose. The hon. Member was not, after consultation with his Friends, going to make any definite proposal; but he had used his landlord grubber for stirring up the legislative soil with a view to planting in it the three F's, or something more, whenever the political weather appeared to have arrived for legislating in that way. Having been one of those who opposed a wrong principle in the Irish Land Bill, and seeing what the result in the case of Ireland had been, he protested against this attempt at legislation. The course he ventured to think—and the only safe and right one—the House should pursue in the interests of agriculture was not to follow a wrong line, but to hark back to a sound line, and that was to leave every full-grown man to manage his own affairs in matters of this description without interference from the State. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire was in favour of an assessment committee composed of landlords and tenants, and he proposed that that committee should prevent evictions and unjust and exorbitant rents. [Mr. JAMES HOWARD: I never made use of the words eviction or rent.] He had written them down at the time; but, of course, if the hon. Member repudiated them, he would not dwell upon the matter. However that might be, the hon. Member had certainly said he was in favour of large farms. He (Lord Elcho) believed large capital and abundant agricultural machinery were required for profitable farming; and if the hon. Gentleman wished to bring in a measure which would really benefit the agriculturists of Great Britain more than anything else, he would bring in a Bill to refer to a committee of landlords and tenants the fixing of the price of agricultural implements. Then would he say that the hon. Gentleman was not only the farmers' friend, but his disinterested friend; but, until then, he reserved his decision. He had only further to say that no man was more interested in land than himself, and he was naturally interested in the prosperity of the tenant, and was prepared to do all he could for him, consistent with sound principle. He made no virtue of it; it was his interest, his duty, to endeavour to do so; but he maintained that it was neither by perpetuity of leases, nor by two of the three F's, nor the several Bills of private Members, nor yet the honest Bill of his right hon. and learned Friend, which was to give to A the property of B without paying for it — for that was what it meant—that they would do any good. Not one of those proposals in the last three years would have saved them from distress, as it was said they would now. Why, there was distress before the Bill of 1875; but that distress was made the means to another end, which was an endeavour to pass legislation to catch the farmers' vote at the expense of the landlords. It was not legislation that could bring agriculture round, because capital was not repelled from the land. But capital was repelled from land at the present moment because land had not paid. There was but one good remedy, and that was—not shady legislation such as they had heard suggested; it was the return of sunshine to bless the labour of the farmer.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said, an endeavour had been made by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) to fix upon hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House the charge of outbidding the Conservative Party. That charge did not apply to himself personally, for he had consistently maintained one course on this subject. He adhered to the principle which Mr. Pusey put before the House 30 years ago—that there were certain indispensable requirements for good farming, one of which was clean and good husbandry, and another was that a tenant should be compensated for what he had laid out upon land. Unexhausted manures were perfectly intelligible; but he wished to know what was meant by an unexhausted farm or an unexhausted dwelling? If they meant anything by those phrases, did they think 20 years long enough to exhaust the whole building of a house? He wanted to know whether it was true that a large number of farmers in England were anxious to lend their money to landlords? He believed it was not so? He accepted with great pleasure the assurance of the Government that they would deal with the subject at the earliest opportunity. He trusted that, in doing so, they would take the matter up seriously; and it was his opinion that whatever legislation might be adopted on this subject, it should be of a compulsory and not a permissive character. It was important, in the present state of farming, that little farmers as well as big farmers should be perfectly certain that if they farmed well up to the end of their holdings they would not leave unexhausted manures in the land without compensation.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he had to find fault with the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) that he had not stood by his Amendment as he had promised to do, so that, after all, it came to nothing but a flash in the pan. His noble Friend (Lord Elcho) had complained of the course he (Mr. Chaplin) had taken, and said that his position in reference to the subject was unique. He was a Member of a Royal Commission, and his noble Friend said it was unheard of that any Gentleman on a Royal Commission should venture to introduce to the notice of Parliament a Bill relating to the subject-matter of that Commission. But his noble Friend was mistaken. Another Member of a Royal Commission had introduced a Bill relating to the subject-matter of the Commission of which he was a Member; that Bill had not only been read a second time, but had passed through Committee, and he was not sure whether it had not passed into law. He denied altogether both that allegation of his noble Friend and the further one that he (Mr. Chaplin) was making a bid for the farmer's vote. The Bill was based on the principle of justice to the tenant farmer, and on that principle alone, on that sound Conservative principle in the highest sense of the word. If that was not a Conservative policy he did not know what was; but the fact was that the words "free contract" had the same effect upon the noble Lord that a red flag had upon a bull. The Bill in no way interfered with that principle beyond depriving the landlords of the power of depriving their tenants of that which really belonged to them, which he was sure the noble Lord would rather cut off his right hand than do; but its object was to make the Act of 1875 a reality. That was the sole interference with freedom of contract which the Bill proposed. He was most anxious to see a return of prosperity to agriculture; but he never supposed for a moment that that could be secured by the Bill. Agricultural prosperity did not depend upon legislation. It was useless to look for the causes of agriculture depression, and equally useless to look for their remedy in a change of the Land Laws, which experience had shown them to be compatible with the highest possible degree of agricultural prosperity. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department wanted to know why he (Mr. Chaplin) had changed his opinions in respect to compulsion, and his answer to that was that he had not done so, but, on the contrary, he had been consistent throughout. Indeed, he had always advocated legislation on this subject being placed on a compulsory footing as far as possible, and since 1875 he had gained considerable additional information on the question, which had led him, it might be to some extent, to modify his views on the subject of freedom of contract. It had been said that until there was security of capital and of tenure there would be no amelioration in the condition of agriculture. That was what his Bill intended to effect, and what in his humble opinion it would effect, and he had not heard anything from the hon. Member for Bedfordshire or any other hon. Member which showed that the Bill would not produce that effect. The custom which the Bill proposed to extend prevailed, not only throughout Lincolnshire, but in parts of Yorkshire, in the whole of Nottinghamshire, and, he believed, in Derbyshire and other counties. A great many of the objections urged against this Bill had been on small matters of detail which could be thoroughly discussed in Committee; and he believed that if the House would agree to the second reading they would do much to remove causes of discontent and misunderstanding, not without some justice, among farmers in connection with the Act of 1875, and which it was the object of the Bill honestly to remove.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that no one on that (the Opposition) side of the House had thanked the Government for consenting to this stage of the Bill. As one who had long taken an interest in the subject, he begged to express his thanks to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt), without whose consent the second reading of the Bill could not have passed. He perfectly concurred in the objection, which the right hon. and learned Gentleman very ably stated, with respect to the 7th clause of the Bill; but that clause could be easily amended or expunged in Committee. It was highly satisfactory that the Members of the Government did not entertain the somewhat revolutionary views with respect to the ownership of land, which, borrowing their opinions from the Irish Land League, he (Mr. Newdegate) supposed, some hon. Members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House had expressed. They spoke as if the English and Scotch landowners were possessed of their estates by some illegitimate means, and, failing to recognize the difference between the position of the English and the Scotch, as distinguished from the Irish landowners, seemed to credit the English and Scotch tenants with the whole of the improvements, whether in buildings or in other respects, which had been made for the purposes of agriculture in Great Britain, ignoring the millions which had been expended by the English and Scotch landowners in the improvement of their property. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) had cited the authority of Mr. Caird in showing the increase of rental, which had during a considerable period, extending over years, appeared in the Returns of rental; but neither the hon. Member nor Mr. Caird appeared to make any allowance for the fact that that increase of rental represented the increase of capital applied by the landlords to the improvement of their estates. [MR. JAMES HOWARD: No, no!] At all events, Mr. Caird, whom the hon. Member quoted, had never adduced or attempted any estimate of the capital invested by the landlords. He (Mr. Newdegate) asserted, without fear of contradiction, that by far the greater part of the increase of the rental represented the investment of capital by the

British landlords. It had been admitted in that debate that there were two capitals employed in the promotion of British agriculture—the capital of the tenant employed in actual cultivation, and the capital of the landlord employed in preparation for that cultivation. Had it not been for the increase and extension of the capital which he (Mr. Newdegate) had last mentioned to the actual cultivation of the land, British agriculture must have receded further than it had during the depression of the last three or four years. He, himself, was occupying at that present moment a considerable portion of his estate, and many landlords in other parts of the county he represented were, under existing circumstances, owing to the failure of their tenants, actually cultivating larger proportions of their estates than he was. Those who admitted that the maintenance of British agriculture was of national importance—and he alluded to hon. Members opposite, who seemed to entertain the revolutionary idea of the confiscation of the landlords' property—with a strange inconsistency appeared willing, like the hon. Member for the borough of Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), to confiscate the very capital upon the application of which the maintenance of English agriculture at present depended. The hon. Member for the borough of Cambridge dilated upon the encumbered condition of many landowners, and taunted them with being unable to assist their tenants, forgetting that when a landlord could not apply fresh capital, the tenants might be compensated by the abandonment of rent for a more or less extended period. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had moved for a Return showing the comparatively small number of persons in Great Britain who were nominally landowners; but that Return was fallacious if taken to represent the number of persons actually interested in the ownership of land, for it was not merely the landlord and his family who were interested in the ownership of land and the maintenance of English agriculture. There were other encumbrances other than the family landowners. There was the great body of mortgagees; the mortgagee never appeared in the Return, to which he (Mr. Newdegate) alluded, as at all concerned with the maintenance of the cultivation of the estate, in which, nevertheless, his capital was directly invested; and upon the proceeds of that estate he was as directly dependent for the interest of his capital as was the landlord for his rent, and yet the mortgagee never appeared in the Return moved for by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham as at all concerned in the ownership of the estate. He was, however, directly interested in the cultivation of the estate which furnished security for his capital. If taken as representing the number of persons actually interested in the ownership of landed property and the maintenance of British agriculture, that Return was utterly fallacious; the number of persons directly interested in the ownership of land in Great Britain, and therefore in the maintenance of its agriculture, was at least four or five times larger than the number of landowners given in that Return. That was a circumstance which ought not to be overlooked by those who acknowledged that the maintenance of British agriculture was of national importance; and it was scarcely possible to exaggerate the enormous national importance of maintaining British agriculture to the greatest possible extent in the event of war. It was now 33 years since he (Mr. Newdegate) moved and carried in that House the appointment of the Committee on Agricultural Customs, including the subject of compensation to tenants, the subject-matter of the Bill now before the House. He also moved his late Friend, Mr. Pusey, into the Chair of that Committee. The investigation of that Committee had been so complete, that no subsequent Committee on the same subject had been appointed; but the evidence taken before that Committee, and the Report of that Committee had been reprinted. Mr. Pusey's views on the compensation to the tenants had been at first, in his (Mr. Newdegate's) opinion, exaggerated; but he could assure the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devonshire (Sir Thomas Acland) that Mr. Pusey's opinions had been greatly modified before he died, and that latterly there was no great difference between the late Mr. Pusey's opinions and those he himself entertained. The substance of the Report of that Committee was embodied in the Bill of the hon. Gentleman for Mid Lincolnshire. He (Mr. Newdegate) therefore claimed, in favour of the principle of that Bill, that it was the result of matured experience and research of the House itself. He trusted that the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) would not press his Amendment against the Bill to a division, for he (Mr. Newdegate) was sure the hon. and learned Member must be conscious that no unnecessary differences should appear among those who were working in a common cause for the maintenance of British agriculture.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he could not concur in the views expressed by the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), which might be good for a new country. What was required for England was that they should have security for the capital invested in the proper cultivation of the land. He supported the Bill; and while objecting to some of its details, regretted that the Government had not agreed to allow it, and also the second Bill on the same subject which stood on the Paper, to be considered by a Select Committee. That would have been a proper course for the Government to have taken.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, he did not object to the two Bills being considered in a Select Committee; but he hoped, if the second reading were now carried, the Government would carry the principles of the Bill much further than the promoters contemplated. The whole subject of land tenure should be dealt with in the interest of the public, and land should be freed from the fetters which prevented the best arrangements being made for its proper cultivation, and the development of its latent capabilities, in the interest of the community at large.

MR. RODWELL said, that after the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) that he would offer no opposition on the part of the Government to the Bill in which he (Mr. Rodwell) was interested, he begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

LEASES BILL.—[BILL 108.]

(*Mr. Davey, Mr. Gregory, Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Chitty.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Davey.*)

MR. WARTON said, the Bill was nearly identical with one of which he had charge last Session, and which was withdrawn on the assurance of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General that it could not be carried, because the Government were about to bring forward a grand scheme on that subject. The grand scheme had not appeared, but he was glad to see this Bill in abler hands than his own.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SLIGO BOROUGH RE-ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.—[BILL 62.]

(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. D. M. O'Conor, Major Nolan, Dr. Commins, Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SEXTON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was expressed in the title. It was to restore to the borough of Sligo the Parliamentary representation of which it was deprived 13 years ago on the Report of an Election Judge. He should hope the Motion was one which would not receive opposition. The town of Sligo, although not equal to Galway in population, was in trade and position even superior; and every hon. Member would recognize the importance of giving a fair share of urban representation to the Province of Connaught. It was proved 13 years ago that corruption existed only among a small group of needy voters, who received bribes from unscrupulous election agents. For the future, the Ballot Act had precluded the possibility of any such agencies of corruption being successfully exercised in the borough; and he might refer to his own return for the county, which cost only slightly over £200, or 3*s*. per voter, as a strong proof of the political purity which now prevailed. There was considerable commercial activity at Sligo, and he thought the time had now come when the place ought to be again represented in that House. With those few remarks—the time remaining for Business being very short—he would respectfully, but confidently, move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was impossible for the Government to agree to the second reading. Whatever might have been the cause of the original disfranchisement of Sligo, it was thought sufficient by the Legislature to justify the imposition of disfranchisement upon it, and an Act was passed, in consequence of corrupt practices, to disfranchise it. There were several other boroughs which were in the same condition, and which would very likely be disposed to urge their claims to be allowed again to exercise the franchise. Therefore, if anything was to be said on behalf of Sligo, it must be said when the question arose as a whole as to what was to be done for the re-distribution of the vacant seats. It might be that a case might then be made out for the return to Sligo of its privileges; but he could say nothing on that point now, seeing that it was impossible to take up the case of that one borough in the way now proposed.

MR. LEWIS said, of course, he could not support the Bill; but he rose to draw attention to the very extraordinary way in which the people of Ireland had been treated with regard to their representation in the last two or three Parliaments. Under the Act of Union they were entitled to a certain number of Representatives; but this was the third Parliament in which the principle had not been kept up. The attention of Parliament had been frequently drawn to the omission to fill up the vacant seats, and Motions and suggestions had been made from time to time to the Government in power; but nothing had been done, and they began to fear that nothing ever would be done. It was perfectly well known that he (Mr. Lewis) took no part with the Irish Members below the Gangway, and he had no sympathy with the proposal of the Bill as to this particular seat; but he thought there was a slight upon the Irish people and the Irish representation which ought not to be allowed to go on so long. Successive Governments had entirely given the "go by" to the right of the Irish people either to be represented according to the Act of Union, or to the necessity to have the borough representation reformed, re-modelled, and placed upon a complete and proper basis. On behalf of his own constituency he objected to that slighting way of treating a great question as though it were of no importance. Not only the present Government, but the last Government, and its two Predecessors, seemed to attach no importance whatever to the question whether this matter should or should not be dealt with. He spoke on behalf of a constituency that, in the event of a re-distribution of the Irish representation, whereby it might be placed on a better footing, might probably ask for another Representative. [*Laughter.*] That seemed to shock the consciences of some hon. Members opposite; but he could not understand any Irish Member ridiculing the rights of the country, although they had been so long in abeyance. As to the borough representation generally, nothing could be more scandalous than it was at present in Ireland. [Major NOLAN: Divide, divide!] He wondered whether the hon. and gallant Gentleman thought he was the only person having a right to speak, as he did almost every day. There was hardly a day in the week but the House was favoured with the hon. and gallant Gentleman's views, and yet it seemed the hon. and gallant Member thought he had the right to call upon him (Mr. Lewis) to "shut up," who spoke only about once a month.

MR. SPEAKER called upon the hon. Member to address himself to the Chair.

MR. LEWIS said, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman, although he was one of the paid servants of Her Majesty, seemed to prefer spending his time in the House to doing his duty elsewhere. ["Oh, oh!" *and* "Order!"] He thought it right to protest that the hon. and gallant Gentleman should not interrupt him in that way; for, when he ventured to touch a subject of such importance, he thought he ought to be protected from interference. Reverting to the Question before the House, he would merely say that he objected to the Bill for the re-enfranchisement of Sligo, as it would simply add to the number of anomalies that existed in Irish representation already. He preferred to call the attention of the Government to the impropriety of allowing the representation of Ireland to remain in the incomplete state in which it had been for many years past.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 180: Majority 150.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

CONSOLIDATED FUND (No. 2) BILL.

(Mr Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Frederick Cavendish.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR objected to the second reading, on the ground that he had not been furnished with certain information on points of detail relating to Exchequer Bonds and Cash Balances.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, the Bill was urgent. He would undertake to give the hon. Member any information on the next stage.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, on that assurance he would withdraw his opposition.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

PARLIAMENT—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, referring to the arrangements for the conduct of the coming debate on Candahar, said that the Motion of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) stood first on the Paper for Friday. It had been understood that if he gave up his right, he would obtain the same position on Monday; but if the Mutiny Bill were put down for Monday, there would be no security that it would not occupy the whole night.

MR. CHILDERS said, that the understanding expressed last night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was, that if the hon. Member for Oxfordshire's Motion came after the second reading of the Mutiny Bill on Monday, the Government would undertake that Supply should be put down as the next Order on that day.

MOTION.

INLAND REVENUE BUILDINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Bill for the transfer of property held for the use and service of the Inland Revenue to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE and Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 125.]

House adjourned at Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 24th March, 1881.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — *Report* — India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) * (51).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Godalming, &c.) * (48), and *passed*.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—(NEGOTIATIONS).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD BRABOURNE: I have given Notice to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies of Questions which I wish to put to him with regard to the proceedings in the Transvaal. We are at present without any definite information as to the precise state of feeling in the Transvaal. While a large number of men have been armed against Her Majesty's authority, we do not know the extent of the loyal feeling among the Boers, or what amount of compulsion may have been put on a certain number of them to join the ranks of the insurgents. I want to know, Whether, in the provisions of the peace which is about to be made, Her Majesty's Government have done that which was omitted to be stated the other night, and have taken care that due protection should be afforded to the loyal Boers of the Transvaal, to the loyal Natives, and to the English Settlers; and, further, whether any provision has been made to insure some compensation to those who, in person or property, have suffered, owing to their fidelity to the British Crown? I wish further to ask, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken steps, or will take steps, to bring, if possible, to justice the murderers of Captain Elliott and Dr. Barber, each of whom was murdered under circumstances of peculiar atrocity; also what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take with regard to what I must again call the massacre of a detachment of the 94th Regiment? Some time ago I asked a Question on this subject, describing that affair as a massacre, and my noble Friend then admitted that, as far as he knew, it was an accurate description. Since that time there has been a statement from the Boers themselves relating to the transaction, which statement bears upon it evident marks of untruth. We have now Sir Owen Lanyon's own statement, and it appears that under cover of the white flag the Boers treacherously obtained a position of advantage over that detachment, and it was in reality little better than a murder. I will not enter now into the whole question of the conditions of the peace; but if outrages of this kind are allowed to be perpetrated without any notice from the British Crown, which in old times would certainly have been taken, there will not only be, in this particular instance, great danger to the tranquillity of the White inhabitants of South Africa, but, generally, all over the world, there will also be a depreciation of the reputation and the name of Great Britain in the minds of the Native populations, which I am sure Her Majesty's Government must be anxious to avoid.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The best answer which I can give to my noble Friend's first Question is to read a telegram from Sir Evelyn Wood. This telegram does not appear in the Papers which were presented, and which I believe were distributed this afternoon, because it was not received until to-day, after the Papers had gone to the Press. It is as follows:—

> "Mount Prospect, March 23, 11 p.m. Informed Boer leaders I was empowered to ratify provisional agreement of 21st, with some slight amendments, which were finally accepted. It was agreed that while British Government guarantees to leaders individually and collectively, and to those under their orders, immunity from civil process for acts done in reference to war until self-government is accorded, the question of compensation to either side for acts not justified by necessities of war be remitted to Commission to judge as to what acts were so justified; also agreed there should be no molestation for political opinion on either side; also that arms taken over by us at annexation should be handed back, any adjustment with respect to moneys paid for such arms being referred to Commission. These amendments being introduced, the agreement of the 21st inst., was ratified and signed by both parties."

The second Question which my noble Friend asks is, whether, steps have been taken to bring to justice the perpetrators of the murders of Captain Elliott and Dr. Barber? To that my answer is, that in the agreement which is embodied in the telegram of the 21st of March—as far, of course, as I have the particulars—and which is printed in the Papers, there occurs the following passage:—

> "The Boer leaders stated that they would gladly co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in bringing to justice those who committed, or were directly responsible for, acts contrary to the usages of civilized warfare."

That shows that steps will be taken, if evidence can be obtained, to bring the perpetrators of those acts to justice. My noble Friend's third Question is, whether any inquiry will be instituted into the massacre of Colonel Anstruther and the detachment of the 94th Regiment? My noble Friend said that on a former occasion I assented to the word "massacre." I do not remember that; but it is not now of great importance, and I will only say that my answer to the Question is this:—As your Lordships will find from these Papers, a complete amnesty has been promised to all who have committed acts in this war which are not contrary to the rules of civilized warfare; and, as far as Her Majesty's Government have received information, that amnesty will cover what took place in the action referred to. Perhaps I may be allowed, as I have been asked a Question on this subject, to read another telegram which I have received from Sir Evelyn Wood, and which I think it is only just and fair to him to read at once, because it has reference to a telegram printed in the Papers which have been laid before Parliament, and explains his opinion on a very important matter that will be found in those Papers. The telegram is dated March 23, 11 30 p.m., and Sir Evelyn Wood says—

> "Sincerely grateful to Government for appreciation of efforts in carrying out their wishes. Referring to words, 'happiest results,

&c.,' in my telegram of 5th March, I meant that a series of actions fought by six companies could not affect our prestige, but Boer leaders had lit a fire which had got beyond their control, and would be quenched more easily after a British victory; the fire is now out for a time, but Kruger to-day stated the Republic would be ruined if the Commission admitted claims from all forced to aid Boers. In drafting instructions, therefore, the hitherto inert power of the loyalists must be treated as an important factor in the question of a lasting peace. It would be false modesty to conceal belief that personal acquaintance with me has materially aided solution. Uneducated men distrust Governments, but trust persons; therefore Roberts should go himself to Transvaal to get known by the people, the troops, other than those in the Transvaal, being recalled near base, but not from South Africa at present; and it is most important that the Commission should commence at once, being assisted as to boundary questions by a staff of Engineers."

As Sir Evelyn Wood refers there to Sir Frederick Roberts, I may state that the Government have already sent instructions to Sir Frederick that in present circumstances it is not necessary that he should proceed to Natal, and Sir Evelyn Wood will be left in command of the troops.

SOUTH AFRICA—BASUTOLAND.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE rose to call attention to the state of affairs in Basutoland, which, he remarked, were very clearly set forth in the despatch of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Kimberley), containing the instructions addressed to Sir Hercules Robinson on his departure to assume the offices of Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner in South Africa. The Basutos, it appeared, were taken over at their own request by the Imperial Government in 1871, and placed under the High Commissioner for South Africa. It was understood that their rights in the land should be respected, and it was alleged—though on this point there was a difference of opinion—that they were to be allowed to keep their arms. Referring to the annexation, the noble Earl wrote—

"Basutoland having been made an integral part of the Cape Colony in 1871, the Colonial Ministers are necessarily responsible for advising the Governor as to all measures concerning its administration; and the Proclamation of the 6th of April last, extending the measure of disarmament to Basutoland, was accordingly issued by Sir Bartle Frere under their advice, and countersigned by the Premier. My predecessor, while strongly recommending caution, informed Sir Bartle Frere on the 10th of March last that he did not wish to interfere with the responsibility of his Ministers, who must clearly understand that no Imperial troops could be furnished for the purpose of enforcing their policy, and that the Colony must deal with any difficulties which might arise; and in my despatch of May 13 I wrote as follows:—'As your Ministers, who are primarily responsible for the government of the Colony, came to the conclusion that this was a necessary measure, and the disarmament has now been some time in progress under a Proclamation which was issued on the 6th of April, I do not see that I could now discuss this question with any advantage. I will only repeat what has already been stated by my predecessor, that your Ministers must clearly understand that the Cape Government must deal with any difficulties which may arise in Basutoland in consequence of this measure, and that they must not look for the assistance of Imperial troops for this purpose.'"

In the abstract it was, no doubt, better that the Basutos should not be armed. That was generally admitted by the speakers in the Cape Parliament, who discussed the subject with great fulness, one speaker alone occupying two and a-half days. The difficulty was as to the time and mode in which the disarmament should be carried out. On this subject the noble Earl wrote—

"I am quite prepared to admit that in principle there is no good reason why the Basutos should have permanently remained an exception to the general rule, by retaining the dangerous privilege of the indiscriminate possession and use of arms any more than their loyal neighbours in Natal; but I feel bound to add that, in my judgment, neither the time nor the manner of the Basuto disarmament was wisely chosen. . . . It has, I am aware, been alleged that it was impossible to leave arms in the hands of the Basutos after disarming the Fingoes, a tribe distinguished for its loyalty, which had done valuable service in the late Transkei War. It can, however, now hardly be contended that the disarmament of the Fingoes was not itself ill-judged and premature, inasmuch as it has been found absolutely necessary to re-arm them in all haste in order to enable them to aid the Colonial forces in repelling the attacks of the rebellious Natives. Instead of disarming the Fingoes and Basutos it would have been far better if the plan, which had suggested itself to the Colonial Government as one which might be eventually adopted, had been proceeded with in the first instance—namely, the formation of a Native Fingo and Basuto Yeomanry or Militia. These tribes might thus by degrees have been accustomed to regard the possession and use of arms as a privilege to be enjoyed only by the members of the force raised for the defence of their country, and their loyalty might have been confirmed by their employment, in conjunction with the Colonists, in the maintenance of order when threatened in other frontier districts. In this way, and if generally a more cautious and deliberate policy had been followed, the Cape Government would have allowed itself time to mature the excellent system of border defence sanctioned by the Colonial Parliament, and to complete and improve the efficiency of the armed force which the present outbreak has unfortunately found inadequately prepared to meet the emergency."

In that language he entirely concurred, and he almost wished that the noble Earl had come into Office a little earlier, seeing that such sentiments, expressed in time, might have had the effect of averting the war. But the main point of his contention was embodied in the following paragraph of the noble Earl's despatch :—

> "The circumstances under which the Basutos became subjects of the Crown are peculiar, and impose upon Her Majesty's Government a special responsibility for their welfare. It was originally provided that the Basuto territory should remain distinct from the Cape Colony, and that it should be under the charge of the High Commissioner; and the Act of the Cape Parliament passed in 1871 for the annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony contained the reservation that the power of making laws for that territory should be vested in the Governor, and that no Act of the Cape Parliament should have effect in Basutoland unless made applicable to it by express enactment or by the Governor's Proclamation. The introduction of responsible Government in the following year affected the Governor's position in regard to the affairs of Basutoland, as well as to other matters of administration; but the Basutos received no formal notification of any change in their relations with the Governor, whose actual powers in respect of Basutoland remain technically unaltered."

The Basutos, in fact, always understood that they were annexed to the British Empire, and were to be governed by the High Commissioner alone; but, as Governor of the Cape Colony as well, the High Commissioner had to be guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers. The noble Earl concluded by asking, Whether the noble Lord the Secretary of State for the Colonies considered that the concession of responsible government to a Colony practically involved the transfer from Her Majesty and her responsible Ministers in this country to the Colonial Ministers of the power and responsibility of making war and peace?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I think I shall best clear up this matter by, in the first place, answering explicitly the Question which the noble Earl has put to me. My answer to that is that there is not the least doubt that, speaking in general terms, the concession of responsible Government to a Colony does not transfer from the Queen to that Colony the power of making war and peace; but it depends entirely upon how the Question is to be construed. If it means that the Colonial Ministers have not the power to make war and peace with any nation or tribe beyond their Frontiers, then the answer is, undoubtedly, "No." But when it refers to a population which is within the Frontiers of the Colony, and under the Government for which the Colonial Ministers are responsible, then, undoubtedly, they possess full powers in regard to the government of that nation or tribe; and if it should be unfortunately necessary that they should make war in order to suppress any insurrection against the authority of the Crown which they represent, it lies in their discretion to do so, just as much as it would with Her Majesty's Ministers in this country. Therefore, though I say "No" to the noble Earl's Question, I apprehend that in substance the answer would be "Yes;" because what he intends to imply by the Question is that the Ministers at the Cape do not possess the right to make war on the Basutos. But they do undoubtedly possess that right, because the Basutos are subjects of the Queen, as administered by the responsible Ministers of the Cape Colony. That being the case—and I take it there is no question about the technical right of the Cape Ministers—I come now to the main subject. The Basutos, as the noble Earl has correctly stated, inhabit a country which was incorporated with the Cape Colony in 1871. Since that period the Basutos have formed part of that Colony, and are subject to any laws which may be passed by the Cape Parliament. The Cape Parliament—moved, I am bound to say, very much by the representations made to them before I came into Office, as to the expediency of allowing arms to be generally carried by the Natives in the Colony—passed an Act, which, I believe, they called a "Peace Preservation Act," which enabled the Governor, by Proclamation, to cause the population to be called upon to give up their arms. Under that Act, a Proclamation was issued by Sir Bartle Frere, calling upon the Basutos to deliver up their arms, and there is no doubt that all the steps taken were legal, and in accordance with the powers the Cape Ministers possessed. As to the wisdom of the policy, your Lordships are in possession of a long despatch I addressed to Sir Hercules Robinson, in which I expressed the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the whole subject. I can add nothing to what I said in that despatch. I consider there was no injustice in calling on the Natives to deliver up their arms; but, in my judgment, the policy was not a wise one, as the result has proved. The Cape Colony has been involved in a long, expensive, and difficult war, which is not yet concluded. While I repeat that, on principle, I see no reason why the Basutos should be allowed to carry arms more than other Native tribes, I differ with the Cape Government as to the opportunity and the means by which they carry out the policy. The policy itself is a right one, and to show that that has long been the opinion of successive Governments, it is well known that there are laws on this subject in Natal, which is a Crown Colony, and although the law has there been prudently enforced, so as not to provoke an outbreak, I can refer to the authority of Sir Henry Bulwer, the recent Governor, that to such an extent have arms been removed from the Natives in Natal that that population has become a comparatively unwarlike population. If anything is wanted to show that these laws in Natal are not a dead letter, it may be found in what the Basuto Chiefs themselves said—that they did not want to be annexed to Natal, because they did not want to be placed under the Natal laws as to arms. So much for the general question. I wish I was able to say the war was going to close. It has been a lamentable war, causing great destruction in Basutoland, and imposing a great burden—a great loss in men and money—on the Cape Government. But when we are called upon, as I am constantly to interfere peremptorily in this matter, I must point out that we have not got the power legally to interfere with that which is done by the advice of the Colonial Ministers in regard to the territory within the Colony; and I am bound to state that it is impossible to blow hot and cold, as a great number of people wish to do on this question. We are constantly told, with great truth, that it is very unfair to the British taxpayer, and very unwise that we should take upon ourselves the management of Native wars in South Africa—that the management of those wars ought to be left to the people on the spot—that they should pursue the policy they think necessary, and bear the burdens consequent on that policy. But when they are left to do that, and pursue a policy not perfectly agreeable to the people of this country, another note entirely is sounded and it is said—"Why don't you interfere?" Now, it is impossible to pursue the two policies at once. If you are resolved—and I think it wise so to resolve—that the management of their local affairs, including the management of Natives on their borders, is to be left to the Colonial Government, and that they are to be responsible for the policy they pursue, and that the Colony is to bear all the burden of its evil consequences, then you cannot, at the same time, dictate to the Colonial Government what course they shall pursue. Nothing is more obvious than this—that those responsible for a policy ought to be responsible also for its consequences; and if we are determined to guide the Colonial Government in the management of the affairs of the Colony, and insist on telling them what they shall do, they will have a right to call on us to take whatever measures we think necessary to enforce the policy we advise, and to relieve the Colony from evil consequences that may ensue. At the same time, seeing the relations that exist between the Colonial Government and the Home Government, I hope the former will appreciate the advice we give, especially when it is considered that we have been called on recently to bear heavy expenses for Native wars at the Cape. The Colonial Government have not flinched, at all events, from the policy they have pursued, and for the first time in the history of South Africa has the Colony been found to take on itself the whole expense and danger of a Native war, and this must be carefully remembered in considering what they may do hereafter. In regard to the treatment of the Basutos, when this war is over, I have not concealed from the Colonial Government the general views we take. My noble Friend correctly quoted a passage from my despatch, showing that we have some control in the matter, because, if it is necessary to pass any Act of the Cape Parliament for dealing with the land of the Basutos, we have directed any such Act to be reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure. It is in that way only that we can, if we think proper, interfere with the discretion of the Colonial Government. I should be sorry if anything should arise to render such intervention necessary. It is very undesirable there should be interference with these local Governments. Indeed, it would become impossible to carry on those Governments if they are constantly to be subjected to the opinions of this country. I can assure those who speak so lightly on the subject that there is a strong and natural jealousy in these communities of interference from home, and I think that jealousy is wholesome. We want them to assume responsibility; we do not want them to be governed from Downing Street. We wish, of course, that they should listen to our advice; and, as a matter of fact, we do control them in regard to everything outside their Frontiers. In urging the Cape Government to treat the Basutos with generosity and leniency after the war, I am not prepared to admit that the Basutos were not perfectly aware of the kind of Government under which they live, although no direct announcement was made to them of the change to responsible Government. My noble Friend has referred to two telegrams which have been printed. Some annoyance has been felt in the Cape Colony at the publication here of the second telegram sent by me to Sir Hercules Robinson. The following was the history of those telegrams:—Sir Hercules Robinson sent me the telegram stating that by the advice of the Ministers certain terms were to be proposed to the Basuto Chiefs, and asking whether I approved of them. At it was mentioned that if the Basutos would place themselves in the hands of the Governor he would endeavour to procure them just and generous terms, the telegram gained my approbation. Some weeks after an answer to that telegram was received from the Chiefs, which Sir Hercules Robinson and his Ministers did not regard as satisfactory. Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed this to me, and said he would shortly telegraph the terms that would to be offered. When, however, I received the telegram, it did not state terms that were about to be offered, but said that eight peremptory conditions had been offered to the Chiefs. It was clear that unless I showed that I was not connected with this second communication to the Chiefs it might be inferred that I approved of it; and I therefore came to the conclusion that it was necessary, in justice to the Government, that it should be known at once that the second telegram was sent on the responsibility of the Cape Ministers alone. These were the reasons why I resorted to publicity, and, in my opinion, they justified the course which I took. The Cape Ministers have, I am told, passed a Minute severely censuring me; but I think they will see that they have done so without sufficient grounds. Upon what may be done after the war in Basutoland, which I earnestly hope will soon come to a close, I desire now not to express any definite opinion. I reserve any statement of what course we will take. At all events, the Cape Colony may be certain our interference will be strictly within the bounds of the law; and I trust that the Cape Ministers themselves, being, as they are, well acquainted with the interests of the Colony, and sensible of the very heavy burdens it has to bear, will follow a wise, just, and fair course at the termination of hostilities.

VISCOUNT BURY said, he could quite understand that it was impossible to leave the Basutos in possession of arms; and, therefore, he would not say one word about the policy of the war. But his noble Friend said that when responsible Government was granted to a Colony, the Colony gained the right of directing Native affairs within its boundaries. Well, some years ago he had filled the Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada, which, though at the time in the enjoyment of responsible Government, had not the power of interference in Native affairs. The position of affairs had been changed by the union of the North American Colonies, which now could control Native affairs. But it did not follow that because the Cape Colony had received responsible Government the control of Native affairs was included in that concession, unless some special provisions were included in the Act. The question he wished to raise was whether the Basutos were not in a somewhat exceptional position, and one which was rather like that of the North American Indians before the union of the North American Colonies. His noble Friend, in the despatch so often quoted that evening, stated that the position of the Basutos under our dominion was somewhat peculiar. They were, in fact, in an exceptional position. They were indirectly reserved for the control of the High Commissioner. In that despatch, his noble Friend admitted that the Basutos, when responsible Government was given to the Cape Colony, were not informed that they were to be under the jurisdiction of the Cape Colony, or, at all events, were not formally made aware of the status which they were to occupy, or of any change in their status. Therefore it was that those who sympathized with the Basutos thought that hard measure had been dealt to them in being treated as rebels against the authority of the Cape Colony, when, in fact, they had never been formally placed under the jurisdiction of the Cape Colony. He could not help thinking that the peculiar situation of the Basutos entitled them to receive favourable consideration when the time came for his noble Friend to give the advice which, notwithstanding the independent position of the Cape Colony, he was, as Colonial Secretary, entitled to give, as to how the Basutos were to be treated at the conclusion of the war. In the despatch to which he had referred, his noble Friend stated that the Constitutional settlement of certain territories in South Africa was still in abeyance; that the Transkei territories would require exceptional treatment; the same should be said of the Basutos. He trusted, therefore, that the Basutos would receive favourable consideration at the termination of the war.

LORD BRABOURNE agreed that the Basutos called for much sympathy in their present position. If we traced back their earlier history it would be found that when they were independent they were the great opponents of the Boers of the Orange Free State. The Boers always accused the Basutos of stealing their cattle, and the Basutos always accused the Boers of stealing their land. The two peoples were constantly at war, and at the end of each conflict the Basutos generally had to pay a fine in cattle, and to surrender some of their land. At last they sought British protection, imploring that they might be received as subjects of the Crown; and he recollected perfectly well that they preferred to join the Cape Colony rather than Natal, for the precise reason that the laws of the Cape Government allowed the Natives to carry arms. Down to this disarmament, which he thought he might say was the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, there were no more loyal people than the Basutos, and but for their disarmament the Cape Government would have found amongst them their most staunch supporters and most able allies. However, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies had said, they could not carry on two policies at the same time. If they meant to dictate the policy of the Cape Colony, they must be prepared to support their interference with Imperial troops; if, on the other hand, they wanted the Cape to carry on its own Government, they must forbear to interfere. If responsible Government was given to a Colony, it must be given with all its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Still, he hoped that, when the proper time arrived, the Secretary of State for the Colonies would give advice which it was perfectly fit for him to do, so as to obtain for the Basutos fair treatment, and such as would render them contented.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: It certainly is my intention and my wish to use whatever influence Her Majesty's Government may possess to obtain fair and reasonable terms for the Basutos.

PARLIAMENT—THE EASTER RECESS.

QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that it might be convenient to many Members of the House if the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would state when the House would adjourn for the Easter holidays, and when it would meet again.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, Parliament having met so early this year, I shall propose that the House adjourn on the 7th of April, to meet again on the 4th of May.

House adjourned at a quarter past
Six o'clock, till To-morrow,
half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 24th March, 1881.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Select Committee* — Presumption of Life (Scotland) [86], *nominated.*

Committee—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment (*re-comm.*) [104]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 2)*.

Third Reading — Municipal Franchise (Scotland) * [82], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Mr. THOMASSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can inform the House, if a statement made in Ireland on Sunday the 13th instant, by the honourable Member for Tipperary, that "5,000 families at least would be hurled out on the roadside" is likely to prove accurate; and; if so, whether the Government will consider the expediency of moving urgency for the Land Bill on its introduction?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question I should like to ask him another on the same subject, and if he is unable to reply to it now I shall be glad to give him Notice of it. It is, Whether seven families have not been evicted at Scotstown, in the County Monaghan, and permission refused to them to go back as caretakers; whether there have not been several evictions on the property of Mr. R. J. M'Gough; whether 70 ejectments have not been served on the tenants of Mr. Nolan Farrer, of Ballyhaunis; and, whether since the passing of the Coercion Act writs have not fallen through Galway and other counties like snowflakes on the tenant farmers?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: With reference to the Question of the hon. Member for Galway, I must ask him to give Notice of it for Monday or Tuesday. In reply to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Bolton, I beg to say that I have reason to believe, as well as to hope, that the statement to which he referred of the hon. Member for Tipperary is exaggerated. I have official means of information of the actual number of decrees for rent obtained; and I find that at the last sessions in the several counties proscribed under the Act there were only 73 ejectment decrees for non-payment of rent granted, as against 788 for the same time last year. At the Michaelmas sessions there were but 215, as against 374 last year; but as to what number will be obtained at the next sessions I cannot say, and I have only to repeat my belief that the statement of the hon. Member for Tipperary is exaggerated.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has any record of the writs obtained in the Superior Courts, as those he has mentioned, I presume, were only in the Inferior Courts?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: These Returns do not include the writs in the Superior Court; but they are not large.

SCOTLAND—THE LOTTERY ACTS—A "WHISKY WAPINSCHAW."

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to a "Whisky Wapinschaw," which the Lord Provost of Elgin is alleged to be starting in aid of the new Elgin Town Hall, such Wapinschaw consisting in raffling whisky, hogsheads and casks of which have been promised by the neighbouring distillers; and, whether such a proceeding is in accordance with the Law of Scotland?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'Laren): I am sorry to say that, although I made every inquiry in the locality, I have not been able to ascertain what a "Whisky Wapinschaw" is, or whether in that kind of competition the prize is given to the producer of the best quality, or the consumer of the greatest quantity. I have, however, asked the Procurator Fiscal to inform the parties that if a lottery is intended they will render themselves liable to a public prosecution.

COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS INJURY (IRELAND).

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Grand Jury of the King's County, on Wednesday the 9th instant, in dealing with a compensation claim by Mr. Thomas Hackett, of Ballycumber, King's County, for the alleged malicious burning of a quantity of hay, refused to allow counsel for opposing ratepayers to cross-examine Mr. Hackett as to the probability of malicious motive, and also refused to hear counsel upon the question of extending the area upon which the compensation granted by the Grand Jury should be levied beyond the limit of the parish of Ballycumber; whether the silencing of counsel by the Grand Jury immediately followed upon an inquiry by one of the body, Mr. Vaughan, D.L., as to the names of the parties for whom counsel appeared, and a declaration that one of the ratepayers concerned was the secretary of the local branch of the Land League; whether the Government approve of the conduct of the Grand Jury; and, whether they will take any action in regard to the levying of the award, considering that counsel on behalf of the ratepayers was prevented from acting on their instructions?

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, he had no official information on the matter, his attention having only been called to it that day by the hon. Member's Question. It was not in the power of the Government to take any action in the matter, and it was not his duty to express either approval or disapproval on the subject.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA—THE LABOUR QUESTION.

SIR JAMES LAWRENCE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is not the fact that Western Australia consented to receive the convicts which were sent to that Colony on the distinct understanding and agreement that an equal number of free settlers should be sent out at the expense of the Imperial Government; whether this agreement still remains unfulfilled; and, if it is true that the Colony is about to take steps for the introduction of Chinese labourers to occupy the places of the free settlers whom the Colony desired to have, but whom the Government has neglected to send out, in conformity with their obligations, of which they have frequently been reminded?

MR. GRANT DUFF: In reply to my hon. Friend's first two Questions, I have to say that many years ago, under circumstances very different from those of the present time, the British Government formed, announced, and endeavoured to carry into effect, such an intention. Already, however, a quarter of a century since, the experience had turned out a piteous failure, as the Colonists could find no occupation for large numbers of the free emigrants, and these, after being sent out at great expense by the Home Government, became paupers, chargeable to Imperial funds. The subject has been revived at different times; but successive Governments have utterly failed to devise any plan by which the intention originally announced by Lord Grey could be carried into effect with justice to the free emigrants, or the Colonists, or the British taxpayer, and a long period has elapsed since the authorities of the Colony last referred to it. In reply to my hon. Friend's third Question, I have to say that Western Australia is about to take steps for the introduction of Chinese cheap labour, which is, of course, available for many purposes for which the high-priced labour of free European emigrants would be quite unsuitable.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SMALL-POX (BOXLEY, KENT).

MR. ROSS asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to an outbreak of small-pox in Boxley parish, Hollingbourne Union, Kent, where, apparently from the medical attendant not having taken precautions to isolate the case, five other cases have since occurred (one ending in death), which are traceable to infection caught from the said case?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, that his attention had been called to the case by the Question by a letter which the hon. Gentleman was good enough to send him. He had since caused inquiries to be made; and he found that a labouring man who had been attacked by small-pox, and who died, was attended by a private practitioner, who ordered his removal to a hospital; but no hospital accommodation was available. His wife was afterwards attacked. She was attended by a doctor, who recommended her removal to the hospital of a neighbouring sanitary authority; but they were not willing to admit her. The usual precautions for disinfecting appeared to have been taken by direction of the medical men, to whom, as far as he could see, no blame attached.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—VOLUNTARY AND BOARD SCHOOLS.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, where in the neighbourhood of any Board School the School Board are actively engaged in supplying an existing deficiency of accommodation, the Education Department claim that, before they recognise the right conceded by the footnote to Article 17c of the Code, viz. that the accommodation of the Board School shall for the present be calculated according to the usual rate, they have the right to annex this further condition, not existing in the Code, that there shall be no vacant places in any neighbouring Voluntary School, or that they may exercise a discretion to withhold the right given by the footnote in consequence of the existence of vacant places in neighbouring Voluntary Schools?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The Education Department claim no such right as the hon. Member supposes, nor does the foot-note in the Code to which he refers give a school board any such right as he seems to claim. By that foot-note the Department undertakes to endeavour to have, at least, eight square feet of space for each child in average attendance. But this is so admittedly insufficient that board schools are planned and erected with public loans to supply nine or ten square feet per child. When we are satisfied that there is an actual deficiency of accommodation in any part of a district, and that the Board are actively engaged in supplying it, we allow all the public elementary schools in the neighbourhood of the proposed new school to be filled up to eight square feet to meet the immediate necessity. The only right the Department claim is that of deciding when and in what cases school boards or school managers may be allowed to admit more children than the number for which a school was originally built. The sole object we have in view is to prevent the over-crowding of school-rooms, and to preserve the health both of teachers and scholars.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY, in consequence of the answer he had received, gave Notice that on the Education Vote he would move—

"That the power claimed by the Education Department to consider the existence of vacant places in neighbouring voluntary schools, before recognising the right conferred by the Education Code on School Boards of temporarily reckoning their school accommodation on the usual basis, is unauthorised by the Education Code, is unjust to parents as tending to deprive them of the power of freely selecting schools for their children, is a violation of the spirit of section 97 of 'The Education Act, 1870,' and is a hindrance to the work of Elementary Education."

SUGAR BOUNTIES—INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Mr. WHITLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, What is the present state of the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and Foreign Governments for an International Conference on the question of bounties upon the export of raw and refined sugar; and, whether an answer has been received from the French Government; and, if so, what is the nature of the French communication, and the reply (if any) of the Board of Trade?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Question would better have been put to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but with my hon. Friend's assent I will answer it. Inquiries have been made of the Governments of France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria as to whether they would agree to take part in an International Conference for the removal of bounties on the export of sugar. The Belgian and Austrian Governments have signified their willingness to participate in a Conference. The German and Dutch Governments have declined. The French Government have signified their willingness to accept the Conference subject to a preliminary agreement on the part of each of the negotiating Powers to adopt common measures for suppressing premiums on the export of raw and refined sugar, these measures to include restrictions on the import of sugar from countries where bounties are still allowed to continue. The French Government add that recent alterations have placed their legislation beyond all serious criticism, and that it would be greatly to the interests of French trade that it should be the same in all countries. To prevent the possibility of misapprehension the French Government have been informed that Her Majesty's Government are not in any event prepared on behalf of Great Britain to restrict importation by protective or countervailing duties; but that they would be glad to learn whether the French Government would join the Conference subject to this reservation on the part of Great Britain. No reply to this communication has yet been received from the French Government, and as soon as the Correspondence is complete it will be laid upon the Table.

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND)—LANDSLIP ON THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to a serious landslip which occurred near the Abbot's Cliff Tunnel of the South Eastern Railway, on the night of the 20th instant; whether landslips in the neighbourhood of the tunnels between Shorncliffe and Dover have not in recent years been of frequent occurrence, and, on more than one occasion, with loss of life; if the Railway inspectors have at any time reported the construction of this part of the line as dangerous to the travelling public; and, if he can state the nature and extent of the precautions habitually taken by the South Eastern Railway Company to protect their passengers from the risks of these accidents?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The South-Eastern Railway Company have informed me that a considerable quantity of the side of the cutting near the Abbot's Cliff tunnel came away on Sunday night, but that they were able to clear the line sufficiently to allow an engine and trucks to go through on Monday, and that on Tuesday morning the ordinary traffic was resumed. There were two landslips between Dover and Shorncliffe in January, 1877, within three days of each other; and on one occasion two servants of the Company were, unfortunately, buried in the landslip. The Railway Inspectors have not reported that this portion of the line is dangerous to the travelling public; but Major General Hutchinson, in his Report on the landslips to which I have referred, stated that it was necessary that the line should be carefully watched. The South-Eastern Railway Company inform me that all possible and necessary precautions are taken, and that the portions of the line above referred to are constantly and carefully watched.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE CAUSE LISTS.

MR. MELLOR asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether there is any objection to the lists for the Courts in Banco, as well as those of Appeal and Nisi Prius, being placed on the notice board of Westminster Hall, and also on a notice board at the New Jourts of Justice after the close of each day's sitting?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that there would be no practical difficulty in doing what the hon. Member suggested in the Question, and the arrangement should be carried into effect.

POST OFFICE—POSTAL NOTES.

MR. SPENCER BALFOUR asked the Postmaster General, If he is aware that postal notes are not obtainable at post offices in the City after four in the afternoon; and, whether he cannot arrange to extend the time of issue to the whole period during which such offices are open, so as to give the public every facility for taking advantage of this very convenient mode of remitting small sums through the post?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, there was no practical difficulty in what the hon. Member desired, and he had given instructions that the postal note and money order business should be carried on as late as possible, both in London and the Provinces.

UNOCCUPIED LANDS (ENGLAND).

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is practicable for the Department to procure, along with the Agricultural Statistics for 1881, Returns of the numbers and areas of arable farms in England unoccupied by either landlord or tenant; and, if so, whether he will give instructions for such Returns?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I find upon inquiry that it will be practicable, without any very great additional expense, to procure these Returns. The Returns will be of interest at the present time, and arrangements are being made to collect the information with the agricultural statistics for the present year.

SOLOMON ISLES—THE MURDER OF LIEUTENANT BOWER—CRUISE OF THE "EMERALD."

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Report of the cruise of the "Emerald" in search of the murderers of Lieutenant Bower of the "Sandfly," together with the instructions in relation thereto, which were given to Captain Maxwell by the Commodore on the station?

Mr. TREVELYAN: No information about the proceedings of the *Emerald* has yet arrived at the Admiralty. When the Commodore's Report, which is expected about the middle of next month, arrives, it will be considered by the Admiralty, and I will then communicate with the hon. Member for Leicester, and give him an opportunity of putting another Question.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — BYE-LAWS OF SCHOOL BOARDS—SCHOOL FEES.

Mr. TILLETT asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether his attention has been called to the letter of the Education Department of the 8th of January 1878, addressed to the Norwich School Board, which states that a School Board or the managers of a voluntary school are justified in refusing admission to any child who does not prepay the school fee, unless the parent is prevented by poverty from paying the same, and that, in the opinion of their Lordships, when a child is absent from school because the parent does not choose to pay the fee, there was no reason why the parent should not be summoned for violating the bye-laws; whether, having regard to the recent decision in the case of Richardson *v.* Saunders, to the effect that a parent cannot be fined for not causing his child to attend school, if the child is sent to school without the weekly fee and is refused admission, and having regard to Article 17a of the New Code, which provides, as a

> "Condition of a school receiving Government Grant, that no child is refused admission to the school on other than reasonable grounds,"

a child can, under any and what circumstances, be refused admission, on the ground of non-payment of the fee, without endangering the Government Grant; whether the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown has been taken on the subject; and, whether the Government propose to introduce any Bill dealing with the question?

Mr. MUNDELLA: My attention has been directed to the letter of January 8, 1878, which I find it has been the practice of the Department in past years to send in similar cases. The effect of the decision in "Richardson *v.* Saunders" seems to have been generally misunderstood. In this case the order to attend a particular school was made under Section 11 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876; and it was found, by the case submitted to the High Court of Justice, that the parent was unable to pay the school fee. Having regard to this admitted fact, the Judges held that the parent, by sending his child to the school, had done everything in his power. But this decision does not in any way affect the rule laid down in the Code, according to which a child may be refused admission who does not pay the fee, and is not prevented by poverty from paying it. I make this statement after conference with the Law Officers of the Crown; and we are considering with them whether further legislation is necessary to enforce the liability of parents in regard to the payment of school fees for their children.

AFGHANISTAN — CANDAHAR (POLITICAL SITUATION).

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether, before the Candahar Provinces are made over to a new ruler with some material support from the British Government, measures have been taken to ascertain the wishes of the Dooranees, not a few chiefs only, but the people at large; whether it has been found that most of them are favourable to Abdur Rahman; and, if not, whether he has considered the possibility of giving them facilities freely to chose their own chief magistrate?

Mr. DALRYMPLE had also the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary of State for India, What expectation he has that the troops of the Ameer will reach Candahar early in April; whether, if they do not arrive early in April, it is still intended that our troops should quit Candahar; whether the risk to the health of the troops from the great heat in the passes has received consideration from Her Majesty's Government; and, if the season of the year makes an early departure from Candahar necessary, and the Ameer's troops have not arrived, in whose hands and under whose authority it is intended that Candahar shall be left?

VISCOUNT SANDON had also the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary of State for India, What conditions have been made by Her Majesty's Government with Abdur Rahman as to freedom of commercial intercourse between Northern and Southern Afghanistan and British India; and, if it is not now in his power to state the actual conditions, whether he could inform the House whether the terms under which both Southern and Northern Afghanistan have been made over to him will preclude the Ruler of Afghanistan from establishing a commercial system which will virtually exclude from his Country the great bulk of British and Indian manufactures in the same way as they are excluded from the territories under the control of Russia?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think it would probably be convenient that I should answer the Question of my hon. Friend, and at the same time the Questions of the hon. Member for Buteshire and the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool. In regard to them, I have to state that, while Her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty to indicate very clearly to the Government of India their views on the main question of policy, and as to which they have already been, and, no doubt, will be, further severely attacked, they thought at the same time it would be right to leave to the Government of India the utmost discretion possible, both as to the time and manner of carrying into effect that policy, and the control over all the subsidiary measures relating thereto. No instructions, therefore, have been given to the Government of India, except those which are contained in the Papers which have been presented to Parliament. We have not yet received from the Government of India any full account of the measures taken, or which they are prepared to take; and it is not, therefore, possible to answer these Questions very much in detail. With regard, however, to the Question just put by my hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell), I have to point out that there do not appear to exist in Candahar, or any other part of Afghanistan, facilities for obtaining what he would appear to desire—namely, something in the nature of a *plébiscite* of the people of Afghanistan as to the choice of their future Ruler. As I stated the other day, measures have been taken by the Resident at Candahar for ascertaining the feeling of the Sirdars and of the people, and on the 3rd of March the Viceroy telegraphed—

> "The Government of India has just received a full Report from Colonel St. John as to the districts and Sirdars who would probably accept the Ameer's government. He is personally of opinion that if the Ameer sends sufficient troops in time his occupation of Candahar and the adjacent districts would not be resisted."

This Report has not yet been received, but may shortly be expected. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple), the health of the troops under the great heat shortly to be expected in the Passes between Candahar and India has, of course, been under the consideration of the Government of India, and has decided them on the date they have fixed for the evacuation of Candahar. It is announced that a body of 4,000 Infantry and 1,000 Cavalry are proceeding to Candahar. The latter is accompanied by Sirdar Hashim Khan—son of the late Azim Khan, and, therefore, nephew of the late Shere Ali Khan—about 22 years of age, a man of no particular note, who was kept at Cabul under surveillance by his uncle Shere Ali, and who has been selected by Abdurrahman as Governor of Candahar. The Cavalry are reported to have left Cabul on the 21st, and will reach Candahar in 12 marches. The Infantry and Artillery will follow at once. Information has been received from Colonel St. John that letters from Candahar Sirdars are being despatched to Cabul assuring Abdurrahman of their allegiance and assistance at that place. In regard to the Question of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon), I have to state that no commercial conditions have been made with the Ameer. The Government have reserved to themselves the right of making any future Treaty engagements on commercial or other points that it pleases, if it is found advisable to do so after Abdurrahman has consolidated his authority in the country. The instructions given by the Foreign Secretary in India to Mr. Lepel Griffin, at the time when Abdurrahman was recognized as Ameer, will be found in the Papers No. 1, page 39. No further conditions, so far as I am aware, have been made with Abdurrahman previous to his assuming the government of Candahar; and I do not think the time has come when it can be said that his authority has been sufficiently consolidated to make it expedient to enter into a regular Treaty with him. I have only to add that, as Questions were asked the other day about the Papers which have not been received, I have to-day received a telegram from the Government of India which I will read—

> "Your telegrams of the 21st and 23rd regarding missing despatches received. The mail packet of the 21st appears to have been received by the postal authorities in time for the mail of that date; but I fear they have been accidentally mis-sent elsewhere than London. The matter is under close inquiry. Regarding other despatches enumerated as missing in your telegram of the 21st, no certain answer can be given pending arrival of registers in transit from Calcutta. I greatly regret that these Papers should have so inconveniently miscarried. I will telegraph again."

I have, however, to add that after answering the Question on Tuesday, I found that by a previous mail—although the whole of the contents of one mail, as I have already stated, had not been received—a further despatch from the Government of India had been received which contained two of the Minutes of Members of the Council. Finding that one was by Mr. Rivers Thompson, and contained a very severe criticism upon the policy of the Government, I thought that, although the Papers were still in a very incomplete state, it would be desirable that the House should be, as soon as possible, in possession, at all events, of this Minute. I therefore yesterday presented the despatch, containing the Minutes by Mr. Rivers Thompson and Major Baring, and one or two further despatches which were necessary to elucidate them; and those Papers are now printed, and copies can be obtained by hon. Members.

Mr. ONSLOW asked, Whether any inquiry had been made of the officers on the Peninsular and Oriental Company's boats who had charge of the mails?

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT inquired, Whether the Sirdars of Candahar and the district had been asked by the British Representative whether they would not prefer British occupation to the rule of the Ameer of Cabul?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have read the telegram giving all the information which we have on the subject. I ascertained when the Papers were first discovered to be missing that inquiry was made at the General Post Office, and the authorities there were not able to throw any light on the question; and they have not been able to furnish any explanation since it was found that the Papers did not arrive by the last mail.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will the noble Lord state the exact date when the Minute arrived at the India Office?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It arrived by the mail on Monday.

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—MR. DILLON.

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following words of the honourable Member for Tipperary, spoken at Woodford on Sunday last:—

> "Judge Fitzgerald had better take care that the National Land League did not do away with him and his salary;"

and also to the following words, spoken by him previously at Borrisokane:—

> "An attempt has been made by some of the magistrates to induce the people to believe that this system of Boycotting is illegal. I tell the people to-day not to believe any magistrate that tells them that it is illegal, and if it be illegal to advise the people to Boycott any man who assists an oppressor or who takes a farm from which another has been evicted, then let the law prosecute me for stating it here to-day to you;"

and, whether he intends to take any steps in reference thereto?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I beg to ask him, Whether Mr. Justice Fitzgerald is the same as the Mr. Fitzgerald who, at a banquet to the Lord Lieutenant in Cork, in 1852, being still an unpromoted lawyer, made a speech of ultra-patriotic fervour, jumped on the table, broke the glasses, and otherwise gave evidence of extraordinary excitement; and whether no journalistic records remain of the scene from the fact that Mr. Fitzgerald went to the newspaper offices and asked to have the occurrence suppressed or toned down?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Galway, I have to say I do not think it is one which I could under any circumstances be called upon to answer; and, suppose I could answer it without Notice, it is difficult to understand it. As to the Question of the noble Lord, my attention has been called to both the speeches referred to, and I can only say they will receive the careful attention of the Government. As to whether the Government intends to take any steps with reference to these speeches, the noble Lord must excuse me if I say I do not think it would be consistent with the public interest for me to answer that Question?

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY was understood to ask the Chief Secretary, Whether his attention had been called to a pamphlet by Mr. Henry Crompton on the Land League organization, Mr. Crompton being a high authority on legal matters, in which he stated that the Land League was a perfectly legitimate organization, and that "Boycotting" was not illegal?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I did not hear the hon. Member's Question; but, as far as I can make out, he asks me whether my attention has been called to a certain pamphlet. I do not know whether he wants me to give him any information about the pamphlet; but I must ask him to give Notice of the Question.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he is not aware that the "doing away with" at least two of the Irish Judges and their salaries has often been publicly advocated as a desirable reform, and well worthy the attention of Her Majesty's Government?

[No reply was given.]

STATE OF IRELAND—KERRY ASSIZES—THE TRALEE LAND LEAGUERS.

Mr. BERESFORD asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following passage in the Irish newspapers of Monday the 21st instant, describing Kerry Assizes:—

> "The trial of the Tralee Land Leaguers was postponed on an affidavit by the Crown Solicitor stating that a fair trial could not be had with the present jury panel, and that witnesses were afraid to give evidence;"

and, whether he intends to take any steps to remedy such a state of things?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Law): I have seen in one of the Irish papers the paragraph quoted, and I have only to state that the postponement, under the circumstances, is greatly to be regretted; but I hope such a state of things will not long continue. Such matters, I need not say, require the careful consideration of the Government before stating to the House what course it is intended to take.

ARMY DISCIPLINE ACT—COURTS MARTIAL.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the Army Discipline Act, any scheme for an alteration in the existing system of general courts martial is contemplated, whereby the privilege now possessed by civilians, of an appeal from the first judgment of a court to a higher judicial tribunal, would be extended to members of the military profession?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to my hon. and learned Friend, I have to remind him that in criminal matters civilians have no general right of appeal to a higher tribunal, and that I have no intention of proposing that members of the Military Profession should have any general right of appeal from courts martial.

ARMY—NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF ENGINEERS.

Mr. GORST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers of the following classes are to be made warrant officers under the new scheme:—Serjeant Majors employed as First Class Military Foremen of Works; Serjeant Majors employed as Staff Clerks; First Class Staff Serjeants employed as Instructors at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham?

Mr. CHILDERS: In reply to the hon. and learned Gentleman, and also to the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry de Worms), and to my hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), who have written to me on similar questions, I have to say that the list of non-commissioned officers of rank somewhat analogous to that of sergeant-major whom it would be of public advantage to make warrant officers is not yet finally settled, and will require some little time to arrange. On matters of detail like this, it might be for the convenience of the House if, before Questions are put in the House, communications were had with me personally. I would undertake to give the best information I could.

PARLIAMENT—PREMATURE PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS.

MR. DALRYMPLE asked the Lord Advocate, If he is aware by what means the Teinds Bill (Scotland) appeared at full-length in the "Scotsman" newspaper of Monday last, before it has been delivered to Members of the House?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. M'LAREN): The Bill was delivered to Members this morning. I can only repeat to the House the explanation which I have already given to the hon. Member for Buteshire privately. I had every reason to believe that the Bill to which he refers would have been distributed to Members on Monday, the same day on which it appeared in the newspaper referred to; but by a mistake, as to which I shall not trouble the House, it was delayed for a few days. As my hon. Friend must be aware, a Bill that affects many interests, as this Bill does, must necessarily be communicated to many persons in draft before being presented to the House. I have, therefore, not thought it necessary to institute an inquiry as to the precise manner in which it got into the hands of the newspaper referred to.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE —THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the restrictions on the movement of cattle which expire on the 31st of March are to be extended?

SIR WILLIAM WELBY-GREGORY asked, In what counties and districts which have been declared "infected areas" the Privy Council Orders, which expire on the 31st instant, will not (in the absence of any fresh outbreak in them of foot and mouth disease) be renewed, and fairs and markets be permitted to be reopened, on and after April 1st?

MR. MUNDELLA: Various Orders of Council have been issued since the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, some of which are of a temporary character, expiring at a given date, unless renewed, while the others are of a permanent nature, and remain in force until revoked by another Order of Council. As some misapprehension appears to exist on the subject, it may be advisable to make a short explanatory statement. The temporary Orders, which expire on March 31, are four—first, Markets and Fairs Temporary Order, under which the holding of markets and fairs, except under licence, is prohibited throughout Great Britain; second, the Metropolis (Foot-and-mouth Disease) Order, under which no market, except the Metropolitan Market, is allowed to be held in the Metropolis, and no animal is allowed to be exhibited in the Metropolis except for slaughter. All animals so exhibited are bound to be slaughtered within the Metropolis within a period of 10 days; third, an Order prohibiting the importation of animals from England and Wales into Scotland; fourth, an Order for preventing the introduction of disease into the New Forest. With regard to the first, we are of opinion that it will not be possible to renew the Markets and Fairs Order after the 31st instant, so that in all districts not included in an infected area markets and fairs can be held as usual after that date. The Metropolitan Order has been extended for another month—namely, till April 30, and during that period no animal which has been exposed in the Metropolitan Market will be allowed to leave the Metropolis alive. The question of continuing for a further period the Scotch and New Forest Orders is under consideration, and we are in communication with the authorities on the spot with reference to both Orders. The Orders which now apply to infected areas are distinct from the Orders to which I have referred. Under these Orders, no market or fair can be held within an infected area, except by licence of the local authority, and then only for fat animals for slaughter within six days, the Privy Council having power to license sales of store animals. We are now considering the propriety of reducing the limits of the infected areas, and it is proposed to consolidate and amend the Orders which now regulate the holding of markets and the movement of animals in infected areas. We hope to gazette the amended Orders on Tuesday next.

MR. CHAPLIN asked, Whether there was any truth in the rumour that outbreaks were on the increase ?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am happy to say there is no truth whatever in the report. This is by far the best week we have experienced this year.

MR. BORLASE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the Provisional Orders issued under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act by the Somersetshire Court of Quarter Sessions; whether it be true, as stated in the "Western Morning News" of Tuesday March 22nd, that, owing to a defect in these Orders, no one has power to grant a licence for the removal of stock into that county; whether, as a consequence of this, several farmers, some of them members of the local committees under the Act, have recently been fined for removing stock which they had purchased in Devon; whether there was an instance of peculiar hardship in the case of a farmer residing at Hemyock, in Devon, who applied for leave to remove his whole stock on quitting his farm on the 25th of March (his successor entering on that day), and was refused under the said Order ; whether it has been brought to his knowledge that the farming interests of the adjacent western counties are harassed by such a provision, and dealers in stock impeded in their trade; and, if this be so, whether the said Court of Quarter Sessions, or its chairman or clerk, can be severally or collectively held liable for compensation for such loss of time and profit ; or, if not, whether it is in his power to afford to such farmers and others any speedy and effectual remedy ?

MR. R. H. PAGET rose and said, before the Question was answered he desired to claim the indulgence of the House in regard to a matter personal to himself. At the end of the somewhat lengthy Question, the hon. Member appeared to desire to saddle upon him personally a pecuniary liability.

MR. BORLASE: I have no such intention whatever.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, that, at the least, he might have expected to have received from the hon. Member some kind of intimation. There was no defect in the Orders which had been issued. As Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions, he might say that they had been put in force by general consent, and with the most complete success. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER said, that when the Question had been answered the hon. Member would be at liberty to make any personal explanation if he was not satisfied with the answer.

MR. MUNDELLA: I have the best reason for stating that the hon. Member who puts this Question had no idea or intention of casting any imputation on any hon. Member. We have received no complaints of the hardships referred to in the Question of the hon. Member; but since he has directed our attention to the matter we have asked local authorities for an explanation, which, as soon as received, shall be communicated to the hon. Member. I think it is only right to add that the administration of the Acts by the local authorities of Somerset has been most successful.

MR R. H. PAGET said, he was thoroughly satisfied with the statement of the Vice President.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS).

MR. GRANTHAM asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If any provision has been made, in the instructions sent out to our Commissioners in the Transvaal for the settlement of the terms of peace or future government of the Country, for the protection of the interests of those British subjects who have either bought land or advanced money on land in the Transvaal, in consequence of its having been annexed to the British Crown?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to this Question, and several other Questions of substantially the same character, I have to say that we have no information, except what is contained in the telegrams; but of these telegrams a portion has arrived since those now in the hands of hon. Members were printed, and they will be immediately laid on the Table of the House. Therefore, all I have to do is to refer hon. Gentlemen to documents, which are public documents, and, in a very few words, to advert to the subject. Hon. Members will have an opportunity of judging more fully for themselves when the telegrams are circulated. On this subject a telegram has arrived to-day from Sir Evelyn Wood. In this telegram it is stated that it has been also agreed that there should be no molestation for political opinion on either side. That is a rather more succinct reference to a passage in a telegram from Lord Kimberley; and I have no doubt that is all that will be required in the case.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, his Question referred especially to the protection of British subjects.

Mr. GLADSTONE: When the hon. Member sees the telegrams that are to be put into print to-night, and will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow morning, he will see that this is an answer to an instruction of Lord Kimberley's, a little fuller in its terms, but substantially corresponding with it.

Captain AYLMER asked, If the House is to understand that the terms of peace with the Boers preclude the Military Authorities in South Africa from supplying the detachments of British Troops in the Transvaal with such munitions of war as may be necessary to render them efficient; and, if so, whether the Government will withdraw them from such an equivocal position?

Mr. GLADSTONE: This Question refers to a telegram of Sir Evelyn Wood, in which he says, at the close of one of the sentences, that it was after, and in consideration of the engagement made by the Boers that he had given certain promises, one of which was that he would not send ammunition into the Transvaal. We have no further information on the subject. The sending of ammunition has not been dealt with in any previous telegram; but as Sir Evelyn Wood gave that engagement, we make no doubt he had perfectly satisfied himself that the garrisons in the Transvaal had ammunition amply sufficient for their wants.

Mr. MURRAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the terms agreed to by Sir Evelyn Wood and by the Boer leaders, the latter have conceded to Her Majesty the right to move her forces freely and without delay over all portions of her territory in Natal?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to this Question, here again is a reference to a passage in a telegram now in the hands of the hon. Member, but which was probably not in his hands when he put the Question on the Paper. That is the telegram in which Sir Evelyn Wood, having received certain promises from the Boers, promised on our part that he would not do certain things—that he would not take possession of a fresh position, nor follow them up with troops. Her Majesty's Government have no doubt whatever of the meaning of these words, though they are not in possession of any official comment on them. They mean that Sir Evelyn Wood promised to abstain from anything which, in its natural construction, would wear the appearance of a hostile military operation when the Boers agreed to disperse.

Mr. MURRAY: Will Laing's Nek remain in the possession of Her Majesty?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Beyond all doubt it will be abandoned by the Boers and be in possession of Her Majesty. Perhaps I may be allowed one word of explanation. The hon. Member will see that it would be a matter of some difficulty for Her Majesty's Government, while the matter was pending, to recognize any distinction between the country on the one side of the Natal Border and the country on the other, inasmuch as, in point of fact, they will be under British law, and both in the same position.

Lord JOHN MANNERS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will be good enough to state what will be the position and functions of Sir Frederick Roberts under the recent arrangement with the Boers?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The position of Sir Frederick Roberts after what has taken place will be best explained by my reading telegrams which have been sent to him. Lord Kimberley has sent to Sir Frederick Roberts the following telegram:—

"You will receive Mr. Childers' telegram that it is not considered necessary for you to proceed to Natal to take the command of troops. This will render it unnecessary for you to proceed thither to assume civil government. I have only to express my thanks to you for the promptitude with which you undertook the important duties which you would have discharged under this department."

The following telegram was also sent by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War to the General commanding at the Cape of Good Hope:—

"Please hand following telegram to Sir Frederick Roberts on arrival.

"Peace having been concluded with the Boers, Government have determined to bring back greater part of the reinforcements on the way. While highly appreciating the readiness with which, at much personal inconvenience, you accepted the command, they do not now think it necessary that you should go on to Natal. Sir E. Wood will be left in command for the present. You had better return direct by mail steamer after such rest as you wish to take."

I can testify that any gentleman returning from the Cape by mail steamer, if he is fortunate in the circumstance of weather, is likely to have a very pleasant voyage. The telegram proceeds—

"Your staff, including General Newdigate, should also return. I will ask General Leicester Smyth to let you know all the arrangements we are making as to the disposition of the troops."

As, in the reading of that telegram, I have had to refer to the recall of certain reinforcements, I will read a portion of the contents of a telegram which has also been sent by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War yesterday to Major General Sir Evelyn Wood—

"Pending final settlement under Commissioners' action, force now in Natal and Transvaal will not be reduced in strength, though reliefs may be made. Garrison at Cape will be strengthened by an additional battalion, and artillery ammunition column will be landed there to await orders."

Lord JOHN MANNERS: I wish to know whether it follows, as a matter of fact, that the Commission sent out appointing Sir Frederick Roberts as Governor of Natal and the Transvaal, and High Commissioner for that part of South Africa, is at an end, and that things revert to their former state?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes; that is the obvious effect of the telegram of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

POST OFFICE—THE TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

Mr. MACLIVER asked the Postmaster General, If he is aware of the uneasy feeling which still prevails among the telegraphic clerks; and if he will, upon an early day, give to the House his decision upon the proposals made to him, in various memorials, for an adjustment of present differences?

Mr. FAWCETT: I suppose that the hon. Member, in asking whether I am aware of the uneasiness existing amongst telegraphists, makes special reference to certain meetings which were held on Saturday last in London and certain Provincial towns. I can only say that I have read the proceedings at those meetings with great regret; and I am sure that it would be obvious to the House that the efforts which the Department is now making to arrive, with the least delay possible, at a just conclusion with regard to the complaints of the telegraphists, must be considerably hampered, if the telegraphists, on their part, assume a threatening attitude. With regard to the second portion of the Question of the hon. Member, the House will, perhaps, recollect that on this day week, in reply to an inquiry which he then addressed to me, I stated that I would spare no effort to arrive, with the least delay possible, at a just conclusion with regard to the entire subject. I am not conscious that I have done anything to give anyone reason to suppose that that promise would not be redeemed. As I am aware that many hon. Members are receiving Memorials from the telegraphists and from the authorities of certain towns, and as I know there is considerable agitation on the subject, perhaps the House will permit me to state, in order to show that on my part there has been no unnecessary delay, that it was only on Monday last that I received the shorthand writer's notes, consisting of 250 pages, of the interview which I had with the telegraphists. In these notes many statements were made by the telegraphists as to the nature and skill of their employment, of the amount of overtime they had to work, as to sick leave, and many other points, which I feel I am bound, in justice to them, carefully to investigate. Moreover, I stated to the telegraphists, at the conclusion of the interview, that if there was anything they had omitted to bring under my notice, or any further facts which they wished to lay before me, I would receive them in writing. Only as recently as this day some of these telegraphists have sent me documents, which I have not had time to read over. Under these circumstances, I hope the House will agree with me that I should not be acting justly either to the public or the telegraphists if I were to permit myself to be forced into a premature conclusion on the subject.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—CANONRY IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Mr. J. R. YORKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Dr. Bradley, who has recently accepted a Canonry in Worcester Cathedral, will still retain his position as Master of University College, Oxford; and, if so, whether he has considered the inconvenience that might not improbably result from the creation of a new vested interest pending the report of the Commission on Cathedrals, which may be expected to make recommendations having an important bearing on the holding of double preferments?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to the question of appointments to canonries, I quite agree that appointments in cathedrals in conjunction with other appointments should be carefully watched. But, at the same time, I must say I do not think, in reference to that particular case mentioned by the hon. Gentleman, there has been, or is, any occasion to require from Dr. Bradley any general engagement. The House is aware that nothing has been so common as to use cathedral appointments, under recent arrangements, by way of reward to distinguished parochial clergymen. That is a practice which has gone on very largely, and where the selection is judicious I think it highly desirable. Of all those appointments there is none so free from conflict of duty as those of the Heads of Colleges, who reside in their Colleges for something like six months each year, and only three months in the cathedral towns. The subject is under the consideration of the Cathedrals Commission, and I have no doubt we shall receive very valuable recommendations from that Commission.

INDIA—THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the arrangements for investing the Maharajah of Mysore, at the period of his majority, with the actual government of the State, including the selection of a Dewan or Minister for His Highness, have been made with the sanction and approval of the Secretary of State in Council?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The general arrangements connected with the transfer of the Mysore State to the Maharajah Chamrajéndra Wadiar have been made with the approval of the Secretary of State for India in Council. A Blue Book containing full information on this point is in course of preparation, to be laid before Parliament. The installation of the Maharajah, presided over by the Governor of Madras, will take place on Friday, the 25th instant. In the administration of the State the Maharajah will be assisted by a Dewan and by a Council, consisting of two principal Native officials. For the office of Dewan the Government of India have agreed to the selection of Mr. Rungacharlu, C.I.E., who is reported by the Government of India to be preferred by the Maharajah to any other Native gentleman who might be nominated, and who is considered by the Chief Commissioner of Mysore to be the fittest person in the Province for the appointment. No information has yet been received from India as to the names of the Native gentlemen to be selected for the Council.

INDIA—THE RAID OF THE WAGEEREES ON THULL.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is not the case that the raid of the Wageerees on Thull was committed at a time when the British troops had invaded the Khost Valley, destroyed property, and committed acts of hostility on a much larger scale than those of the Wageerees, and that the incursion of the Wageerees was generally considered at the time to be a reprisal for acts endangering the security of themselves and their neighbours; and, whether under these circumstances, in view of the general pacification, he will remit the punishment which Lord Lytton sought to impose, and give an opportunity of forgiving and forgetting, before allowing the Indian authorities to undertake another of the so-called punitive expeditions?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS rose to Order. He asked whether the Question was in Order, in accordance with the Rules of the House, which were to the effect that no Question could either be argumentative or express an opinion? He ventured to submit that the Question was much more of the nature of a speech than a Question.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy was brought to the Table of the House, and underwent revision by the authorities of the House, because it was not considered in Order in several respects. The hon. Member now calls my attention to the Question, and I am bound to say that it is scarcely within the Rules of Order. It does contain matter of an argumentative character, and in other respects is out of Order; but, at the same time, so far as it relates to facts, the Question is not out of the Order.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would put the Question so far as it related to the facts.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The first raid of the Wageerees took place in January, 1879, and at that time military operations were proceeding in the Kurrum Valley, which was occupied by British troops. The Wageerees are not Afghans, but are supposed to have been excited by emissaries sent from Cabul. That does not, in my opinion, alter the character of the offence, nor relieve them of the consequences which they incurred by their murderous raid. At the time when the second raid took place, in 1880, no operations were going on in the Kurrum Valley, and the district of Khost had been evacuated for some time. The Government of India must be held responsible for its local Frontier policy; and I have no reason to think that they failed to give full consideration to the circumstances of the case before coming to the conclusion they did.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the noble Marquess meant by his reply that the Wageerees were not Afghans by race, or that they were not under the rule of the Ameer of Afghanistan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: What I said was, that they have never acknowledged the authority of the Ameer of Cabul. I am not going to express any opinion on their ethnological character.

TURKEY AND GREECE—THE BOUNDARY QUESTION—SPEECH OF M. TRICOUPIS AT ATHENS.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have given private Notice, Whether he has read the report of a speech of M. Tricoupis at Athens yesterday, in which he says—

> "It is impossible, after the publication of the last English Blue Book, to doubt that England will abide by the decision taken at Berlin, provided Greece remains true to herself. England will certainly not assume the initiative; but if Greece take the lead she will assuredly give her support as a consequence of her signature to the Berlin Treaty. I am persuaded that if Greece does go to war she will obtain the Berlin line;"

And, whether at this crisis he cannot make some declaration which will disabuse the Greek Government in regard to the expectation of material help from England?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have already stated that I think it would be very desirable that Notices of these Questions should be given; but with regard to this particular Question, I have to say that it is the invariable practice of the Government of this country never to take any notice of speeches made in foreign Legislatures.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE moved,

> "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to Afghanistan."

MR. E. W. HARCOURT rose to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question with reference to the order of Business for to-morrow. He was not one of those who could be accused of wasting the time of the House in making speeches for the sake of hearing his own voice; but the ballot had thrown into his hands an opportunity of bringing forward to-morrow a subject which interested not only his own constituents, but the agricultural constituencies generally throughout the country—that of local taxation. He could not but think he should be a fool to give up the bird he held in his hand for any number of birds which the right hon. Gentleman might be able to point out to him in the bush. It was quite true the right hon. Gentleman had courteously offered him a place on Monday, but only a second place; and he could not forget that on some occasions the discussions upon the Mutiny Bill had extended to very great length. It might not be within the control of the right hon. Gentleman on Monday to secure the second reading of that Bill as he wished. All those who had the honour of a seat in that House were forced to have two sides to their hearts—a soft side and a hard side. These were feelings he had long been forced to cultivate. Socially, no one was more desirous of doing everything in his power to oblige hon. Gentlemen opposite; politically, he was unfortunately opposed to them. It could hardly be the desire of the right hon. Gentleman opposite to despise the wishes of the agriculturists in this matter, and all he could say was—"If these be thy gods, O farmers, God help the farmers!"

Mr. BIRKBECK said, that he had obtained the third place to-morrow for his Motion, which related to a very important international question relating to lights for fishing vessels, which affected all the maritime Powers throughout the world; and he was afraid that, if he did not get it on before Whitsuntide, he should be told by the Board of Trade that it was then too late to communicate with foreign Powers on the subject. In the event, therefore, of his giving up his place to-morrow, he must ask the right hon. Gentleman to give him an equally favourable place on another day.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, it was customary, when the Government gave up a day for the discussion of a Vote involving a censure on, or want of confidence in, their conduct, that if the debate on the subject were continued beyond one night it was to be regarded as a matter of common interest, in favour of which private Members should give way. He had not asked the hon. Member for Oxfordshire to sacrifice his rights altogether. It was impossible for him or anyone else to manufacture time, and he could not make distinct demands upon Gentlemen who had got command of days usually devoted to independent Members between this and Easter. They would probably tell him that their claim was of the same character as that of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire. There were four days before Easter which were, by the courtesy of the House, at the command of the Government. One of these days was to be devoted to the introduction of the Irish Land Bill. He did not suppose the hon. Member would propose they should give up that day. Another was to be devoted to the introduction of the Financial Statement. That also was a day which could not be given up. With regard to the other two days, there was one claim which was absolutely indispensable, and that was the Mutiny Bill, and he did not see why that might not be discussed and disposed of on one of those days, Monday next. On that account he proposed on Thursday to go into Committee on the Bill; and, as far as the Government was concerned, the whole evening would be at the disposal of the House for the purpose of debating the Bill, either on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair or upon the clauses in Committee. The Government would therefore propose to take the second reading on Monday, in order to secure the Committee stage on Thursday; and it did not appear likely, in the ordinary course of things, to lead to a general debate, inasmuch as the principle of the Bill was not contested. They would propose to take that as the first Order on Monday, and the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would be able to bring on his Motion the same evening.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE observed, that no doubt the custom as it had existed for many years when Votes of Censure in that House were moved had been correctly stated by the right hon. Gentleman; but, undoubtedly, during the present Session unusual sacrifices had been demanded from private Members. The hon. Member for Oxfordshire did not put forward an unreasonable demand when he asked that if he gave up his good position to-morrow he should have an equally favourable opportunity afforded him of bringing forward his Motion on some other occasion. The hon. Member, who had been originally under the impression that he was to have the first place on Monday, had agreed to give up his place to-morrow. [Mr. Gladstone observed, that that was a misunderstanding.] Well, the hon. Member had acted under that impression, whether it was a misunderstanding or not. The right hon. Gentleman now offered the hon. Member the second place on Monday instead of the first place on Friday, stating that the discussion on the second reading of the Mutiny Bill on Monday would be very short. In that case, why not let the hon. Member's Motion be taken in the first place and the formal reading of the Mutiny Bill a second time be taken afterwards?

MR. CHILDERS said, that the right hon. Gentleman opposite had quite forgotten that if the discussion on the hon. Member's Motion lasted until half-past 12 it would be in the power of any hon. Member, by giving Notice of opposition to the Mutiny Bill, to block the second reading for that night. It was, therefore, essential to take the second reading first, unless the House was prepared to take a shorter holiday at Easter.

EARL PERCY characterized the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister as a very clever mode of stifling all discussion upon the second reading of the Mutiny Bill, into which they had, contrary to the usual practice, introduced controversial matter. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the usual practice when Votes of Censure were moved in that House; but he had not alluded to the fact that the Government had taken every private Member's night for the last two months in succession, which they had devoted not only to Supply, but to the forwarding of other Government measures, such as the Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) Bill. Of all the propositions he had ever heard made in the House the suggestion that the Mutiny Bill, which, when the present Government were out of Office, was discussed night after night, should now be read for a second time after one evening's debate, was the most unreasonable. It came to this—that the private Members had to make a stand against the evident intention of the Government to absorb the whole time of the House; and he looked upon the desire of the Prime Minister to give the second place on Monday to the hon. Member for Oxfordshire as simply a covert way of forwarding his own measures. Now, if the hon. Member for Oxfordshire gave way, what would be the position of the hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck)? As things were, his Motion which was one of considerable importance, came immediately after that of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire, and the House would be able to express an opinion upon it; but the right hon. Gentleman had made no reference to the matter, and had ignored it in the proposals he had made to the House. He could only protest again, on behalf of the private Members, that it was necessary for them to look to their own interests.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT thought that the noble Lord was hardly just in saying that the Government endeavoured to take the time of the private Members, as that very evening they were giving the time of the Government to a private Member. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, a Motion of Censure on the Government was certainly not a Government Motion. However, it was only in accordance with the usual practice on such occasions for them to give every facility for the Motion; but was it too much, if the Motion led to a protracted debate, to ask the private Members, on their part, to facilitate an important discussion? The Government, so far from doing anything unfair, only asked the private Members to do what they were themselves doing —namely, to sacrifice their convenience in order to make room for the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). As for the position of the hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck), it would be precisely what it was before; and the noble Lord should have remembered that in any case the hon. Member would not have been able to take the opinion of the House on his Motion.

EARL PERCY explained that he had argued that the hon. Member would not be able to elicit a vote of the House, but its opinion by means of a debate.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT observed, that that was usually done by taking a vote. At any rate, the position of the hon. Member would remain unaltered, and his Motion would still stand second on the Paper on Monday. [An hon. MEMBER: Third.] In either case, it would follow the Motion that originally stood first. Then the noble Lord had complained that the object of the Government was to forward their own measures; but the Mutiny Act was one which interested both Parties equally, and could not possibly be described as a Government Bill. It would be most unwise to run any risk with regard to the renewing of that Act in good time; and he thought the plan of the right hon. Gentleman was the only way of avoiding confusion in the Business of the House. It was true that unusual demands had that Session been made on the time of private Members; but that was a circumstance over which the Government, however much they might regret it, had no control. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not know why hon. Members should demur to that statement, considering that both sides of the House had acquiesced in the arrangements made at the beginning of the Session. At all events, they were now in a situation from which no one but the Prime Minister had suggested any practical means of escape.

LORD JOHN MANNERS urged the desirability of closing the discussion. The matter was essentially one that ought to be settled out of the House. If he were asked to reconcile the reasonable and legitimate demands of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire with the almost equally legitimate claims of the Government, he would suggest that a Morning Sitting on Tuesday would, perhaps, be acceptable to both the parties concerned.

MR. MONK regarded the difficulty as a practical illustration of the inconvenience of the half-past 12 o'clock Rule.

MR. CHAPLIN hoped that the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would adhere strictly to his rights, unless the Government undertook to place him in an equally advantageous position on another day.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to Afghanistan.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

AFGHANISTAN — THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN.—RESOLUTION.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, before proceeding with the actual subject before the House, he desired to enter a protest against the course taken by the Government in springing a mine upon the House on the very eve of the debate by the circulation of Papers of immense importance. He did not refer to the Minutes to which the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India alluded that day; on the contrary, he thought as to those Minutes the noble Lord had done his utmost to place them before the House at the earliest possible moment. He referred to the despatch which left India on the 2nd of February last, and which contained an important change of policy. He did think he was entitled to complain of, at least, some want of courtesy. When he said that the despatches must have been three weeks in the possession of the Government, he thought it was not too much to expect that they might have been privately communicated to one who at half-past 4 that evening had to refer to the subject. The subject which it became his duty to lay before the House admitted of being stated in a very simple form. At the present moment British garrisons were occupying certain positions in Beloochistan and Afghanistan, in the former case entirely, and in the latter partially, with the free consent of the inhabitants of the country. When Her Majesty's Government had been in power about three weeks, they arrived at the momentous conclusion that their first object should be to effect the ultimate withdrawal of all Her Majesty's Forces to the old Frontier. But that had been explained by subsequent declarations, and by the despatch which he had seen for the first time a few minutes ago to mean this—the Government intended to withdraw, if they could, immediately from Candahar; they intended to withdraw from the districts of Pishin and Sibi, but at the request of the Government of India that was not to be done immediately; and they intended also to withdraw ultimately from Quetta and Beloochistan, although that had been for the present postponed. Now, the question which the House had to consider was whether these withdrawals, looking to all the circumstances of the case at the present time, would be to the interest of India or not. Fortunately, the responsibility of anyone who brought before the House a subject hardly second to any other in importance at the present time was, to some extent, diminished by the very able and exhaustive discussion which had recently arisen in "another place;" and which would render it unnecessary to re-open several questions that might be taken to have been sufficiently disposed of on that occasion. Take, for instance, the question of their right to remain in Candahar. Remembering the general assent which was given to the speech of his noble Friend, Lord Derby, on this point, he did not deem it necessary to touch into it. Nor would it be advantageous to discuss now questions which had entered into the region of Party. He supposed that no amount of discussion now would enable the two sides of that House to arrive at an agreement as to the origin and causes of the late Afghan War, or as to the state of mind of the late Ameer, Shere Ali, at any particular moment of his eventful career. He desired to bring forward this question solely because they believed a hasty and dangerous course was about to be adopted which might possibly hereafter be calamitous to our Indian Empire. Nor was it his intention to adopt what was happily called the historical method of arguing the question by referring at any length to the numerous opinions that had been expressed by many eminent men on the one side or the other in the course of the last 40 years. It was no disrespect to those statesmen and other distinguished persons to say that since they considered the subject circumstances had altogether changed. Let him point out two considerations which appeared to justify that view. The question submitted to and considered by them was whether there were any paramount considerations of a military or a political character which required an advance of the existing Frontier. Now, they had Candahar, they had Pishin, and they had other stations the subject of so much dispute, and they were there under circumstances in relation to the population of that country and Russia which were totally different from what they were previously. Again, the whole conditions of the problem had been completely altered by the construction of a network of railways and telegraphs throughout India. Our scheme of Frontier defence, nay, more, the whole conditions of our military occupation of India had been completely revolutionized. He supposed it would be much easier and quicker to send an army to Candahar from London now than it was in the time of Lord Canning to march an army from one side of India to the other. Although he took this view of the opinions of these eminent personages, at the same time it appeared to him to be possible to draw from them one principle which was common to all schools of political opinion upon the subject, and it was this—the one underlying principle which everyone admitted ought to govern our relations with Afghanistan was the exclusion of foreign influence, and the assertion of paramount British influence in that country. That had been asserted by Indian statesmen of every school; it had been adopted by both political Parties in this country; and it had been ratified, over and over again, by the public opinion of this country. If that was so, was the necessity for a firm adherence to this policy weakened in the sight of recent events? Hardly anyone would venture to doubt that that question must be answered in the negative. It had, on the contrary, been immensely strengthened. It had been proved repeatedly that if any difficulty should arise between Russia and England, Russia had comparatively easy means of paralyzing the action of England. They must all hope that the occasion might never arise. If ever anyone spoke with a sense of responsibility, and desired to avoid the use of any language of hostility towards Russia, he did. A recent calamity had placed upon the Throne of Russia one united to England by family ties; and they must all hope that the result of the reign of Alexander III. might be not only to bring closer together those ties of friendship which they were happy to see now characterizing the relations between the two countries, but to remove, if possible, any causes of suspicion or complaint. But that hope, however strongly they might entertain it, did not relieve them from the necessity of examining the recent action of the Russian officials in Central Asia; because if there was one lesson more than another brought home to us it was this—that, however much the Central Government of Russia might desire to control that action, it was practically out of its power to do so. The course of events was pushing Russia forward in a manner which she herself found it very difficult to check, and which the action of her generals did a very great deal to encourage. He asked the House, therefore, to allow him very briefly to trace the course of the relations between Afghanistan and Russia during recent years, in order to show how by degrees they had become closer and more intimate. Now, the Correspondence between Russia and Afghanistan, at first intermittent, was undoubtedly, also, at that time, confined to simple messages of courtesy; and the only complaint that appeared then to have been made by the Cabul Durbar was when it seemed to them that they could detect an intention on the part of the Russian Government to make that Correspondence regular and more frequent. At that time the letters sent by the Russian Governors General of Turkestan were always submitted to the Government of India, and their advice was asked as to the answer which should be returned. That course—for reasons into which he would not now enter, as they raised matter of controversy—ceased in the year 1873. In the year 1875, a further change occurred. For the first time, General Kaufmann sent an Envoy or a messenger to Cabul; and the result of that change was immediately apparent, because the Ameer of Afghanistan, instead of deprecating those communications, as he had previously done, expressed a hope that they might be continued. In June, 1878, the Viceroy of India telegraphed home the rumour which had reached him that the Ameer had been informed that an Envoy sent by the Russian Emperor would shortly visit Cabul as Ambassador. Accordingly, Lord Augustus Loftus was directed to make inquiries at St. Petersburg, and the result was as follows. He reported—

> "At an interview I had yesterday (July 2) with M. de Giers, I inquired of his Excellency whether any Russian Representative was instructed, either by the Imperial Government at St. Petersburg or by the Governor General of Turkestan, to proceed to Cabul. M. de Giers replied that no such Mission had been, or was intended to be, sent to Cabul, either by the Imperial Government or by General Kaufmann."—[*Central Asia*, No. 1 (1878), p. 132.]

It was a remarkable commentary upon these assurances, or a curious illustration of the want of control which he had already dwelt upon, that we now knew that General Stolieteff, on June 14, 1878—that was, 18 days before that statement made by the Russian Government—had left Samarcand on a mission to Cabul from General Kaufmann. On that same day the Conference assembled at Berlin, which resulted in the signature of the Berlin Treaty on the 13th of July. A month later, on the 14th of August, 1878, M. de Giers gave these further explanations—

> "It was not true that any Russian Emissary had proceeded to Cabul with any letter from the Emperor to the Ameer. Possibly there might have been a letter from General Kaufmann."

And he added—

> "Everything has been stopped. The political as well as the military precautions which we thought ourselves justified in taking against you—everything has been stopped." — [*Central Asia*, No. 1 (1878), p. 148.]

Nevertheless, as we now knew, General Stolieteff remained at Cabul until some time in September, and negotiated the definite Treaty with the Ameer, the rough draft of which had been published. He left behind him General Rozgonoff and the Staff of the Embassy, who remained at Cabul until the 13th of December, exactly five months after the Berlin Treaty, and then left it only when Shere Ali himself fled before the advancing British troops. Now, the conclusion which might, he thought, be drawn from these facts was that the diplomatic approaches of Russia, though they undoubtedly culminated at a time when the relations between that country and England were somewhat strained, yet commenced before and continued after that period; and that, unless some action had been taken by the English or by the Indian Government, they would have resulted in a complete alliance between Russia and Afghanistan. But, if that were so, was it not also perfectly obvious that these intrigues would be immensely facilitated, and their danger proportionately increased, by the near approach of the Russian troops to the Afghan Frontier? To what extent these advances might proceed in Central Asia they could not tell; time alone would show. They were informed by Her Majesty's Government that they believed it was not the intention of Russia to advance to Merv. They were glad to hear it, although he could not help recollecting that the last time any such assurance as that was given it was immediately qualified at St. Petersburg by the statement that circumstances might arise which might make it very necessary indeed for the Russian Government to proceed to Merv. But, of course, it might be possible that, in order to reach Herat, there would be no necessity for the Russian Government to proceed through Merv. The route to Herat did not necessarily lie through Merv. Nor did he wish to exaggerate the importance of Merv. Its importance was first asserted in an authoritative manner by the Government of Lord Northbrook, who, in 1875, pointed out that if Russia should think of advancing in the direction of Merv, it would be necessary for the Government of India to take certain steps, one of which was the conclusion of a definite Treaty of Alliance between England and the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the second was the establishment of a British Resident at Herat. Those were very serious steps; but, in fact, no Governor General of India had ever ventured to assert that any such advance by Russia on the Frontier of Afghanistan would not require corresponding action on our part. The late Lord Lawrence himself had told them that, if any such advance was made by Russia, it would require to be met by one of two things; either an arrangement with Russia, or a war with Russia in all parts of the world. Those were most serious steps. But let them not be unjust in what they said about Russia. In advancing in Central Asia she might be acting from motives which they had no right to question. But the moment she advanced to Afghanistan, she could only be doing it—and these were the words of Sir Richard Temple—with the intention of obtaining a vantage ground from which she would be able to embarrass us in India. Many hon. Members might think that the best way of meeting the difficulty was by an arrangement with Russia. Well, they had made such arrangements, and they had always broken down. Nothing could be more conclusive than the manner in which the Duke of Argyll pointed out the other day that such arrangements must always break down at the very time when they were most necessary. They were made for a time of peace, and when trouble broke out they were immediately thrown to the winds. It was upon these facts that he ventured to assert that the policy of excluding Russian influence from Afghanistan, and of maintaining a paramount British influence, was not only as essential to the interests of India as it had been during the last 40 years, but that at no time during that period was it nearly so necessary to consider what steps had been taken, and ought to be taken, to give it practical effect. Let them, first of all, examine the manner in which the late Government proposed to deal with it. The taunt had been more than once levelled at them—and it was the chief argument in the November despatch of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India—that they did not, in the arrangements which the late Government thought it necessary for the security of their Frontier to make in the Treaty of Gandamak, recommend the retention of Candahar. That was quite true, and the explanation was simple enough. While Afghanistan remained united under one Ruler in whom they had confidence, who had negotiated a friendly Treaty with them and had undertaken to conduct his foreign relations in accordance with their advice, it was not only unnecessary to maintain so advanced a position in addition to the Pishin, Khyber, and Kuram Valleys, but it was, on political grounds, undesirable. But when, unfortunately, after the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the light of subsequent events conclusively demonstrated to the Government of India that it was necessary to revert to the former condition of affairs in Afghanistan, because no one Ruler could be found at once suitable and strong—a very different state of things had to be dealt with. It could no longer be hoped that British influence could be maintained in that country by the community of interests which it was the object of the Treaty of Gandamak to establish; and it became necessary, in the opinion of the Government of India, to establish a British garrison in Southern Afghanistan, where it could exercise a paramount influence. Now, that there were objections to such a proposal no candid man wished to deny. But so there were to the occupation of the Punjaub. And so there are objections to the retention of a large British garrison at Peshawur. But it was felt that a strategical position of that character, connected with their Frontier and with the sea by an efficient railway running through a belt of territory under British administration, would give them military security, and enable them, to a great extent, to disregard the scares which for 40 years had at short intervals caused so much anxiety to the Government of India. Let him quote the words of one who had been constantly mentioned in their discussions, and never mentioned without being admitted to be our greatest authority upon strategical questions—he meant Sir Edmund Hamley. Sir Edmund Hamley said—

"With a garrison strongly posted in its lines at Candahar, with all the routes and stages by

> which our forces might be assembled on that point, all sources of supply, and all arrangements for transport, laid down, as our trained Staff officers are certainly capable of laying them down, we might view calmly any possible complications before us, whether arising from the augmented military power of Russia in the East, from the success of her intrigues, or from her open hostility. The grounds of our assurance would be manifest and easily understood, our Native subjects would soon learn to appreciate them, and what would be security for us would be tranquillity for India."

Well, that was their plan. Hon. Gentlemen might say that it was too large or too small, or what they liked; but the late Government claimed for it that it was an honest and (as they believed) a statesmanlike attempt at a settlement of this very difficult question. And now he would say to Her Majesty's Government—"As you do not like our plan—as you are going to abandon it—will you kindly tell us the details of yours, and how you propose to exclude Russian influence from Afghanistan? You agree that it ought to be done, and we have a right to ask how you propose to do it." The only answer, as far as he could at present find, that had been given to this question was this—"Withdraw your troops. Let Afghanistan entirely alone, and you will find that they will be just as ready to resist the Russians as they have ever been to resist the English." [*Ministerial cheers.*] He was glad to hear that cheer, because it showed that he had stated the case fairly. But, as a matter of fact, Afghanistan could not be altogether let alone. She must lean to the one side or to the other. The late Ameer, Shere Ali, told them so over and over again. If they created a vacuum, it must be filled up, and that speedily. At one time Shere Ali certainly desired to be English; but he always frankly told them that if he was not English he must be Russian. And yet, by their new policy, they were going to give to Russia that special opportunity of interference, of which it was really very difficult to deny the justice, or perhaps the necessity, which was afforded by leaving Afghanistan in an unsettled condition, likely soon to degenerate into anarchy. His general objection to this policy of withdrawal was that it was being adopted at the most unsuitable time possible, in defiance of the pledges into which we had entered, and that it was opposed to the great weight of authority on the subject. Let him ask the House first to consider the time that had been chosen for commencing this retreat. It was when confidence in our arms, rudely shaken by the defeat at Maiwand, had only been partially restored by the victory of Sir Frederick Roberts; when a Russian Army was advancing from the West with a rapidity easily exaggerated by the rumours of the bazaars; when a critical state of affairs existed in Afghanistan; when our *protégé* Abdurrahman was tottering on one Throne, and not yet placed on another; when his rival Ayoob Khan was re-organizing for a fresh advance; and when, he was sorry to say, the power of British troops had not been asserted in another very different quarter of the world. Could they say honestly that any one of our Indian fellow-subjects would not be fully justified in calling a withdrawal in these circumstances by the more undignified name of a retreat in the face of the enemy. He was not so presumptuous as to put himself forward as an exponent of Native feeling; but there was one point upon which all impartial observers were agreed, and that was as to the bewilderment with which the Natives of India regarded a rapid change of policy. The late war in Afghanistan—whether wise or unwise—they thoroughly understood. That had been conclusively demonstrated. He would refer hon. Gentlemen to the Native Press of India on that point. The objects and the alleged necessity of that war were clear. It was an assertion of British influence in accordance with all previous declarations. But what would they think of a policy which at one time induced the British Government to send troops victoriously through the country to assert British influence, and then immediately withdraw them without taking any steps to exclude Russian influence. It was all very well to talk of the effect which would be produced upon the Native mind by retiring to our old Frontier, conscious of our own strength. But the Native mind required the outward expression of that consciousness; and a retirement now would only lead the Natives to the conclusion that the long struggle for supremacy between Russia and England, which they had long watched with the most intense interest, was over, and that we had thrown up the game. They would think that the Englishman [differed from the Russian in this important respect—that while he lacked the wisdom of the serpent he had attained to the harmlessness of the dove. The opinion he ventured to put forward was greatly strengthened by many passages of the Minutes they had received. But he would quote to the House the remarks of another authority, which seemed to have an important bearing on the point. This was the manner in which the very well-informed Correspondent of *The Times* described the immediate future not long ago—

> "It is most doubtful whether the British Government, its troops once withdrawn, can make any arrangements for the peaceful settlement of the country. Now that Geok Tepe has fallen and the road to Merv is practically opened, Russian influence will have taken the place of ours; and, in all probability, next summer will see us helpless spectators of a state of anarchy in Afghanistan, with both the contending parties looking to our great rival for help and not to us. It is difficult to over-estimate the effect which this will have on the British prestige, not in Central Asia only, but also in every Native Court and bazaar in India."

And that effect would, in his opinion, be very much aggravated when they remembered the pledges into which we had entered, and the manner in which we were keeping them. Let them take first the case of the Candaharis. On the 15th of March, 1880, Sir Donald Stewart received the principal headmen of Candahar and the surrounding district in Durbar. In the course of his remarks, which, he said, it was necessary to make, as there was an erroneous impression abroad as to the future of the Candahar State—in the light of our new intentions this sounded almost like irony—he promised the support of the British Government to Shere Ali; and he added that "there was no chance of Candahar falling under the authority of a supreme Ruler in Cabul." Here, then, was a distinct pledge, not to Shere Ali, but to the people of the country, that the British Government would never again allow them to fall under the hated rule of Cabul. And this was further confirmed by the address of Colonel St. John on the 19th of May. It seemed from the despatch of the noble Lord in November last that, since circumstances had proved the weakness of the Wali, he considered that we were relieved from the pledges into which we entered regarding him. Quite so; but let us be quite fair to that Ruler. He never professed to be able to maintain himself by his own unassisted efforts; but it was the opinion of Sir Donald Stewart, and of the Government of India, at the time that under our protection he would have been a Chief well suited to the requirements of the people he had to govern. But what happened? No sooner did the present Government come into power than the telegraph flashed to Candahar the inpression—as it turned out the well-founded impression—derived from the public declarations of the Government, that British troops were to be withdrawn from Candahar. From that moment, as he had been told by officers actually upon the spot, the authority of the Wali was at an end, as he himself always said it would be; and the people over whom he ruled, whether well-disposed to us or not, ceased to be able to afford us that assistance which they had previously extended to us. Therefore, he declined to allow that we were released from the pledges which we gave to the whole people of the Province. They had received the absolute undertaking of the Government, in the name of the Queen, that they never again should fall under the rule of Cabul. In consequence of that pledge, many of them irrevocably cast in their lot with us, and we were bound to provide for their safety. The honour of the British Government, nay, much more, the honour of the British nation was pledged to them. And yet the Duke of Argyll coolly told them, with this solemn promise ringing in his ears, that "Some Ruler"—observe the word—"some Ruler will establish himself in Candahar by the process of natural selection," which, he supposed, in plain English, meant cutting each other's throats. But that very expression of the Duke of Argyll showed how little faith he, at any rate, had in the arrangement which was then maturing, and was announced the other day by the noble Lord—namely, the transfer of the Province of Candahar to Abdurrahman. As to that they had very little information. He had been selected by the British Government; it remained to be seen whether natural selection would ratify the choice. Whether he was strong enough to hold even Cabul, not to speak of an extended territory, they did not know, How he had treated those who had befriended us in Cabul they had not been told, although there was an ugly rumour, which he hoped the Government would be able to contradict, that he had confiscated all their property. However, he was now to have Candahar. The question had been asked when his troops would arrive there, and all the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) had said in reply was that they were not likely to be resisted. It was to be hoped not, while the British forces were there. But the fact appeared to be that the Government cared very little what arrangements could be made. All they thought of was to get away from Candahar. But it was impossible to discuss these arrangements in the absence of complete information. All he was concerned to urge now was that we were going to do with these unfortunate people the very thing we had promised them we would not do—namely, to hand them over to a Ruler to whom they objected; and, he was afraid, most probably to anarchy, and perhaps to bloodshed. But if the hurried abandonment of Candahar constituted a breach of faith towards the people, the case of Pishin was also worthy of attention. He might remind the House that the districts of Pishin and Sibi, originally in Afghan territory, were assigned to us under the Treaty of Gandamak. We accordingly undertook the administration of the Province. British officers governed it, with the cordial and loyal co-operation of the inhabitants; and from that time its prosperity had increased in a marked degree. Trade had extended itself, and the people, confident in the promises of a British Government, had been faithful servants of the Queen. Now, it was one thing to evacuate Provinces which our military forces had occupied; it was a very different thing to abandon a district, once under our direct administration, to anarchy and to bloodshed. If the policy of the Government was carried out, we were going to do with these people also what we were virtually pledged not to do. Having shown their friendliness to us, having in every way assisted us in the administration of the district, we proposed to hand them over, also, to the process of "natural selection." The logical result of this interesting scientific experiment would be that our friends—or such of them as survived it—would dislike us as much as our enemies had ever done. It was not, therefore, very surprising that the Government of India objected to this proposal, and intended (as they were that day informed for the first time) to remain for some time longer in possession of these districts. Nor was it surprising that in other respects also there should have been considerable difficulty in discovering any great weight of authority to recommend an immediate withdrawal. The evidence put before them was more remarkable for its omissions than for its contents. Of course, the most remarkable of all was the absence of any opinion from the Government of India. The noble Lord the Secretary of State told them in that House on the 26th of July last that—

> "It is a subject which Lord Ripon has been instructed to consider separately and independently; and as soon as he has formed his judgment upon the policy of the occupation of Candahar, or of the district of the new Frontier, Her Majesty's Government will form their opinion upon it."—[3 *Hansard*, ccliv. 1344.]

He would not think of suggesting that the noble Lord had not attempted to fulfil a pledge which he had given to the House. But as they did not know that even at that time it had been decided to abandon Candahar, they were justified in believing, after that statement, that the Government of India had been consulted. Well, perhaps it had been consulted; but it had never been allowed to express any opinion. And why? Well, everybody knew the reason. Because the Council of the Viceroy was utterly opposed to withdrawing from Pishin, and was also, for the present, at any rate, in favour of retaining Candahar. The noble Lord told them that certain Minutes of the Council were on the way, and two of them he had laid on the Table. But consider what that meant; it meant that nearly a year after the matter had been finally decided, the Council of the Governor General were to be allowed to enter an empty protest or to express a barren approval. If the opinion of the Government of India had been unfavourable to the Government at home, they might have overruled it; but at least they were bound to hear what was said by those who were charged with the interests of India, who would consider this matter with regard to the true and permanent interests of that country, and without anything like what could be described as Party feeling. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, in an effective address which he delivered to the electors of Manchester in 1880, condemned what he described as the initiation of a policy in this country, afterwards carried out by the Viceroy without the concurrence of his Council, and he called that reducing the position of the Governor General to that of a puppet. This was exactly what had happened on the present occasion; in the hands of the noble Lord the Governor General and his Council were nothing but a row of ciphers. In the evidence before them there were plenty of other omissions. We knew that Mr. Lyall, the able Foreign Secretary in India, had gone to Candahar for the special purpose of making a Report on the state of affairs; and it would have been interesting to have had that Report. Sir Robert Sandeman, our Agent in Beloochistan, was more intimately acquainted with the condition of the intervening country and the opinions of its inhabitants than any other living Englishman; and they ought to have had his opinion. He gathered from the Papers now laid before them that Sir Robert Sandeman had expressed in India a strong opinion of what he called—

> "The fatuity of the proposal to violate obligations publicly and officially assumed, and to abandon to anarchy and confusion the whole tract of country between Pishin and Sibi, which had begun to enjoy prosperity under our rule."

Again, why was there nothing from Colonel St. John, our chief political officer in Candahar? In fact, there was nothing more remarkable than the entire absence of any opinions based on political grounds and on recent experience in favour of withdrawal. The Government, indeed, made the most of what they had. His distinguished friend, Sir Erskine Perry, appeared no less than three times—first as a jurist, then as a politician, and, thirdly, in some capacity which he did not more particularly describe. Then there was Sir Robert Montgomery, now and always a faithful disciple of Lord Lawrence. But it was no disrespect to them to say that no one single political officer of recent experience in Afghanistan itself, or upon the Frontier, had been found to say a word in favour of the policy of abandonment at the present time. At any rate, it would naturally have been expected that the Government would attach great weight to military authority. That, no doubt, was divided in opinion; but upon one thing it was easy to show that it was all but unanimous, and that was in disagreeing with the policy now being adopted. Look at the list of military authorities of eminence who were known to have expressed opinions on the subject. There were those who were strongly of opinion that Candahar must be held, at any rate at the present time. The list included four officers who had been Commanders-in-Chief in India; it included all those officers who were personally best acquainted with the locality itself; and whose names were already familiar to the House. Then there were those who did not advocate remaining at Candahar; but believed that the post which we ought to retain was the Valley of Pishin. These were mainly the officers of the Intelligence Department of the War Office, with the addition of Sir Donald Stewart, who, however, on political as distinguished from military considerations, declared finally, as Lord Granville informed us, for the retention of Candahar. And, lastly, there was the class of soldiers who desired to abandon Beloochistan and Afghanistan altogether. But anyone who examined the Blue Book carefully would find the name of only one soldier of authority in this class, that of his distinguished friend, Sir Henry Norman—that was to say, they were asked to overrule the opinion of all the most eminent soldiers of the day upon the sole authority of Sir Henry Norman. The bare statement of that fact was amply sufficient without a word of comment. That, no doubt, was what the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department meant by "magnificent courage." Well, he thought it did require some courage. It was a quality for which Englishmen had happily been conspicuous; but if it was to be exhibited by retreating in the face of difficulty, and against the weight of authority, without securing the objects of our policy, some of them were old-fashioned enough to prefer courage without magnificence. Then they were told that even if all the advantages of holding any of these positions were conceded, a conclusive ground for resisting them was to be found in their excessive cost. Of course, if there were any evidence before them that such a step would paralyze the finances of India, the boldest among them might well hesitate unless the necessity were absolutely proved. But there was no such evidence. The information before them was that, at the present moment, India had been able to pay the whole cost of an exhausting war with hardly any addition to her debt. There were very few nations in the world that could say as much. And, indeed, if it were proved that India was unequal to the strain of providing for her own necessary external security, one might begin to look with apprehension upon the prospects of our Empire. But as to the cost itself. They had, in fact, no real Estimate before them. It would have been easy during the last nine months to have called upon the Government of India to furnish a detailed Estimate, based upon the opinions of its best authorities. But they had only before them an Estimate prepared by an eminent soldier, who had never been at Candahar, Sir Henry Norman, and another by a distinguished Indian financier, Sir George Kellner, with the advice of the highest military authorities. Well, before they proceeded to compare these Estimates, let them ask this question—Was it necessary to assume that, for the purpose of the military occupation of Candahar or Pishin, the forces required must be in addition to the existing military establishment? Sir Henry Norman said so; but upon that point the evidence was against him. The re-distribution of our military strength in India, under the new conditions prescribed by our extended railway system and our knowledge of modern strategy, had become a matter of pressing importance. It was well known that the Simla Army Commission devoted special consideration to this subject; and, though its Report was not yet published, it had been announced that the upshot of its recommendations was that, without calling for one additional man from England, a re-arrangement of our garrisons would enable us to place in the field for service beyond the Frontier a force of 50,000 men. And, indeed, it had always been recognized by English statesmen that there must be in India a large margin of troops over and above what was indispensable for safety. In November, 1867, when a discussion arose in that House about sending troops to Abyssinia, and after Sir Henry Rawlinson had expressed an opinion to that effect, the present Prime Minister, in continuing the debate, said—

> "It will withdraw from India for a time a portion of her available force. ["Oh!"] Yes; but my hon. and gallant Friend behind me gave, in my opinion, a perfect answer to any objection that might arise out of that circumstance when he said that the army in India is not regulated by an exclusive regard to what may be required for the purposes of the garrison. There is in India a necessary margin of disposable force. That force may be applied here or there, with reference to circumstances."—[3 *Hansard*, cxc. 393-4.]

But, of course, where troops, instead of being maintained at their old stations in India, were placed at Candahar, some considerable additional cost must necessarily be incurred, especially if it were decided not to complete the railway. Sir Henry Norman placed that excess roughly at £750,000 a-year, or 100 per cent. Sir George Kellner placed it at £350,000, or 50 per cent. He should be tempted by sad experience to adopt the higher scale as the safest, if it appeared that there were no other grounds for questioning it. But on carefully looking into this matter he found that in 1867, when the absence of a system of railroads would have much increased the expense, and when the question at issue was a garrison, not for Candahar, but for Herat, 350 miles more distant from our Frontier, the Estimate submitted to Lord Lawrence's Government stated that to the ordinary expense of the force required for that purpose—

> "We might fairly add 50 per cent as the additional cost of such a force in Afghanistan; for not only would the cost of all stores, &c., be much higher than in India, but the expense of moving recruits and invalids over such a long distance would be great, and the pay of the Native soldiers would have to be largely augmented."

And he found that that Estimate was signed by no less an authority than Sir Henry Norman. The conclusion from which appeared to him to be that Sir George Kellner's Estimate of 50 per cent was supported by very high authority. But really it was quite unnecessary to go more into the matter at present. If the occupation of Candahar was to be temporary only, then the exact amount of the expenditure was of comparatively small consequence. If it was decided that it should be permanent, then he admitted that it would be necessary to get a very careful Estimate of the annual cost and compare it with the much larger charge to which they would be exposed if, retiring now, they were compelled very shortly to go back again. Then the alleged objection of Native troops to serve beyond the Frontier had been urged. That objection had been undoubtedly exaggerated. It was perfectly true that last year there was great difficulty in obtaining recruits, and it was also true that Native soldiers had always shown a great dislike to serve for any lengthened time beyond the Frontier; but special inducements were offered to them, and the Service became popular, and when Sir Frederick Roberts marched for Candahar he had with him many Native regiments; but he was told on the very highest authority that the regiments were full, and that recruiting for them had for some time been stopped in India. But, of course, they ought not to be kept too long across the Frontier. That difficulty, and the cost of the troops, would, in fact, be materially affected by the completion of the railway beyond Sibi. There was no feature of the policy of the Government which was to be regarded with such regret as the abandonment of the railway. There was nothing which had so civilizing an effect as a railway. It had been shown by more than one Frontier officer that even a common road formed in the midst of tribes had an instant and remarkable effect upon them. For political and military purposes the railway was most important; but he alluded to it now on account of the great importance attaching to it for the purposes of trade. At this moment the trade of Central Asia was simply a Russian monopoly. Nothing was more striking to our officers who went to Candahar than the fact that everything in the bazaar they wanted to buy was Russian, and nothing English. The Russian Government was fully alive to the importance of extending their commerce, not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of its political influence. The English were now, however, going, in circumstances most favourable to them, to throw away the means in their possession of establishing fair and legitimate rivalry in trade. It was all very well to try and diminish the importance of the commerce of that district by stating what had happened while the fate of the country was in a state of uncertainty; but he should prefer to rely upon gentlemen who were entitled to speak with authority on the subject, and who were able to state what was likely to happen independently of the present temporary condition of affairs. Here was a very remarkable extract from a letter of an officer of great experience—

> "We hear that the Government has decided to abandon Candahar. Nine people out of every 10 in India think this a mistake. But to those up here there can be no doubt about it. The country may be said to be basking in the light of peace, rest, and a strong Ruler, and would under us, and with a railway, soon be the garden of the world, paying the cost of its military occupation, and affording us, at the same time, a true and strong base of operations against all comers. Our leaving Candahar will reduce the country to anarchy, and will cause the destruction of all our friends up here."

He should have liked to have quoted others. He would have given to the House the opinion of Sir Douglas Forsyth, who was more intimately acquainted with Central Asia than anyone, and who gave them four years ago a wonderful picture of its commerce, and the possibility of its extension. He would have told them the views of Mr. W. P. Andrew, the Chairman of the Scinde Railway Company, and he would have called as a witness Sir Robert Sandeman, who described the trade of one district as doubling since our occupation of Quetta. But he had already occupied the attention of the House too long. It had not certainly been his intention or desire to underrate the difficulties of the position in which we were now placed; but, on the other hand, if any fair and statesmanlike manner of meeting those difficulties had been proposed, likely to lead to a permanent settlement of them, it ought to receive the candid and fair consideration of the House. There were objections to all schemes; but to his mind the objections to retiring from Candahar, and still more from Pishin, at the present moment were absolutely unanswerable. They were going to leave Afghanistan in a critical state, with Russia advancing day by day, and retire to a point where our influence could not be felt. Could anyone, even the boldest adherent of what was called the policy of "masterly inactivity," dare to say that he thought it certain that within a very limited period we would not have to go back to Candahar? It was all very well to say it was easy enough to do so; but if we abandoned the legitimate influence we possessed in that country, he doubted whether it would be found so easy as was imagined. How about our pledges to Abdurrahman? The House would recollect that the English Government was absolutely pledged, under certain conditions, that it would protect Abdurrahman against foreign invaders. How were they going to fulfil that engagement? Did they mean to fulfil it at all? A pledge, which was prudent and easily fulfilled while we retained our troops in a position of commanding influence, became, when they were withdrawn from it, imprudent, dangerous, and impossible to carry out. Nothing was more melancholy to those who held the opinions which he ventured to express than to hear in the recent debate speaker after speaker declare that it was, in his opinion, inevitable that we should have to go back to Candahar some day, but that he hoped it might be postponed until the necessity became apparent. If they held that view, let it not be forgotten that we now held a position of observation from which we could safely, accurately, and without delay gather information as to what passed in Afghanistan. Withdraw the troops, and a black veil would be thrown over the country. They would not know what went on there, and yet no human being would venture to say that circumstances might not arise in the next few months which would require them to go back to Candahar at any risk, and at any cost. God forbid that any such necessity should arise. May history never have to record that any British Government, in spite of repeated warnings, and in defiance of its own pledged word, abandoned a confiding population first to anarchy, then to the influence, and lastly to the sway of Russia, and thereby entailed upon its successors sacrifices to insure the safety of India, which bid fair to convulse the Empire, but which ordinary foresight might have averted. They, at any rate, would have done their duty if, in the name of that civilization which, at first, perhaps, by the sword, but ultimately by the spread of commerce and good government, England had so often extended to countries traversed by her armies; aye, and yet much more in the name of the internal peace and the external security of India, they protested once more against this policy of masterly surrender.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the true and permanent interests of India."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member who had just sat down had laid before the House with great skill, if he would allow him to say so, the arguments for the retention of Candahar; but he made one or two remarks which needed some correction as regarded facts, with which he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would deal before he came to the main argument of his speech. The hon. Gentleman spoke, if he understood him rightly, of the intention of the Government to abandon Quetta and Beloochistan. Quetta and Beloochistan were not included in the statement of the Government as to their intention of retiring.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the original announcement of Her Majesty's Government in May last was that they intended to withdraw their troops from all positions beyond the present Frontier. He understood that to include Quetta and Beloochistan.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE replied, that that declaration had reference only to Afghanistan, and as Quetta was not a position in Afghanistan, Quetta and Beloochistan were, of course, not included in it. The hon. Member quoted to the House an opinion of the Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times*. He could hardly think that the hon. Member supposed the views of the Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times* would have much influence upon those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House. That Correspondent had not succeeded in converting the great journal of which he was a representative. The hon. Member asked whether the present, when Russia was advancing her arms in Asia, was the moment to quit Candahar; and whether we were prepared to abandon Afghanistan to the sway of Russia? Now, the hon. Member knew that those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House were distinctly committed by the statement, made over and over again, that in their view Afghanistan was outside the sphere of Russian influence. And when the hon. Member spoke of the moment at which Russia was advancing in Asia he was able to make this statement—that the very first act of the new Emperor upon ascending the Throne was to recall General Scobeleff to St. Petersburg, and to put a stop to all operations which that General had been conducting in Asia. The hon. Member asked whether we had any compact with Russia. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) did not believe in compacts with Russia. The Government had recently assured the House that we had no compact with Russia with regard to our arrangements in Central Asia. The Government certainly would never dream of making any such compacts and withholding them from the House of Commons. It was not the habit of the Government to make secret agreements with Russia or with any other Power. And he dwelt upon that fact, not as a matter of Party recrimination, but because there was one agreement, which was of a secret kind, which was referred to in the Correspondence before the House, and which bore very closely upon this subject of Afghanistan. But although the Government had no compact, and although they had carried on no negotiations with the Government of Russia upon this subject, yet the policies of those two Great Powers in Central Asia undoubtedly did act and re-act upon each other. The arguments which were used on both sides were the same. The arguments used by the Russian military authorities tallied exactly with those used by the English. Just as among us military men tried to show us that we ought to retain Candahar because Russia was trying to get Merv, so the Russian military authorities urged on their Government that they should seize upon Merv because England remained at Candahar. The policy of these two Great Powers could not be discussed in the abstract—the proceedings of each must bear on the other. They had always done so, and would till the end of time. The hon. Member had also referred to Indian opinion on this matter. The hon. Member, who did not seem to attach much importance to Indian opinion, except, of course, the opinion of the Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times*, made reference to Indian opinion. This opinion was of two kinds—military and official. The military opinion in India, as in any other country, was in favour of advancing and the retention of advanced positions. It would be strange if this were not so, in view of the fact that it was always the duty of soldiers to fight; and in his view, if the military opinion of India were taken, it would be found to be in favour of conquering and holding Burmah, China, and Persia, and organizing an expedition against the Grand Lama of Thibet. All honours, decorations, and rewards were connected with advancing. It was the same in Russia. Military opinion there was always in favour of an advance. He had noticed in the speech of the hon. Gentleman a marked difference from the line of argument pursued a short time back on the same subject in "another place," in support of the view taken by the Conservative Party. On that occasion Lord Salisbury expressed his disbelief in the statement that it was the desire of the Russian Government to keep a check upon their generals in Central Asia; but to-night it had been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite that there was such a desire, and that the generals had gone beyond their orders. This was his own view; and it was shared by one of the most distinguished Russian statesmen who, speaking to him, said that if he had his way, when sending a Russian general to Central Asia, he should be glad to confer upon him all the honours and decorations that were possible within the Empire, taking one step from him for each victory he won and each mile he progressed in a southerly direction. He sympathized with the hon. Member who had preceded him rather than with Lord Salisbury upon this matter. The hon. Member represented a Party who had themselves had much experience of subordinates who refused to obey the instructions of their Governments. Sir Bartle Frere's conduct was a case in point, as was, indeed, according to the late Prime Minister, that of Lord Lytton in despatching a Mission to the Khyber Pass against the opinion of the Cabinet. The hon. Member had referred to Indian Native opinion; but some of this Indian opinion which had been quoted was about as valuable as that portion of English opinion that had to-night been laid before the House in the shape of Petitions favourable to the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. Most of those Petitions were presented by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), and it was not matter for surprise that this should be so, inasmuch as the hon. Member seemed to have constituted himself a kind of itinerant purveyor of Petitions. The hon. Member for Barnstaple (Sir Robert Carden) also presented to the House a Petition in favour of the Motion signed by certain members of the Stock Exchange; but he could not see that any special value attached to the document, inasmuch as it was not likely to be backed by any proposal emanating from the Stock Exchange for a scheme to create Candahar consols. The hon. Member, in moving his Resolution, had, as the House knew, referred largely to Indian opinion as expressed by the newspapers, and on this point he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) wished to make a few remarks. The hon. Member, who had had experience in the Government of India, must be well aware of the comparative unimportance of the Press in India; and it was, therefore, a mistake to lay too great a stress upon it. It had, however, been said that the opinion of the Native Press in India was in favour of the retention of Candahar. He might, therefore, on this point inform the House that there were 61 newspapers whose opinions were officially recorded in this country. These had a circulation of 27,700, and they were as 43 to 18 against the retention of Candahar; while as to the subscribers to these papers, they were as 21 to 6 against the retention of Candahar. He did not desire to lay too much stress on this, and he thought it would be a great mistake to attach too much importance to their opinion; but when they found that the supposed opinion of the Native Press was being used at meetings up and down the country it became necessary to make this matter clear to the House. When the hon. Gentleman told them that the disaster at Maiwand had not been sufficiently vindicated, he could not think that that statement was believed either by the House or the country. On the contrary, the House would be of opinion that Sir Frederick Roberts' march achieved a result which had the effect of wiping out that disaster. When the hon. Member told them that their retirement from Candahar would detract from their importance in the eyes of the Natives of India, he would ask him whether the retirement from Cabul ordered by the late Government was not, in itself, calculated to have that effect? He could not see what there was about the abandonment of Candahar that did not also apply to the abandonment of Cabul, or which could not have been equally applied to Russia herself in her abandonment of the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, and her giving up a portion of China which she had administered for 12 or 13 years. He thought Russia would rather gain than lose in actual power by the giving up of that territory. He could not say why England should be accused of losing prestige by giving up Candahar, and why nothing should be said about Russia, who was supposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite to be far too wise to do such things, and who had given up a much larger district. The hon. Gentleman had said that our pledges alone ought to make us keep Candahar. But to whom were those pledges given? The pledges to the Wali were removed by our arrangement with him. By "pledges given to the population of Candahar," was it meant that we had given pledges to persons seven-eighths of whom detested our presence, to the people, who fired from every doorway on our defeated troops, and who murdered our wounded after Kushk-i-Nakhud, who rose against us almost to a man, and who had to be expelled from the town while we stood the siege? There were not many who threw in their lot with us who had not since been removed to India; and as to the Hindoo merchants, they had not suffered when the late Government abandoned a far larger number of their class at Cabul; and there was no reason to fear that they would not remain unmolested at Candahar. In the Candahar diary, which had not yet been laid upon the Table, under date of February 26, 1880, there was an account of an interview which threw great light upon the supposed intention of the late Government to remain at Candahar, which the hon. Member opposite had assumed as a matter of course, but of which there existed no evidence whatever.

> "Sir Donald Stewart informed the Sirdar that for many months to come a British force would be stationed at Candahar. . . . . The intention of the Government was, however, to render the Sirdar as speedily independent as possible. The cordial relations at present existing had for their end and object the enabling him as speedily as possible to exercise independent rule without the assistance of a British force."

The hon. Member had assumed throughout his speech—he did not prove it, because he could not do so—that there was an intention on the part of the late Government to remain permanently at Candahar. The statement he had just read showed that it was not their intention to do so; and that the only question was one as to the time when that place should be abandoned. The hon. Member in one portion of his speech had himself dwelt upon the time when Candahar should be abandoned, and had asserted that this was an unfavourable moment for abandoning it. It was well known that when you did not want people to do any particular act that the best thing to do was to assert that the present was the wrong time at which to do it. Having thus disposed of the side issues raised by the hon. Member, he came now to the real point which was before the House. He would not dwell upon the subject of the Afghan War, because the hon. Member had carefully avoided all reference to it; and, in so doing, he had acted wisely. The hon. Member was very wise in not following the line taken by Lord Lytton in "another place," and in not making in that House, where the atmosphere was sometimes more heated, the assertions which were the foundation of Lord Lytton's statements, because the policy of the late Government in bringing about that war had failed in every part. The policy of the late Government was to establish an independent, friendly, and strong Kingdom of Afghanistan; and they had only succeeded in destroying the cohesion that had previously existed in that country. All the difficulties of the present Government with regard to that country had arisen from the policy of the late Government. When the present Government came into Office this question of the time for the abandonment of Candahar was left an open one. The late Government had not decided the point for themselves; and they were content merely to drift along without forming any definite conclusion on the subject. At the first settlement of Afghanistan the late Administration left Candahar under the Government of the Ameer. But at the second settlement they determined to set up a local government at Candahar, which had entirely broken down, it being hated by the people, since it was set up by the British Government. The Motion of the hon. Member protested against our withdrawal from Candahar at this particular time; but the case of the Government was that they had made as satisfactory an arrangement as was possible under the present circumstances of Afghanistan. He, however, would go further, and say that in following the successful precedent which the late Government themselves had set by retiring from Cabul, the present Government had adopted the only possible plan if we were ever to leave Candahar at all. If they had again set up a puppet in that city he must have fallen on the removal of our bayonets. The hon. Member had asked what would happen when our troops left Candahar? In reply to that question he wished to point out that Sir Donald Stewart had stated that Abdurrahman Khan only needed a small force to take over Candahar, and that if Ayoob Khan started to attack it Abdurrahman Khan could bring down large forces to defend it in 16 days. If Abdurrahman Khan did not take possession, full discretion was left to the Government of India; but Sir Donald Stewart, whose experience was unrivalled, advised that we could safely withdraw our troops in April. The hon. Member appeared to have a rooted distrust of Abdurrahman Khan; and he had spoken of him as "your *protégé*," looking across the House in a significant manner. Abdurrahman Khan, however, had been selected by the late Government to be the Ruler of Cabul. Were the late Government prepared to trust him implicitly as the Ruler of Cabul, and were they afraid to trust him as the Ruler of Candahar? The hon. Member had said that a vast change had taken place since the Treaty of Gandamak, when we had set up an Ameer in whom we had confidence. It was said that we could place no faith in Abdurrahman because he had been a Russian pensioner, and would probably be a Russian tool. We had heard a good deal lately about Russian tools. Lord Salisbury, a few days since, had said that Persia was the tool of Russia, yet that did not prevent the late Government from intending to hand over Herat to Persia. In the Afghan Blue Book No. 1, Lord Lytton, in recommending the policy of creating a strong and independent Afghanistan, said that—"If Persia should occupy Herat, we ought to go to war with Persia to turn her out of it;" but although the late Government apparently agreed to that view at that time, within a year after they planned a division of Afghanistan, and that was by an apparently secret arrangement to hand over Herat to Persia. Now, however they were so afraid of Russian influence, that within a year again they had been converted the other way. All this showed that the late Government were groping about in search of a policy; but they were never consistent with themselves, and they never had any clear or definite intention as to the future of Afghanistan. The main argument of the hon. Member opposite was that the state of things had completely changed during the past year, and that that change was to be found in the advance of Russia and in the discovery of the Papers at Cabul.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not think he had quoted any Papers.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE remarked, that, according to his recollection, the hon. Gentleman certainly quoted from those Papers. [Mr. E. Stanhope: No, no.] If the hon. Gentleman did not quote the Papers, he did not know where he formed his argument for the change which was said to have occurred since the Treaty of Gandamak. At all events, he had referred in detail to the discovery of the Papers. Those Papers were in the hands of the late Government long before they went out of Office. They had a summary of them by telegraph in October, 1879, and they had the documents themselves by the end of November or the beginning of December. But, having these Papers in their hands, they nevertheless did not decide permanently to retain or annex Candahar. If the change of the last year was only to be found in the advance of Russia, that advance—so far as any advance had taken place within that period—had been long foreseen. In the Memoranda written 12 or 13 years ago, and when Lord Lawrence himself was Viceroy, and in the Memoranda of Sir Richard Temple, that advance, and a much greater advance, of Russia were foreseen by those statesmen. Moreover, he had shown to the House that, while we had no compact or agreement with Russia, we had reason to believe that Russia was not advancing at this moment. On the contrary, General Skobeleff had been recalled and the advance of the Russians appeared to have entirely ceased. The Papers quoted by the hon. Member, on which he wished to avoid just now laying any stress although he quoted them, might be dismissed in a single word. Those Papers were generally calculated to raise in the mind of any Afghans great doubt as to whether much attention ought to be paid to any promises which might be made to them. If Abdurrahman had read them with care, they must have raised as much suspicion in his mind as to General Kaufmann as would exist in the mind of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead Bartlett) himself. Where lay the change on which so much stress had been laid? The Government failed to see the evidence of this complete change in the state of things which was said to have occurred in Afghanistan. The hon. Member had told them that all the weight of authority was against them in regard to the withdrawal from Candahar. [Mr. E. Stanhope: From Candahar and Pishin.] With regard to Candahar they had the statement of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who said that he could see no possible strategical advantage in the present occupation, and that we secured no military advantage by the retention of Candahar. That was also the opinion at that moment of Sir Donald Stewart, who likewise thought there was no military advantage in the retention of Candahar. [Mr. E. Stanhope: Political?] He would come to that directly. At all events, soldiers gave their military opinions on the side of the present Government, although some of them went on to tell us that for commercial or political reasons they were on the other side. Sir Garnet Wolseley said that the sooner we withdrew from Candahar the better for the interests of our Indian Empire, and that he believed would be the opinion of the majority of that House. Sir Donald Stewart had not changed his opinion that Candahar would be valueless in a military point of view. He thought the best way to defend India against possible invasion was not by locking up 15,000 men to be blockaded in Candahar, and 5,000 each in Farah and Khelat-i-Ghilzai, but by meeting the forces of the enemy when they attempted to deploy from the passes on to the plains of Hindostan. In short, our military case was that we could go to Candahar when we liked. He believed that in time of war we should have to send just as large an expedition to Candahar if we had a garrison there as if we had not a garrison. The result of the war had shown that as regards an Afghan enemy we could traverse the country without danger, and Candahar was not likely to be reached more rapidly by a foreigner than by England. The opinion he had expressed was completely confirmed by the opinion of Lord Lytton himself, who said that as long as we kept Quetta we could at any moment descend upon the plains of Candadar or advance to meet our adversary in the field Thus even Lord Lytton was of opinion that it was unnecessary, from a military point of view, to retain Candadar if we retained Quetta. He was told that to retain Candahar in time of peace with a view to its possible military utility in time of war would cost £1,500,000 a-year. The hon. Gentleman opposite had given several calculations on this point, and seemed to know Sir Henry Norman's figures better than Sir Henry Norman knew them himself. The hon. Member mentioned £750,000, whereas Sir Henry Norman said the cost would be £1,500,000.

MR. E. STANHOPE, interposing, observed, that Sir Henry Norman said the excess of cost over and above the ordinary cost of the troops in India would be £750,000.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that Sir Henry Norman was distinctly of opinion that there must be an increase of troops. Hon. Members opposite ought to know something about the cost. They were authorities on the subject of cost in the sense in which a spendthrift was an authority on the subject of extravagance. They knew that their own Estimates were exceeded. The hon. Gentleman himself estimated in April, 1880, that the cost of the Afghan War would be £5,500,000. It now appeared that it would be £19,500,000, including the railroads, or £15,500,000 net. Even supposing that the cost of retaining Candahar should be only £1,500,000, the drain caused by the occupation would year by year be almost as great a drain upon the resources of India as the war had been which the late Government commenced. No one knew better than the hon. Member the capabilities of the finances of India. He was not disposed to throw this new burden upon them while he was in Office; but now that he no longer had any responsibility in the matter he had changed his views. The hon. Member conveyed an impression that the finances of India were not in an unsatisfactory condition; but that was the fact. The net Revenue of India was only some £40,000,000 a-year, of which from £15,000,000 to £18,000,000 was swallowed up by the Military Establishment. Now, of that Revenue, £8,500,000 was derived from the precarious source of the opium traffic, and a large portion from the salt duty, of which the least said would be the soonest mended. Things were paid for by the creation of Debt which, in this country, would be paid out of Revenue. ["No!"] Well, things were paid for by the creation of debt which it would be better, if possible, to pay for otherwise. Periodical famines occurred, entailing a large expenditure; very necessary public works could not be proceeded with for want of funds; and retrenchment had been carried as far as it could go without touching the Army. To add to the anxieties of the case, the highest authorities had pronounced all addition to the taxation of India impossible. It was in these circumstances that the hon. Member proposed to throw upon India the additional burden entailed by the permanent occupation of Candahar. Even if additional taxation were possible, which it was not, it could not be imposed without creating great discontent, which meant the creation of a field in which foreign intrigue, of which so much had been said, could work. Nothing but direst necessity could justify the imposition of an additional burden upon India at the present moment; and he trusted he had shown that the permanent occupation of Candahar was not only not a dire necessity, but that, apart from the question of cost altogether, it was undesirable. The House, would, perhaps, be glad to hear some interesting words on this subject from a statesman whose opinion had been quoted against the Government—namely, Sir Richard Temple. They were written 13 years ago, in the days of Sir Richard Temple's better judgment, and placed the present question in a striking light from the point of view of the finances of India. Prophesying an advance on the part of Russia greater than what had actually taken place, Sir Richard Temple, dealing with the question whether we ought to retain a position in Afghanistan, wrote—

> "There would be a cruel drain on our resources. The cost . . . . would, of course, have to be defrayed from the revenues of British India. But it is a serious thing to expend large sums of money, drawn from the people of India, beyond the borders of India. . . . . How many millions of Indian money were sunk in Afghanistan, and with what return to the people of India? If, unfortunately, we were ever induced to dissipate our treasure in such a country as Afghanistan, . . . by retarding the progress of India, and by impoverishing our exchequer to a level of that of our enemies, we should be just playing their game for them. . . . . If we engage ourselves in Afghanistan, Russia will find us in the hour of trial impoverished and embarrassed. If we keep out of Afghanistan, Russia will find us in the hour of trial strong, rich, and prosperous in India. If she really wishes us ill, she must naturally desire that we may be so infatuated as to pursue the former course. But it is for us to avoid that course which our enemies, if we have any, would desire us to follow."—[*Afghanistan* (No. 1.), 1878. pp. 68-9.]

To impoverish India by expending our money on Afghanistan would clearly be to play our enemies' game. Candahar, it should be remembered, was not merely a town. The occupation of Candahar meant the occupation of a district as large as Great Britain, extending from the Helmand on the one hand to Khelat-i-Ghilzai on the other. On this point they had a very clear opinion from Sir Henry Norman. Financially, the possession of that Province would be to India a "running sore;" and from the military point of view, so far from being a gain, it would seriously weaken our general position on the Indian Frontier. The hon. Member had carefully avoided urging the arguments used by speakers at Patriotic Association meetings—namely, that Candahar was a convenient *étape* in our race with the Russians to Herat. Regarded even in that light, however, the whole Province, and not merely the town, would have to be occupied. It was said that the trade of Candahar would enormously increase, and the hon. Member had read a letter to that effect—without, however, committing himself to its opinions—from a military officer; a circumstance, by the way, which confirmed his statement that in urging the retention of Candahar military men always gave commercial reasons. The same thing was said of Peshawur, which, it was thought by the military authorities, would become the garden of India. But Peshawur, though an important military station, had never been a garden, never would be, and had never, in a commercial sense, paid the costs of its occupation. It was to be feared that if we remained at Candahar, we should repeat our experience of Peshawur in that respect. With regard to this question of trade, it should be remembered that it depended wholly upon whether the roads on all sides were open. It did not depend upon our occupation of Candahar, but upon circumstances which were beyond our control; and much more trade was to be expected from a united than from a divided Afghanistan. But it was not for trade reasons that the Patriotic Association wanted them to keep Candahar, or that the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) brought bundles of Petitions to that House. It was not even trade reasons, he believed, which dictated the Petitions from the Stock Exchange. Our retention of Candahar was urged, as a rule, for military reasons. The hon. Member, however, who was by no means a woolly-minded person, did not, for his part, make it quite clear whether he wished to retain Candahar as a military position, or as a bulwark against intrigue. So far as intrigue went, it was tolerably certain that if the Afghans continued to hate us as much as they had done, we should gain very little knowledge indeed of their proceedings by remaining at Candahar. We had, during our present occupation of Candahar no knowledge whatever of what was really going on at Cabul, except that which was derived from such information as the Afghans themselves voluntarily conveyed. The late Government, too, knew very little during the occupation of Candahar of what was passing at Cabul. It was difficult in the East to obtain information with regard to an intrigue, even in the very town in which it was taking place. The experience of the Indian Mutiny proved that intrigue might exist side by side with English garrisons of the greatest strength. It appeared to him, therefore, childish to suppose that by remaining at Candahar we should be in a better position to undermine political intrigues at Cabul. The hon. Gentleman did not go into the question of what would probably be the result with regard to Afghanistan itself of our continuance at Candahar. He had a right, however, to ask whether we should not be likely to find ourselves as a consequence involved in every tribal war which broke out in that country, and in endless complications with respect to our future Afghan policy? Was it not but too probable that if once forced to take sides in those quarrels we should create for ourselves more enemies than friends? There was, he was aware, in the minds of a large number of people in this country a rooted belief that Russia was going at no distant period to attack our Indian Empire. He was glad, however, to perceive that the hon. Gentleman knew too much about the facts to dwell very much upon that point in his speech. The hon. Gentleman had been responsible for the finances of India in that House. The hon. Gentleman knew India better than he did, although he had spent some months in that country, and conversed with people who were well acquainted with its position. He, however, knew Russia, perhaps, even better than the hon. Gentleman, for he had visited it five or six times; and he would ask him whether he did not agree with him in the opinion that India was at the present moment the stronger of the two countries? It might not be so in the future; but, if not, it would be because we had been imprudent in our management of the finances of India; and we should, therefore, hesitate before we imposed on those finances in their present state the further drain which would be caused by the occupation of Candahar. He had, he might add, risen on the part of the Government to say that it was their intention to meet the Motion with a direct negative. When a Vote of Censure on the Government was proposed, they thought that the most manly course for them to pursue was to meet it in that way. They might have supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold), in every word of which they agreed; but a direct negative was, in their opinion, the proper mode of meeting the Motion. In thus meeting it, they were not disregarding the future of India or its connection with this country. On those points they were animated by the same principles which guided hon. Gentlemen opposite; but they believed in the eloquent words of the late Prime Minister—that the key of India was here in London. It was, in their opinion, by prudence in debate, by the wise management here of the finances of India, by the wise control of our Indian policy, by consulting our own dignity, and by avoiding any scare of Russia or of any other Power that we should best protect our Indian Empire at the present time. If at a future time actual danger should come and invasion menace our Dominions in India, then, as he had endeavoured to show the House, our best defence would be to be able to rely on the contentment and prosperity of the people of India, marshalled in the field by the courage of the English race, who, fighting for civilization, and with right on their side, would, he believed, overwhelm their foes.

MR. BUXTON said, the question now before the House was part of one of the chief questions on which the last General Election turned. Throughout England, with no uncertain sound, the verdict was given at the time of the Election that the late policy had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Notwithstanding all this, they were again asked to give up much valuable time in re-opening the question whether we should or should not annex a portion—the richest portion—of our neighbour's territory. It would be argued from the other side of the House that the question involved in the Resolution under discussion was not one of annexation; but he maintained that if we held Candahar with a large military force for another year—as we must if we do not withdraw at once—we should so weaken the prestige of Sirdar Abdurrahman, and thereby his chances of ever being strong enough to hold Candahar himself; we should rouse such hostile feelings against ourselves or any nominee of our own; and we should incur such risks of again being drawn into the turmoil and strife of the internal politics of Afghanistan, that we must face the probability, and almost the certainty, of our stay at Candahar becoming permanent. Therefore, he believed that, by not withdrawing at once, we should involve ourselves in a policy of annexation. But such a policy had been distinctly repudiated by hon. Members opposite. He would not quote the words of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer or of the late Under Secretary of State for India; but he would simply refer to their own Treaty of Gandamak, which Lord Salisbury, on June 5, 1879, considered "would secure all that is necessary to our own security and repose." In the 9th Article of that Treaty were these words—

> "In consideration of the renewal of a friendly alliance between the two States, the British Government restores to his Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies the towns of Candahar and Jellalabad, with all the territory now in possession of the British armies, excepting the districts of Kurram, Pishin, and Sibi."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 6, (1879), pp. 4-5.]

The circumstances then were the same as now; but the policy of the late Government had succeeded in rousing the hatred of that Afghanistan which they wished to see strong, friendly, and independent. His special object in quoting the Treaty of Gandamak was to show that at that time, at least, the Government did not contemplate annexation. Neither did Lord Beaconsfield, when, on November 5, 1880, he said—

> "Ours is a policy opposed to annexation; a policy in favour of the people of Afghanistan being governed by their own Chief or Chiefs."

He thought, to return to the wider question, that the permanent occupation of Candahar must involve us in a heavy expense and in dangerous risks. The annual expense had been estimated by Sir Henry Norman at about £1,500,000, and by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) at a much lower figure. He did not know on what facts they relied in arriving at that Estimate; but he hoped they were more trustworthy than the data by which they under-estimated the cost of the Afghan War by about £10,000,000. But whatever the burden might be, it would necessarily fall, partially or entirely, on India; and he could not believe that the House would readily add to the burden of that already overtaxed population of India to obtain an extension of our boundary, as to which there was undeniably a great difference of opinion both political and military. As to that opinion, he was glad to see how much consideration had been shown to the opinion of the late Lord Lawrence. It had been his happiness to have been intimate with that great Statesman during the last few years of his life; and some doubt having been expressed lately as to what policy he would have advised in the present juncture, he would say that he was convinced that he would have been strongly in favour of an immediate withdrawal from Candahar. There were, of course, no written memoranda of his on the present circumstances; but they had a full record of his opinion as to the events connected with the adoption of the forward policy by Lord Lytton. It was not denied that he was the leader of the opposition to that policy; and the only question to be considered was whether he would still have advised the withdrawal of the troops. As to this, he would venture to quote from a letter of his on the subject of the advance to Quetta, the first stage on the march to Candahar, written on January 10, 1878. [The hon. Member then read a passage from the letter referred to, in which Lord Lawrence said that the advance of Russia would be checked more effectually by strengthening our present Frontier than by extending it still further.] That was also the opinion of many other great men, who were soldiers, and not civilians, as was Lord Lawrence. Sir James Outram was ready to meet not only Russia, but Russia allied with a friendly Afghanistan and already in possession of Candahar, at the mouths of the passes leading down to the Indus, rather than involve himself in the deserts and mountains of that wild country. General Roberts had been quoted in favour of the retention; but he, at least, said this—

> "Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghanistan or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interest if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime."

By remaining at Candahar we did interfere with them; we kept open the wound which had been inflicted; and we tempted Russia to reduce that distance of 1,000 miles which at present separated us from her. But by withdrawing our troops we should gratify the Afghans, reduce expenditure, lessen our responsibilities, and, best of all, we should be reverting to our old policy—"Be just, and fear not."

Mr. NORTHCOTE submitted that it was quite competent for hon. Members opposite to support the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope), even although they might disapprove of the policy, the end of which had been the unfortunate war in Afghanistan. Notwithstanding the Motion was in the nature of a Vote of Censure on the present Government, the real gist of the debate was whether or not the policy of the late Advisers of Her Majesty was one which was capable of vindication. The question was commonly argued as though it had arisen in 1873 or 1876; but what he contended was that, when they were discussing a matter of this kind, they must go a little further back, and take the whole Afghan question, as far as it was capable of being taken, *en bloc*, and, therefore, they must go back to the starting point, which was 1869. The reason he took that year was that it was then that negotiations were undertaken between the Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury was the head, and the Russian Government for the establishment of a neutral zone in Central Asia. The Foreign Secretary of the time (Lord Clarendon) saw the real danger, and, in a despatch which he wrote to Sir Andrew Buchanan, called attention to the apprehensions entertained in this country as to Russian encroachments. He recommended, as a security against possible intrigues, the establishment of a neutral zone. Well, the Russian Government received that communication in a very proper spirit by stating that Afghanistan was entirely out of the sphere in which Russia could be called upon to interfere. There was some doubt as to whether Afghanistan supplied the requisite geographical boundary, and there was a long controversy on the subject. On the 2nd of June, Mr. Rumbold reported that in a conversation with Prince Gortchakoff that statesman considered that, in our relations with Shere Ali, it was to be hoped that we should use our influence to keep him within bounds. Next came the interview which Lord Clarendon had with Prince Gortchakoff at Baden, in which the former stated that he did not apprehend an attack from a regular Russian Army; but the nearer approach of the Russians and possible intrigues with Native Chiefs might entail much anxiety and expense, all of which would be avoided by a clear understanding, by which a neutral ground might be established. At that time he proposed the Oxus. Prince Gortchakoff objected, and suggested that Afghanistan should be the neutral zone. During the next year or so the great point in dispute between our Government and that of Russia was, not as to whether the Government was to exercise any special influence over Afghanistan, because that was taken for granted—the only point was what precise limits Afghanistan should have, and to whom the Provinces of Wakhan and Badakshan should belong. What he contended was that that correspondence showed that the influence of England was made an acknowledged fact in Afghanistan, and that the very struggle made by the Government to secure certain Provinces for Afghanistan was a tacit admission by the Government of their responsibility, to a certain extent, for the affairs of Afghanistan. If that were granted, what was the corollary? All through the negotiations the Russian Government expressed some jealousy, not as to the possible conduct of Her Majesty's Home Government, but as to the possible conduct of the Indian Government; and the jealousy was lest the Indian Government should stir up the Ameer to some strife with his neighbours at Bokhara or elsewhere; and when the arrangement ultimately came about, the Russian Government pinned us down to the admission that we should use all the influence in our power to ensure that the Ameer should remain on friendly terms with his neighbours at Bokhara. Therefore, if in spite of this the Ameer had made war, he ventured to think that the Russian Government would not have been slow to complain of the conduct of the British Government in not acting up to the spirit of their engagement in keeping him within decent bounds. These negotiations had for their object the establishment of a neutral zone, and Russia made herself very specially responsible for the good behaviour of the Ameer of Bokhara. They, however, made it a pretext for refusing certain propositions of the English Government by saying that they could not undertake that they would never cross such and such a geographical limit, because they reserved to themselves a kind of parental right to chastise, if necessary, the Ameer of Bokhara and others who might dispute their authority; and the inference to be drawn is that Russia considered that England, standing sponsor for Afghanistan as they did for Bokhara, might have the same parental right over Afghanistan. If that were admitted, then the charge against the late Administration fell to the ground. There were one or two questions connected with the subject to which he need not refer at length. The first was that of cost. Well, he thought it was impossible to form any trustworthy Estimate of the cost until we had by experience the means of ascertaining how far the increased Revenue of the Province might go to defray the expenses incidental on occupation. With regard to the Treaty of Gandamak, he might say that it had been made under a mistaken supposition that the late Ameer had a sufficiently established authority to be able to conclude a Treaty on behalf of the whole of Afghanistan; and, therefore, the whole circumstances were turned upside down. He did not agree with the argument that Candahar would prove a source of weakness in consequence of the Natives being warlike, because he could not forget the great assistance which had been rendered to us by the Sikhs and other warlike races. It was often made a matter of reproach that Lord Lytton had annexed Afghan territory, whilst professing to only make war on the Ameer, and not upon the people of Afghanistan; but he would remind the House that the Emperor of Germany, when his troops crossed the French Frontier in 1870, issued a similar proclamation, which did not, however, deter him from annexing two of France's most fertile Provinces. He contended that the argument of the Liberal journals, that if the Liberals had been in power there would have been no trouble with Russia, was averse to experience, because, after the negotiations of 1869, it was said that the understanding with Russia was entirely complete. What was the consequence, however? In 1870 came the Khiva Expedition, which was utterly contrary to the assurances of the Russian Government; and immediately afterwards came the renunciation of the Black Sea Treaty, so soon followed by the intrigues at Cabul. Some hon. Gentlemen said if Russia did get into Afghanistan, they would have the undying hostility of the population of Afghanistan; but he must say to that, there was a great deal of difference between an English and a Russian conquest. They could not draw a fair contrast between a country conquered by England and one conquered by Russia. He did not desire another acre to our present possessions; but he did desire to protect those lands which we at present held, and he cordially accepted the policy of the late Government on this subject.

Mr. H. GLADSTONE said, that he felt some diffidence in having to address the House after the able and exhaustive speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was very difficult to add anything to his clear and complete statement of the case; and, in the few remarks he had to make, he must be pardoned if he repeated some points already mentioned. In considering the evidence which had been so clearly put before the House, it seemed to him that the military considerations were all-important. It was evident that those who advocated the retention of Candahar did so because of their fear of the advance of Russia. But he wished to point out that, unless they could demonstrate both the intention and the power of Russia to invade India, or to intrigue with a view to an ultimate invasion of India, those military considerations almost entirely fell to the ground. He would endeavour to estimate the probability of a Russian advance against India. What were the motives which would restrain Russia from attacking India? Hon. Gentlemen opposite might laugh when he mentioned, in the first place, the respect which Russia had for public opinion. He was not now saying that Russia acted from a high moral point of view; but he said that her Government, whether good or bad, had to pay some attention to public opinion, which would not, he thought, sanction any wilful aggression for the sake of conquest on our Indian Empire. But he now came to a more powerful restraining motive. It was not the interest of Russia to attack India; and although she might endeavour to keep up the impression that, sooner or later, she meant to attack our Indian Empire, he did not believe that she herself thought for a moment that there was the remotest possibility of success if she were to try. The historical method had been mentioned, and he wished to point out that if hon. Members read history with a full understanding they must admit its lesson to be that it was not in the power of Russia, even if she willed it, to remove us from our Indian Empire. It had been said by hon. Gentlemen opposite, that India was the goal of all conquerors, and that Russia, being a nation bent on conquest, must inevitably go there as a matter of course. That was a true statement to a certain extent. India had attracted conquering nations, both from the East and from the West, and why? Because they had a totally wrong impression of the wealth of India. Their imagination had been excited by fabulous tales of the riches of that country; for centuries conquerors had made inroads upon India, and Western nations had also vied with each other in obtaining a foothold there. They had done so because India was absolutely disintegrated. There was no dominant Power there, and parts of the country fell an easy prey to any aggressive race which set foot in it. It was not correct, however, to say that India had been repeatedly conquered. It had never been really conquered, except by the English. He admitted that the Mahommedan Power had been dominant there; but the Moguls had never held India in the sense in which we now held it. It was argued, however, that history—and especially recent history—showed clearly the design of Russia upon the conquest of India. He admitted that Russia must continue to conquer; but why should she attempt to invade India, when she had a field of more honourable conquest open to her in Central Asia? The invasion of India offered obstacles to Russia which were practically insuperable. The difficulties were so great as to involve the necessity of enormous preparations, and any failure in the undertaking must prove ruinous to her position and influence in Central Asia. Our own sad experience in the past had proved only too clearly how difficult was campaigning in Afghanistan; and surely reasons such as those ought to lead us to believe that Russia had formed no intentions of invasion. But, at the same time, he did not mean to say that she might not wish to conquer India, if such a scheme were practicable. They must also remember, in considering the probability of a Russian invasion, the probable changes in the Russian policy; and the statement of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that General Skobeleff had already been recalled from Central Asia might be taken as an indication that a new state of things had dawned in the Russian Empire. There was one more motive which would prevent Russia, on the ground of self-interest, from attacking India. Was it not perfectly plain that no country could hope to hold India without the command of the sea? With the command of the sea, England had ousted the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French successively from India. Was it possible that Russia, without the command of the sea, could oust us, who were far more firmly established than any other Power ever had been, from that Empire? From the historical point of view, therefore, he submitted that Russia must know that there would be no chance of success in an invasion of India. But then they were told by travellers that Russian officers made no secret of the intentions of their Government to invade India, and that the Russian Press was continually saying that sooner or later India must fall a prey to Russia. Was it not perfectly natural that Russia should wish to keep up that impression? She wished to get some hold over us, and if she saw that we were afraid, she would do her best to keep up the notion that she seriously intended to invade our Indian Empire. It was a curious fact that hon. Gentlemen opposite who, as a rule, refused to trust the word of Russia, seemed, when she said she was going to advance against India, to place implicit confidence in the statement. The Cabul Papers were pointed to as conclusive evidence of it; but he submitted that there was nothing in those Papers which Lord Beaconsfield did not not know before they were discovered, judging from his own declarations with regard to the movements of Russia in Central Asia, in February, 1879. Neither from the historical nor from the political point of view was there anything to justify the retention of Candahar. The intention of Russia to invade India could not be proved to exist, so that we could not give that consideration to the military arguments which we must have given if it had been demonstrated that Russia had designs on India. He then came to the positive drawbacks of the retention. The Indian Frontier would be increased by 400 miles, and one would think that by this time we had enough "Frontier." The financial difficulty had been exhaustively dealt with before; but, in consequence of something which fell from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), he would make one remark. He believed that General Napier was strongly adverse to reducing the number of the troops we had now in India; and he believed that a continued occupation would involve the establishment of an entirely extra force of about 16,000 men. The retention of Candahar would preserve a memento of one of the most unhappy wars ever undertaken by this country. It would involve service for long periods to our Native troops; and what was the result after two years' service of Native troops in Afghanistan? Why, that recruits could not be got in India without giving a bounty of £5 to each man, and hence General Roberts and other distinguished officers made very strong points against sending our Native troops on foreign service for a long period. A retention of Candahar obviously involved still further advances, because all the arguments which could be given for retaining Candahar could be brought forward for our advancing yet further. And where were we to stop? Apparently there were several gates to India. Lord Beaconsfield said the scientific Frontier included the gate of India, and that if we gained that Frontier we should be entirely protected against Russia; but only the other day his Lordship had told us that the key of the gate of India was in London. He (Mr. H. Gladstone) did not know what relation existed between the key and the gate. Again General Roberts and other military authorities were most emphatic in asserting that it was all-important that the Afghans should see as little of us as possible. These same authorities told us that Cabul was dominated by Candahar, and if we occupied Candahar, which dominated Cabul, the Cabulis must always be extremely conscious of our presence; therefore, it seemed to him that we should get out of the place as speedily as we could. The point on which Lord Cranbrook dwelt so strongly in "another place," and which was also strongly brought out by the hon. Gentleman opposite, was the pledge given by General Stewart. We knew that the men to whom that promise was given had to be turned out for being rebels. It was said this was a disgraceful retreat from Afghanistan; but if we carried that argument to its logical conclusion, we ought at the present time to be in possession of Abyssinia, Coomassie, Cetewayo's kraal, and also Pekin. Why should there be any disgrace in withdrawing from a city which formed no part of the original objects of the war in Afghanistan? As to the argument that Candahar should be retained in order to preserve our prestige in India, he believed that if any doubt existed in the minds of the Indians as to our power to chastise the Afghans, if they deserved chastisement, that doubt had been removed from their minds by the brilliant deeds of our troops in Afghanistan. Then he had seen it stated, coming to the vote in the House of Lords, that the Government had to face a large hostile majority in the House of Lords. He, of course, had a great respect for the House of Lords; but in December, 1878, in a debate in the House upon the policy of the Government, the then Government obtained a majority of 136; and now their Afghan policy was only supported by 84, and a difference of 52 in the House of Lords meant a great deal in his humble opinion. It showed that a good many noble Lords had learned experience by the discipline of facts. Then the weight of authoritative opinion was said to be against the policy of the Government; but the House must not forget that the very authorities who now declared in favour of the retention of Candahar were the men who urged on the Government of India to a warlike policy against Afghanistan, and who told us that we should gain a Frontier by an expenditure of £2,000,000 which could be defended by 5,000 men. We could not help remembering how completely their prophecies had been falsified when it turned out that the Frontier which was to be maintained by 5,000 men could not be maintained by 70,000; and that, instead of £2,000,000, we were called upon to expend £15,000,000. Lord Palmerston, he believed, was exceedingly angry when the French occupied Algeria, and he had advocated a system of national defence against France, on the ground that the French hated us as a nation at the bottom of their hearts. It seemed to him that hon. Gentlemen opposite viewed Russia now pretty much as Lord Palmerston regarded France 18 years ago. He could only hope that 20 years hence, after 20 years of Liberal Government, the nation would discover the groundless nature of their fear of Russia. For his part, he objected to the policy of political insurance all over the world. The British Navy was not insured, because the sum we should have to pay would be so great that it would more than cover the losses that every now and then we must suffer. If we went on with this system of political insurance all over the world, we should never be able to stop. He thought Her Majesty's Government would fail in their duty to the country if, by occupying a place like Candahar, they sent a virtual challenge to a nation that it was our interest and our duty to conciliate. In conclusion, he would urge the House to recollect the true causes of the decline and fall of Rome, a Power which offered a nearly exact parallel to our own Empire. Rome fell, not through luxury, not through corruption, not from want of bravery in its soldiers or ability in its leaders, but from want of men. In close accordance with our own experience in Afghanistan, Rome found it easy to conquer, but difficult to maintain her conquests. By her policy of conquest and annexation she forced her enemies into continual combinations against her, and by contact with them she taught them the art of war and the use of arms; and, as their numbers and their displine increased, the strain on the Imperial city grew greater and greater, till the supply of fighting men fell short. Then came the end, and Rome was overwhelmed in the storm she herself had raised. He should vote against the Motion, with the absolute conviction that the evacuation of Candahar was in the best and highest interests of our Indian Empire. We had in India great duties to perform, and doubtless we should perform them. We ought, therefore, always to hold our own, but not to adopt a policy which rested wholly on conjecture, which formed part of no settled plan, and which it was the duty of the country to reject as reckless and altogether dangerous.

MR. GIBSON: I must sincerely congratulate the hon. Member (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) on the success with which he has acquitted himself in his first address to this House; and I only express the feelings of hon. Members on both sides when I say that we recognize with pleasure in him the possession of qualities that will secure for him a creditable and distinguished position. The question raised by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire is so large and so grave, that it is desirable to keep it clearly and distinctly in view — to divest it, as far as may be, of all unnecessary topics—and to prevent it from being obscured by the introduction of reminiscences, which are only brought forward for the purpose of producing Party bitterness. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a speech of much skill, began by protesting that he had no intention of referring to the Afghan War or its causes, or of saying anything that could suggest angry Party differences; but he at once applied himself to rake up the past, to attribute everything disastrous to the Party opposite him, and to say that my hon. Friend showed great wisdom in not wading through the incidents of the Afghan War, because they all told against him. I do not pretend to imitate the address of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and I will not follow him through all those topics. My object shall rather be to avoid all matters that are not closely connected with the question under discussion. And that question is, is it wise at this juncture of affairs, which was two nights ago described by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India as "a situation of critical importance," to withdraw from Candahar? Would it not be more prudent for us to remain till affairs in Afghanistan are more settled, and till we can have some assurance that the Ameer then will be able to sustain his power, and to sustain it with a guarantee of friendliness to the English Government? This question is divested of all suggestion of annexation. My hon. Friend urged no topics connected with annexation, and did not argue the question as though it necessarily involved the permanent occupation of Candahar. Nor, from the beginning to the end of his speech, did he put forward a single proposition which could be relied on as exposing him to the charge of advocating a forward policy. He confined himself strictly to the question of the Paper, whether it is wise or prudent at the present juncture to withdraw from Candahar? The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs passed by that matter in one sentence of his speech, though he discovered many arguments against a permanent or prolonged occupation of the city. He said—"If Candahar is to be occupied for two or three years, it should be occupied for all time;" and he forthwith treated the question as involving a permanent occupation. But that is not the question; and the hon. Gentleman passed by, not only the real question, but many other topics to which his attention was specifically directed. Now, what is Candahar? Anyone would think, from listening to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Candahar was a *terra incognita*, and that we ought to listen to his suggestions as though we were totally unacquainted with the case. Why, Candahar is the great citadel of Central Asia—it has been called the granary of Central Asia; and besides being a place of great military and strategical importance, it is a great trading capital, and might be made greater still, if you permitted it to be occupied for a sufficient and reasonable time. If this great city of Candahar were occupied by us, or by some person with whom we had friendly relations, and in whom our Government might have confidence, we might regard with perfect indifference the possession by Russia of Merv, or even of Herat. And more than that, we might view with entire indifference any intrigues that might be carried on in the capital of Cabul. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs asked very triumphantly—"What would your garrisons and agents in Candahar know about what was going on in Cabul?" But I answer at once that we should be independent of such knowledge, and that it would be unnecessary to us. If in 1878, at the time of the unfortunate outbreak of the war, we had been in possession of Candahar, and if the present condition of things had then existed, that war might have been obviated, and it would not have been necessary either for us to go to war, or for Russia to send a Mission to Cabul. We are now in possession of Candahar. We are asked by the Government to give up what we are in possession of without having anything in the shape of a guarantee or of safeguard to replace it, and to retire, not upon another Candahar, but upon a Frontier which, in the circumstances, is no protection at all. What is the reason alleged for a course which requires a good deal of argument to satisfy those to whom it is addressed? I am glad that the hon. Member for Leeds has not put forward to-night any suggestion as to the immorality of remaining at Candahar. Well, then, it may be taken to be moral. I may take it, as far as the debate has gone as yet, that the idea that the occupation of Candahar is immoral has not been suggested. What are the circumstances? When Abdurrahman was made Ameer of Cabul, he was distinctly and clearly told that he would not be given possession of Candahar; and, more than that, the people of Candahar were told that never again would they be asked to be united to Cabul. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs read a document which is not on the Table of the House, but which is dated, I think, February of last year, to show that no such guarantee was given at that time. But I find from a Paper on the Table of the House, page 20, dated a month later—in the month of March—that at a Durbar the people of Candahar were distinctly and plainly told Candahar would not be again joined to Cabul. From all I have heard in the debate, as far as it has hitherto proceeded, and from anything I have seen in the Papers, there is nothing to shake my belief that if a vote were taken in Candahar as to how the people would like their future to be disposed of—if the question were put as between England and Abdurrahman—the vote would be altogether for England; and if another vote were taken as between Ayoob Khan and Abdurrahman, it would be almost unanimous against Abdurrahman and in favour of Ayoob Khan. So, then, you are going to give Candahar to a man against whom Native opinion in Candahar would be nearly unanimous, and in favour of either England or of Ayoob. Putting aside military and other considerations, this question has been mainly argued as a question of finance and expense. The statement of Sir Henry Norman, one of the ablest Members of the Viceroy's Council, of whom I desire to speak with all the respect to which he is entitled, appears calculated on rather exaggerated views, and it must be remembered that he is a strong advocate of our retirement. But he does not go into the matter with exactness and thoroughness. Probably £500,000 would be nearer the mark than £750,000, or any larger sum. It may be said, indeed, that £500,000 is a considerable sum, and that India could hardly bear it. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs talked a great deal about opium, salt, debt, and other things, but did not say that India could not thoroughly well pay for the occupation of Candahar. If he had said so, I would meet him with another Paper distributed at 5 o'clock, in which Major Baring says that the financial condition of India is prosperous. I would also meet him with the statement of the Prime Minister the other day in proposing that £5,000,000 should be given to India, when he said it was not given in consequence of any financial necessity on the part of India, but from considerations of policy. And when we are asked—"Can we afford to stay in Candahar?" I meet the question by another—Can we, with regard to the past, and looking to the future, can we, looking at the question broadly, afford to leave Candahar? The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was a little disposed to sneer at the commercial advantages that might be gained. But we must look at the question as a whole. If the railway now completed from Kurrachee to Sibi were completed, as was intended, to Candahar, does anyone doubt that it would have the most tremendous effect on the commercial position of Central Asia and Candahar? Would it not effect a commercial revolution, open up perfectly new trade routes, and instead of these countries being supplied from Russia and Persia, would they not be supplied from England and Kurrachee? It would have another effect. We are told of the difficulties of replacing the reliefs. But if the railway which was part of the plan were completed to Candahar the difficulty of reliefs for the troops would vanish altogether, because the service beyond the Frontier could be rapidly and easily provided for. Russia does not take the commercial question so easily as the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Russia has never forgotten in all the marches she has made, in all her extensions of Frontier, the vast commercial advantages which might accrue from her progress. Russia, now connected by steam and rail with Askabad, has got the entire trade of Central Asia. In 1873, making a new Treaty with Bokhara she took care that English goods should be excluded with the exception of indigo and muslin. So that Russia makes in her progress commercial Treaties in favour of herself and against England. Is it not for us, therefore, to consider the commercial advantages which would obviously result to England and India? Another argument in favour of withdrawal from Candahar is that we could in case of need re-take it. But upon what conditions could we re-take it? Would the friends we are now forsaking be then our friends? How much blood would be shed and treasure spent before we could be back again in our present position? If the Afghans were drilled by Russian officers—a probably contingency—should we find the march from Quetta to Candahar so easy? Yes, we might take Candahar, and if we abandoned Gibraltar we might take it too; but it might be at the cost of great and serious sacrifices. Then it is said we have nothing to fear from Russia. The Secretary of State for India, in the despatch of the 11th of November, which is certainly a very vigorous and powerfully written document, said that in relation to Russia there is no danger or apprehension of danger. Danger of what? If he means danger of invasion, I am not disposed to differ from him. But if he means danger of Russia advancing and acquiring a commanding influence, which is the real question, I differ from him entirely. Then he says the Russian advance in Central Asia has added nothing to her resources. Never have I heard a more astounding assertion. Does it not give her a new base for her operations, and the most magnificent troops in the whole world for her purposes? There are the Turkomans conquered this year, who will give Russia the most splendid irregular Cavalry in the world. Then it is said that General Skobeleff has been commanded to withdraw. Is it that which has decided our withdrawal? What do we at present know of its reason or significance? Until the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated it to-night, I venture to say there was not a single person in England who knew anything about it. It is a matter which may not seriously one way or the other affect the question. We find that Russia steadily, and sometimes very rapidly, advancing through arid plains, and in hospitable deserts, towards the richer country of Herat, the far more prolific country of Candahar, and the richer country still that make the Empire of India. It cannot be for the purpose of invading and conquering the Eastern Afghanistan; we know that part of the country bears only stones and armed men. But still we find Russia steadily making this progress; and certainly, without making any ill-natured suggestion, it is a reasonable thing to put a reasonable construction on a progress so steadily directed. Only a few weeks ago, even *The Golos* said—

> "In face of the recent successes of Russia, England would be mad to evacuate Candahar, unless they were convinced that Russia had no design of marching on India."

Is not that a rather strong conviction to ask this country to have in relation to a great Empire, steadily marching towards India for 50 years, and now marching upon Merv and Herat? Can you rely upon Russian diplomacy and your own understanding of Russian diplomacy? I do not like to say anything in the least degree offensive in regard to a country with which we are at amity; but the discovery of the Cabul Correspondence is instructive and suggestive. I keep rigidly within the limits of politeness when I say that when you find a Treaty completed in July, and when you find one of the Emissaries of Russia on the following 8th of October writing that very remarkable Letter found at Cabul—which I commend to the attentive perusal of all who have not read it—these are matters, at all events, suggesting a good deal of caution in relying upon Russian diplomacy; and if we had not at the Foreign Office a gentleman of the acuteness of the Under Secretary of State, I should be rather nervous at the prospect. If Merv and Herat were occupied by Russia, what would be your policy with regard to Candahar? Is there any real difference between the present position of Russia and the actual occupation of Merv? It is surrounding it, it is almost absolutely in possession of it, it can possess it without the slightest difficulty very soon. What was the opinion of Lord Derby in 1877. He said—

> "The impression which the occupation of Merv by Russia would make on the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions of Asia would impose on Her Majesty's Government the necessity of making a corresponding advance in order to allay apprehension and to remove misconception from the minds of the people of those countries."—[*Central Asia*, No. 1, (1878), p. 112.]

You find Russia now close to Merv, and almost in possession of it. If Lord Derby thought that event would require an outward movement, is it now our duty to make not an onward movement, but a decidedly backward movement? What is the settled policy of England in reference to Afghanistan? I am glad to learn to-night there is no change in it. The settled policy of this country, then, is to be exclusive English influence in Afghanistan. Why? Not from any fear of Afghanistan itself. Not from any fear of the Turkomans or of the Persians. Our influence is to be exclusive in order to prevent the possibility of the introduction of Russian influence. How is it you propose to secure this settled policy? What is your guarantee? With Candahar we abandon complete guarantee not only for exclusive influence, but for ample knowledge of anything calculated to interfere with it. With it you give up any safeguard whatever, except the supreme safeguard which exists in your power of going to war. The Under Secretary of State accuses the late Government of having at one time proposed to have a single Ruler for Afghanistan, and of having changed their minds. The grounds for the change are obvious. At the close of the late war it was thought possible that Yakoob Khan, son of the late Ameer, would be able to govern the whole country, and we readily fell in with the view that there might be a united, friendly, and independent country. Then occurred the crime of the murder of Cavagnari and the Embassy; and with the necessary departure of Yakoob Khan there came an altered condition of affairs. We are told, with a little boldness, by the Under Secretary of State, of the amount of authority he could appeal to in support of the proposition he advanced. That was rather a startling statement. The House must accept the responsibility for the important decision involved; we cannot devolve our responsibility upon any authority, however high or distinguished; still, it is rather startling to find anyone suggesting that the weight of authority can be urged in favour of the policy of the Government. All the leading statesmen and soldiers, with an actual personal knowledge of the localities in question, are one and all against the withdrawal now from Candahar. Not a single general officer who ever commanded in that region has given an opinion other than most unfavourable to the present proposal of the Government—some on one ground and some on another. I do not believe there is a single political officer, who has had actual experience in the district, who has given an opinion in favour of the proposal of the Government. Roberts, Stewart, Green, Frere, Rawlinson, Hamley, and others—all men of great mark—have, on various grounds, given opinions against the views of the Government. What is the array of opinion on the other side? Sir Erskine Perry wrote three Minutes; but it is no disparagement of his ability or high character to say that he has not set foot in India since he was a Judge in Bombay, 30 years ago. I do not think his authority can be placed in the balance against those I have named. Of course, the opinion of Sir Garnet Wolseley is entitled to the greatest possible respect. He has had experience in many parts of the world, notably in Africa; but he has not had the experience of the other authorities in this part of Asia. Sir Garnet Wolseley does support partially the proposal of the Government; but he does not propose to withdraw within the old boundary; he is in favour of retiring to Pishin, which is a very different thing. And a similar view is held by Major East and the officers of the Intelligence Department, who would retain Pishin, while having some kind of a garrison elsewhere. The only high authority in favour of the Government is that of Sir Henry Norman. Major Baring has given an opinion in a clear and uncompromising way; but I am not disposed to attach supreme weight to it. Before he went out, in order to get into a thoroughly judicial frame of mind, he read the Duke of Argyll's book, and the despatch of the noble Lord the Secretary of State, and having, as he says, arrived at the conclusion that they were safe guides for the future, he appears to have rapidly decided that anyone who differed from them should not be much listened to. One class of persons it might have been as well if the Under Secretary of State had told us something about—I refer to the Viceroy and his Council. What is their opinion? The dates on this subject are extraordinary and eminently instructive. It is clear as any proposition in Euclid that the policy of the Government is directly and distinctly opposed to the opinion of Lord Ripon and his Council, always excepting Major Baring. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] I notice an expression of dissent from the Prime Minister; but, at all events, there is not a single line from Lord Ripon expressing even a qualified approval of what the Government are about to do. On the 21st of May the Secretary of State wrote a despatch of great clearness and vigour to Lord Ripon, and presented the views of his Party with great force. That despatch expresses, in a way that could not be mistaken, what were the opinions of the Government with reference to the retention of Candahar. Months after, on the 14th of September, the Viceroy writes a letter in answer, and passes by in absolute silence all the suggestions in favour of the abandonment of Candahar; but added, at the end, that there were enclosed important opinions from leading statesmen and generals, absolutely opposed to the views expressed in the despatch of the 21st of May. Then the noble Lord the Secretary of State, having found that the Viceroy and Council did not adopt his views in any way, not even by silence, on the 11th of November writes a despatch, which was certainly arbitrary and bold, as addressed to the Viceroy in Council. The last paragraph expresses as strong an opinion as ever was given to a Viceroy in Council that they were to have no opinions of their own. It says—

> "I have felt it my duty to place on record, for the information of your Excellency, in the plainest and the strongest terms, the opinions which they entertain on the important question at issue, and the expression of the disapprobation with which they would view any measure involving the permanent occupation of Candahar by British troops."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 1, (1881) p. 93.]

I venture to say that Lord Ripon and his Council, when they received that passage, felt that they were not invited to offer any further opinion. But the dates do not end there. Lord Ripon and his Council did offer what was next door to an opinion of the strongest possible kind. On the 26th of January, 1881, Lord Ripon and his Council "enclose for the information of the Secretary of State a Minute by the Commander-in-Chief in India," utterly destroying in argument the proposition for the abandonment of Candahar. It is idle to say that these, the only documents we have to guide us, suggest that Lord Ripon and his Council, always excepting Major Baring, have expressed any view except one—a distinct disapproval of the action of the Government. So far as I can see, Lord Ripon is in a very uncomfortable and false position. Either he was or was not consulted on this important question. If he was, his opinion has been ignored. If he was not, he has been treated almost contemptuously, as he was about the advance of the £5,000,000, as to which the noble Marquess opposite said the Viceroy had not been asked his opinion, and that there had been no official consultation with him on the subject. Well, if you neglect the opinion of the Viceroy and his Council, if you put aside the opinions of all those whose duty it is to have a strong opinion upon Indian matters, and if you remove the safeguards which they think should be maintained, and it then turns out that they are right and that you are wrong, are you going to ask India to pay the costs of a war which they would not have to fight if their advice had been taken? What is the real secret of the policy of the Government? It was adopted about three weeks after they came into power, and afterwards they cast about for reasons. The policy was based simply upon a desire for reversal. The late Government had indicated an opinion against, at all events, a precipitate abandonment of Candahar, and that was enough to make the present Government suspicious of its prudence and policy. But there was another point left untouched by the Under Secretary of State. What position are you going to leave Afghanistan in? What is likely to be the action of Ayoob Khan? Here is the opinion expressed by Mr. Rivers Thompson, a very high authority—

"I regret, therefore, the precipitancy of Her Majesty's Government, because even if our negotiations with Abdurrahman succeed, they expose us, in the attitude of Russia and with Abdurrahman's undisguised leanings towards that Power, to a very perilous future; and if, as is almost certain, Abdurrahman after accepting Candahar from us is unable to hold it, the whole of Afghanistan will become the scene of prolonged hostilities, with the result (very discreditable to ourselves) of Ayoob Khan's acquisition not only of Candahar but of Cabul."

Should you not rather leave behind you a strong Afghanistan? If you leave Abdurrahman to face with Ayoob Khan, and if he is attacked, if you refuse him help, must he not seek aid from Russia? And if, as Mr. Rivers Thompson puts it, Ayoob Khan should succeed, will he be friendly to you? He will not. In his hands the country would be a united, an independent, and a hostile Afghanistan. Again, what obligations have you undertaken in reference to Afghanistan by its Ameer? The late Government commenced the negotiations with him; but it rested with the present Government to complete them. What, then, was the obligation incurred to Abdurrahman? There was an obligation in writing signed by your Agent and Representative. That obligation is just as binding upon you as any Treaty can possibly be. What are the words of that obligation? They are very short, but very important. I need not remind the House of what occurred in 1873, in those unfortunate conferences at Simla, when Lord Northbrook said, and unsaid, and re-unsaid, as he was instructed by the Home Government, the result of which was to drive the Ameer into the arms of Russia. Since 1873 you have been unable, in the slightest degree, to elicit any expression of good feeling towards you on the part of Afghanistan. The result of the conference was that, as far as the Ameer was concerned, he expressed himself in terms of undisguised contempt and unconcealed sarcasm. However, I must return to the Memorandum of obligation to Abdurrahman. The words of that obligation are these—

"If any foreign Power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the dominions of your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you, to such extent and in such a manner as may appear to the British Government necessary, in repelling it, provided that your Highness follows unreservedly the advice of the British Government in regard to your external relations."—[*Afghanistan*, (1881), No. 1, p. 47.]

As to that we have not heard a word from the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That is a very grave document. You enter into a Memorandum of obligation, which is to prevent all foreign interference in Afghanistan, and to assist in actually repelling aggression. I will mention another point—which is, your undertaking to protect your friends. I do not say that all the people are our friends; but some of them are. Some of the Afghan tribes are good friends of ours, and we are bound to protect them, as was, indeed, admitted by the noble Lord the Secretary of State, who writes in his despatch—

> "To take every precaution that the tribes and chiefs who have assisted us shall not be exposed to injury in consequence of their friendly conduct."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, p. 31.]

Suppose they are exposed to injury? What is then the position of England and India? I do not attach any undue importance to prestige. It is an argument which may be pressed too far. But, unquestionably, the way in which our power in India is regarded is a matter which the simplest prudence requires us to attend to. How will the Afghan mind be affected by what we are doing? How will the Indian mind be affected? What will they think when they come to balance, in the words of Lord Salisbury—

> "The conflicting pressures of two great military empires, one of which expostulates and remains passive, whilst the other apologizes and continues to move forward." — [*Afghanistan* (1878), No. 1, p. 157.]

Must not the inevitable result be damage to your reputation and prestige? I ask the question—Is this a time in which England can well afford to disregard the opinion of the Native races of India? Is there not a grave danger that the victory of Ayoob Khan over General Burrows will live longer in the memory of the Afghans than Roberts' march? Do you think that the Indian people have not read what has been going on in South Africa? Do you think they do not know that an army of farmers have inflicted defeats on your soldiers? Do you not think they have become acquainted with the terms of the peace you are about to make? They will find nothing there to elevate the position of England in the Indian mind. Do you not think that their quick Eastern intelligence will not put this dilemma—that England was either willing or unwilling at the outset of the war to accept the terms now proposed? If willing, she has sacrificed many precious lives to no purpose; if unwilling, she now offers these terms because she has suffered defeat. It may be that in the division which will take place the Motion of my hon. Friend will be rejected. But I venture to think that such a result, although it may attest the allegiance of a great political Party, will not record the convictions of the nation. I believe that a great feeling of sympathy will accompany those who regard with doubt and anxiety the policy which the Government have adopted in reference to this question. I shall, for myself, vote for the Motion of my hon. Friend, believing that the policy which it indicates is that which is most consistent with real and far-sighted economy, most calculated to spread our influence and develop our commerce, and which is most conducive to an honourable peace and to the true and permanent interests of England and India.

MR. P. J. SMYTH: The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) seems to think he establishes his case for the retention of Candahar if he can only succeed in showing that it is expedient in the interest of our Empire in India that it should be retained, and that the question of right and wrong, just and unjust, is practically an unimportant matter unworthy of serious consideration. I grant that from the beginning our policy towards India has been guided by expediency only, and that in no single instance has a consideration of right and wrong interposed to avert the overthrow of an obnoxious dynasty or the appropriation of a coveted treasure. I grant, too, that from the material point of view the success of this policy has been marvellous beyond example. And yet the soul of the British nation is troubled for India, for the moral law will assert its power, and soldiers and statesmen will be made to feel that justice is the only solid foundation of Empire, and that one which rests on expediency is no more than a glittering pagoda, arrayed in all the splendour of Eastern magnificence, without a pillar to support it. Unconsciously, the national conscience spoke when a witty publication made Napier announce his brilliant victory on the Indus, which gave Scinde to the Indian Empire, in a despatch of unexampled brevity and more than soldierly candour—*Peccavi.* "Magnificent Tipperary," exclaimed the old warrior, as the 22nd scattered the multitudinous foe; and now, in the name of the same Tipperary, I repeat, in its literal sense, the penitential word, "*Peccavi!*" The phrase, the retention of Candahar, sounds sweetly; but, if we had no right to seize, we have no right to retain—if we had no lawful business going there, we have no business remaining there. It is a misleading phrase; but what does it imply? I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman to say candidly if the retention of Candahar does not imply a new invasion of Afghanistan, with a view of a final subjugation of that Kingdom? It means that or nothing; and, meaning that, it involves, as a matter of course, another Afghan War. The Afghans may be divided among themselves. They may be unable to agree in the choice of a Ruler; but they are all of them passionately attached to the independence of their nation, and to maintain it they will fight, and desperately fight. Our former enterprizes were fruitful in disaster and barren in glory (if I except the light that shines for ever on that never to be forgotten Proclamation in which Lord Ellenborough presented to the Princes and Chiefs of India the Sandal-wood Gates of Somnauth); and what guarantee have we that another war against Afghanistan will not involve us in new disasters? I hear it said that Afghanistan is now disintegrated and weak; but, if that be so, it is we who are responsible for the disintegration and the weakness. The Ameer, Shere Ali, was as strong a Ruler as any the country had had since Dost Mahomed, and he had not shown himself to be, as regards us, an unfriendly Ruler. He had done us no wrong. There was no evidence that he meditated wrong against us. I do not say that Lord Lytton went to India commissioned to force a quarrel on the Ameer; but it is notorious that all the pens of all his attorneys in Calcutta were employed in drafting insulting and minatory letters, and here at home a distinguished lawyer, now, I believe, an eminent Judge upon the Bench, came forward and boldly proclaimed the doctrine that the rules of International Law were not applicable to an Asiatic Ruler like Shere Ali. He was the lawful Ruler of Afghanistan; as such we had recognized him, and met him as an equal; but a scientific Frontier was required, and we proclaimed that Treaty, faith, and solemn pledge, and that moral law, which is the bond of society and the shield of States, might be cast to the winds, and that Shere Ali's Kingdom might be devastated, because he was only an Asiatic Ruler, and we a civilized and a Christian nation. This theory of a scientific Frontier is a delusion, if not a pretence. It may lead us anywhere, from Candahar to Herat, from Herat to Merv, away into the deserts of Central Asia, away up to the North Pole. I heard an American orator once describe the boundaries of his country. The United States, he said, are bounded on the North by the aurora borealis, on the East by the rising of the sun, on the West by the going down thereof, and on the South wherever we please. These are highly scientific Frontiers, and no doubt, when we shall have acquired the same, our Indian Empire will be secure. If, with an unfordable river, and the command of the mouths of the Afghan Passes, we have not already an impregnable Frontier on the North-West, we may rest assured that it is not the science of the military engineer that is at fault, but that of the British statesman and administrator. Frontier or no Frontier, there is no security for Empire in India, and there ought to be none, save in the happiness and contentment of the people of India. What Frontier could avail an Empire which trembles for its security so long as the flag of a single independent State can be descried from the summit of the Himalayas? Better surely that the curtain should fall on the terrible tragedy of British India—for, from Clive and Warren Hastings to Dalhousie and Lytton, an unvarying tragedy it has been—than that an adherence to the old policy of aggression and spoliation should seem to falsify the Proclamation of the Empress of India, our gracious Queen. The bugbear is Russia. Alexander II. fell, the victim of a cowardly and barbarous conspiracy; and there is no enlightened man in this country who really believes that he, the liberator of Bulgaria, and the restorer of the nationalities of South-Eastern Europe, ever dreamt of planning or conniving aught against the integrity either of Afghanistan or India. He sent the Mission to Cabul with no other intent than that of a defensive demonstration. The force of circumstances necessitates the advance of Russia in Central Asia, and while her advance is southwards ours has been northwards. But the conditions of the advances are widely different. She presses on through sterile regions where civilization never left a foot-print, and where the foes to be subdued are the nomad tribes of the desert, without a government and without laws. We have carried our flag from Cape Comorin to the Hindoo Koosh, through fertile lands and historic cities, over the ruins of proud dynasties and ancient civilizations. I am no admirer of Russia or the Russian system, but much less am I an admirer of the insular prejudice that would misrepresent or pretend to ignore the great work of civilization that is being carried out by Russia in Central Asia, the abolition of slavery, the suppression of brigandage, and the opening of trade routes. An undignified use, I conceive, has been made of the Cabul Correspondence. After all that has been said about it, there remain these two salient facts—1st. That General Stolieteff persistently counselled the Ameer to come to terms with us. 2nd. That the request for armed assistance was specifically declined. The correspondence, I know, continued for some time after the ratification of the Berlin Treaty. True; but had Jingoism ceased then, satisfied with its peace with honour? And what was our action at Berlin? Was it to give practical effect to the principle of nationality triumphant from the Danube to the Ægean and from the Black Sea to the Adriatic? No; but to annihilate as far as we could the logical results of the war. To that end we persuaded Turkey to accept the Anglo-Turkish Convention, carried the Ghoorkas through the Suez Canal, and told Greece that she could not have Crete because we wanted Cyprus for ourselves. Was it a very unnatural thing that, mindful of all these courtesies, the Czar should have given to Shere Ali, whose Kingdom we unjustly invaded, the assurances of his friendship and sympathy? Forty years ago, the Corporation of Dublin, with the emphatic approval of Mr. O'Connell, rejected a Vote of Thanks to the victorious generals of the Afghan War, though two of them, I believe, were Irishmen, on the ground that the war was in its origin unjustifiable. If the war of 1842 was unjustifiable, what would be said of a war entered upon now on the absurd pretext of a scientific Frontier or an imaginary Russian invasion? I charge that the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman means war or it means nothing, except perhaps a Party experiment, and war for the most indefensible of objects—the destruction of the independence of an ancient and unoffending nation. The dearest treasure a people can possess is independence. When that is lost all is lost. The House of Commons will reject this Resolution, not, I hope, on Party grounds, but on grounds of political morality, common honesty, and common sense; and may the day never arrive when a reformed House of Commons will be found to give its sanction to the murder of independence, even in the very cradle of the human race.

MR. S. LEIGHTON presumed that when the Government published the Blue Book they had some lurking idea that we ought to pay some attention to the advice of the experienced; but he found that they had entirely ignored it. The noble Lord transposed the Virgilian motto, and appeared to prefer to read it *Experto ne credite.* He had used the old argument, which was styled by logicians the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*—

"Where ignorance is bliss
'Tis folly to be wise."

When the preference of ignorance to knowledge meant ability to sit on the Treasury Bench it would, no doubt, have plenty of advocates. He would refer to two Papers in the Blue Book, the first by Sir Erskine Perry, an old gentleman who went out to India 40 years ago, and who left India 30 years ago, before the Crimean War and before the Indian Mutiny. He belonged wholly to a past generation. He had hawked his Paper about from one Indian Minister to another, till at last the noble Lord opposite took pity upon him, accepted his "Rejected Address," and printed it for him. How did Sir Erskine Perry place himself in a position to judge the matter? His own words were—"When generals disagree the question must be settled by statesmen on political grounds." He presumed that, in Sir Erskine Perry's opinion, statesmen and lawyers were convertible terms; and if doctors disagreed he would probably call in the family attorney to perform a difficult surgical operation. But, as a matter of fact, in this case three Commanders-in-Chief in India were all unanimous for the retention of Candahar. Sir Erskine Perry, however, backed up his argument with this singular statement—

"No one who studies the temper of the times can fail to see that the sentiment of public morality is strengthening from day to day."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 60.]

Had Sir Erskine Perry read the Reports of the Election Commissioners, and did he still believe that the majority of that

House was a perfect ideal of public virtue? It was too absurd. What, again, was the value of Major Baring's testimony? All that that gentleman knew about India was what he had learnt as Private Secretary to the Viceroy; and having been asked for an opinion of his own, he did nothing more than collate the opinions of others, including one from the Prime Minister. It was, perhaps, rather unkind of him to include the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman was there to speak for himself, and probably would not wish to be bound by anything he had already said. Lord Lawrence was supposed to have been against the retention of Candahar; but the value of his opinion was considerably impaired by the fact that at the great crisis of the Indian Mutiny he was only prevented by the resolute attitude of the men around him from retreating behind the Indus. The hinge upon which every opinion in favour of retirement turned was the assumption that Russia was not advancing, and that her goal was not India. Her publicly declared policy and action for half a century belied that assumption. She made no secret of her intentions except in her diplomatic communications with England. No one was deceived except the English Government. Retreat from Candahar might be the prelude to a new war, and might lead the Natives of India to suppose that we could not hold our own because we were too weak or too poor. We had only 65,000 troops with which to govern 200,000,000 of people. It was by moral influence we governed India, therefore our prestige was precious. It was said that Candahar would not pay. But did fortresses or ships ever pay? It was also said that we could re-take Candahar whenever we chose. In his opinion, however, we should not be able to do so without great sacrifices. There was at one time in this country a Government of All the Talents—that Government, whose principles, like those of the present Administration, were those of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform, dragged us into the Crimean War, and involved us in millions of debt. In that Government the Prime Minister of to-day was a conspicuous figure. No one would be likely to libel the present Government by styling it a Government of "All the Talents." But there were repetitions in the lives of men and of Ministries, and as then, so now, we were drifting towards preventible trouble in the East, drawn by the self-same currents and beckoned by the self-same hand.

Viscount BARING said, he was reluctant to take part in the debate, and he should not have ventured to do so if it were not for the feeling that he ought not to leave unchallenged some of the remarks which had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). The right hon. and learned Gentleman said—and he was loudly cheered by hon. Members sitting behind him—that the result of the Conference at Simla in 1873 was to drive the Ameer into the arms of Russia. The right hon. and learned Gentleman made that assertion; but he had given no evidence whatever in support of it. Indeed, it was impossible to give any evidence in support of it, because whatever documentary evidence there was in connection with the matter went to prove exactly the reverse of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's statement. What light did the Correspondence found at Cabul throw on the question? It showed that the whole of the Correspondence between Russia and Shere Ali that took place during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook—every letter sent by Russian generals to Shere Ali, and Shere Ali's replies, were all submitted, in the usual course, to Lord Northbrook. In the event of a rupture occurring in 1873 it was not probable that the subsequent Correspondence would be submitted for the approval of the Government of India; and it was a significant fact that shortly after Lord Northbrook left India Shere Ali ceased to submit to the Government of India the letters which he had always been in the habit of submitting before. There was another fact that would bear upon the matter, and it was this—The Conference took place in 1873, and the change of Government in this country occurred in 1874; but it was not until 1876 that Lord Northbrook left India, and not a single hint was given to Lord Northbrook by the Conservative Government that they disapproved of the assurances he had offered, or that they thought the assurances which had been offered were not sufficient. Surely, if they thought the assurances were not sufficient, as soon as they entered upon Office they would have sent out instructions to Lord Northbrook to give such assurances to Shere Ali as they deemed to be requisite. Another very significant fact was that it was not until 1878 that this country ever heard that the ill-feeling and ill-will between Shere Ali and the British Government originated in 1873. The inference which he thought he might justly draw from this was, that when the war broke out the Government looked out for some excuse to justify it, and they found it necessary to go back to the Conference of 1873. Certainly, up to that time, no mention was made of any rupture having taken place. It was quite impossible for the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin to prove from any documentary evidence that Shere Ali was disaffected after 1873. If there was anything clearly proved by the despatches, it was this—that if the Government of Lord Beaconsfield had followed the advice given to them by the Government of India in 1875 and 1876 there would have been no Afghan War, and there would probably have been now a united and friendly Afghanistan. If he might be permitted to add a few words on the general question, he would say that he thought no arguments had been used which showed that it was necessary for us to annex Candahar as a strategic position against a Russian invasion of India. Our Indian Empire had a magnificent natural boundary. Our supremacy on the sea made us safe in the South; on the East we need fear no invasion, and the Northern and Western Frontiers were guarded, not only by ranges of the highest mountains in the world, but by a wide tract of barren country with few roads, no supplies, very few cities, and inhabited by hostile and independent tribes. Moreover, on the Western Frontier, this mountain barrier was supplemented by a broad, unfordable, unbridged river, skirted by rough tracts of desert country. Roughly speaking, there were only two lines by which an army could come into India—through the Khyber Pass, or through the Bolan Pass. It was admitted on all sides that it was impossible for an army to invade India through the Khyber Pass and by the Bolan Pass; as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin said, the road to Candahar bristled with natural obstacles. Our natural Frontier of India, in fact, was stronger than any Frontier that could be devised by the ingenuity of man, even though dignified by the name of a "scientific Frontier." Hon. Members talked as if the idea of the invasion of India, in support of the power of Russia in Central Asia, was quite a new story. He had no wish to take up the time of the House; but he must remind them that, as far back as 1847, the whole question was discussed, and the Duke of Wellington gave it as his opinion that we had nothing to fear from Russia on our Indian Frontier. In the same year Lord Hardinge declared that the dread of a Russian invasion of India was a political nightmare. People might say that this happened a long time ago; that matters had very much changed since then, and that Russia had made great progress. But it must also be borne in mind that our power of defence in India had also progressed, and was much stronger now than it was then. No doubt Russia was nearer to India; but there still lay many great natural obstacles between Russia and India, and our own position was much strengthened by the fact that we had a stronger hold on our Indian Empire, a more efficient Army, a stronger Frontier than we had then, and facilities for moving troops which gave to the defence an immense advantage over the power of attack. Coming down to more recent years, in the year 1877, when the subject of a possible Russian aggression was discussed in "another place," Lord Salisbury dismissed the idea of a Russian invasion of India as a question that could possibly become a matter of interest to a future generation of statesmen. In the very next year Lord Beaconsfield informed the Lord Mayor and his guests that by the Anglo-Turkish Convention he had secured our North-Western Frontier. Why, this very year, in "another place," the late Viceroy, and an ex-Secretary of State for India, scouted the idea that we should keep Candahar against possible invasion or attack. The late Viceroy of India went so far as to say that the imminent invasion of India by an armed Russian force was a bugbear. In the face of these opinions, it could not be doubted that it was inexpedient, that it would be rash, and that it would be courting unnecessary risks for us to hold Candahar as a strategical position against Russia. Then, if not against an armed attack, was it against intrigue that we were to hold Candahar? To put the proposition plainly, was it to guard against possible Russian intrigue at Cabul that we were to annex a country as large as the whole of Great Britain? Could we occupy a barren and mountainous country, inhabited by a hostile population, without running a great risk of being engaged in petty wars? And it was to cost us certainly £1,000,000 a-year, with the possibility of its costing us a great deal more. He ventured to assert that, being at Candahar, we should have no power whatever of influencing affairs in Cabul. He did not say this on his own authority, but on the authority of Sir Neville Chamberlain. Our Frontier town of Peshawur was 100 miles nearer Cabul than Candahar. Under those circumstances, we should have no more power, and probably even less, of controlling affairs at Cabul from Candahar than we should have from Peshawur. In fact, so far from guarding against Russian intrigue by the annexation of Candahar, we were playing exactly into the hands of Russia. How could Russia have a more favourable opportunity of working an intrigue at Cabul than to have us at Candahar? We knew that the Afghans hated us. We knew that they would regard us with deadly hatred if we occupied any part of their territory. What would be more natural than that they should lend willing ears to any proposition Russia might make with the view of turning us out of their country. The only other argument for retaining Candahar, if it was not to guard against direct invasion from Russia, or to prevent Russian intrigue, was the old argument of maintaining our prestige. Now, prestige was a word very difficult to define. He agreed with what was said by Lord Salisbury, when he was an ornament of the House of Commons. Speaking of prestige, the noble Lord said he would be very glad to see it abolished by common consent from the political vocabulary. It would be more in accordance with British ideas to do what we believed to be right than to be guided by the opinions of other nations. He would only say, in conclusion, that the key of India was not Merv, was not Herat, was not Candahar, was not London; but it was to be found in a well-equipped, a well-disciplined, and a sufficient army, kept ready within our own borders in India; in a well-governed and prosperous country, and in the contentment of our Native population.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, the noble Lord who had just sat down had made a statement which struck him (Mr. Fowler) as somewhat extraordinary. He told them that in 1873 Shere Ali ceased to hold any communication with the Government of India. Now, it struck him that in that statement the noble Lord gave up the whole case. The statement showed that the course then taken by the Indian Government, who were represented in England by the Duke of Argyll and in India by Lord Northbrook, was a course which induced Shere Ali to hold no further intercourse with England. It showed that the Government of that day alienated Shere Ali and threw him into the arms of Russia; and that seemed to him to be the point they were now discussing. It was quite evident that the late Ameer and the Afghan Government were alienated by the Duke of Argyll, who was a Member of the present Government; and the noble Lord who was now representing this country in India was also a Member of the same Government, while the present First Lord of the Admiralty was their Viceroy. It was, therefore, after those who practically composed the present Government made that great mistake in 1873, that the distrust of this country arose among the Afghans. But the reason why he had been anxious to say a word in the course of the debate was this. The constituency he had the honour to represent took a very great interest in this question. They were deeply anxious for the retention of Candahar. One question which had been raised in the course of the debate, and might be further alluded to, was what the cost of retaining Candahar would be. It had been differently estimated. It had been put as high as £2,000,000 a-year. Lord Granville, he believed, had placed the expense at that figure; but, on the other hand, it had been placed by a very distinguished authority, the Marquess of Salisbury, as low as £300,000 a-year. These were two widely different estimates, and he believed that another great authority on such questions—Sir

Henry Norman—put it at £1,300,000 a-year. As a compromise between these different Estimates he would put it at £1,000,000 a-year; and it certainly seemed to him that £1,000,000 a-year would be a very cheap expenditure on the part of a great country like England for such a purpose. He ventured to say—and he believed that he would fully carry with him the constituency he represented—that they would much rather this sum of £1,000,000 a-year was paid out of the Imperial Exchequer than that we should abandon the great position of Candahar. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had made a powerful appeal in regard to what the feeling would be in the minds of the people of India. To him (Mr. Fowler) it appeared that the question resolved itself into one of how the vote they were about to give would affect the opinion of the people of India. He could not help feeling that if the House of Commons resolved to give up Candahar—if they supported Her Majesty's Government in the decision to which they had unfortunately arrived, of retiring from Candahar, it would produce a most unfavourable effect in India. Believing this—believing that it would have a most prejudicial effect upon the position which this country held in India, believing that it was of vital importance to this country to maintain its hold upon the people of India, and believing that it was not only a national question, but that it was for the interests of the world that England should continue to govern India, he could not but view with the deepest apprehension the conclusion to which Her Majesty's Government appeared to have arrived. On these grounds, and in the full belief that the retention of Candahar was of the greatest importance to the interests of the Empire, he intended to give his hearty support to the Resolution moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I hope that it may be possible to continue the debate. I believe there are a number of Gentlemen who are still anxious to speak, and some are quite willing to address the House even at this late hour (20 minutes after 12). I hope, therefore, that the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), who has moved the adjournment of the debate, will allow it to be continued for a little longer.

MR. BRYCE said, that, with the permission of the House, he would offer a few reasons in favour of the policy of the Government. He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) must have felt that he was engaged in defending a very weak cause——

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD again rose.

MR. BRYCE expressed his readiness to give way to the hon. Member.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member for Salford wish to withdraw his Motion?

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he did.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the true and permanent interests of India.—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, in the remarks he was about to make, he should refer only in a few words to the policy of past years; but, in discussing questions connected with Western and Southern Afghanistan, it was impossible wholly to avoid reference to the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. In fact, the Afghan Question might be said to have had a new departure with the appointment of that noble Lord to the place of Lord Northbrook. He was crossing the mountains of a country adjoining Afghanistan, and had taken refuge at one of the cabins of the Indo-European Telegraph, which in that desolate region were 100 miles apart, when the clerk in charge tapped the wire for his information, and from it came the news of the appointment of Lord Lytton. Remembering that Lord Lytton had proclaimed in his poems the peculiar law governing men of genius, he was prepared for a policy of novelty; and in foreign politics novelty was rarely unattended with danger. We had not long to wait. That first and fatal error of the late Government—the resolution to place British Agents in Afghanistan—which had been communicated to the Governor General by Lord Salisbury on the 22nd of January, 1875; which had caused the Russian Mission to be welcomed in Cabul; which led to war; which led to the flight, and probably to the death, of Shere Ali; that dire mistake which culminated in the massacre of Cavagnari and his suite in Cabul, with all the consequences of that great crime—that terrible error which caused the expenditure of thousands of lives and millions of treasure—was so thoroughly admitted and acknowledged that there was no one found ready to advise the re-adoption of that policy. That most unhappy and least pardonable error had done the first part of its baneful work when, in October, 1879, Lord Lytton wrote that discursive—he would not call it sinister—Minute, in which he examined "the problem of our future in Asia." Lord Lytton objected to the Frontier on the ground that it had been found by the Sikhs to be a suitable Frontier; and, because in annexing the Punjaub we adopted generally the Sikh Frontier, he called it a chance Frontier. This Minute fell into the hands of the noble Lord the late Prime Minister with extraordinary effect upon his geographical ideas. It was important to note that this Minute was closely connected with that wonderful speech delivered at Guildhall on the 9th of November, 1878, in which Lord Lytton's "chance" Frontier was translated "hap-hazard," in which the "scientific Frontier" was foreshadowed by a voice which proclaimed itself to be a voice of sense and truth, and in which the Prime Minister expounded some geographical ideas of his own, the result, as he should show in a word, of a most extraordinary confusion of the Anglo-Turkish Convention with the Minute of Lord Lytton. It was important that the House should take note of these circumstances, because they had direct contact with the question of retaining Candahar. At the Guildhall, in 1879, Lord Beaconsfield said—

> "Her Majesty's Government are by no means apprehensive of any invasion of India by our North-West Frontier. The base of operations of any possible foe is so remote, the circumstances are so difficult, the aspect of the country is so forbidding, that we do not believe, under these circumstances, any invasion of our North-West Frontier is practicable. But our North-West Frontier is a hap-hazard and not a scientific Frontier."

Then followed the noble Lord's idea of the policy he was about to pursue by

the medium of the Viceroy. The noble Lord said—

> "I do not wish, my Lord Mayor, in making these remarks, that you should understand that the Government are of opinion that an invasion of India is impossible or impracticable. On the contrary, if Asia Minor and the Valley of the Euphrates were in the possession of a very weak or a very powerful State, it would be by no means impossible for an adequate army to march through the Passes of Asia Minor, and through Persia, and absolutely menace the Dominions of the Queen; but Her Majesty's Government have contemplated such a result, and we have provided means to prevent its occurrence by our Convention with Turkey and the occupation of the Isle of Cyprus."

This wild absurdity, that Russia should begin a march towards India in a most difficult country, 800 miles to the westward of her secure and convenient base upon the Caspian, and should indulge in this impossible folly, with no other apparent object than to adapt herself to the noble Lord's colouring of his own Anglo-Turkish Convention, was, to his mind, among the most fearful, because it was among the least informed of the promptings which led to the Afghan troubles of the past three years. Throwing that aside, and, in fact, after it had served the purposes of festivity, this geographical delusion was never revived, they found it admitted by everyone entitled to speak with authority, that Asia Minor had no connection with the matter, and that Russia's base of operation in Central Asia was upon the Caspian. He could not conceive a more unassailable position than that of the Russian Arsenal of Baku on the Caspian. There was a probability that if Russia designed a movement upon India she would make an advance from the Oxus as well as from the Caspian. Now, he proposed to consider this question of Candahar first with reference to the Afghans and to Russia. No one in that House was more ready than he should be to resist with all the might of the Empire the invasion of India by Russia, nor did he think any Ministers would deserve, or would obtain, the confidence of the country, who neglected to take due precaution and security against any such contingency. They were quite free to consider this question for themselves. There was no such agreement of military or political authority on the subject as should cause any politician to feel embarrassed in declaring upon which side lay, in his judgment, the superior weight of argument. But of this there was no doubt that it was against Russia, and against nobody and nothing else, that the precaution, if precaution were needful, was to be taken. He was convinced that Russia did not design the invasion of India, and that it would be impossible for her to make a successful attempt in that direction. But in matters of State it was safe to assume that an Empire which we had gained by conquest would be subject to menace, if it should appear to be the temporary interest of any Power to assail our Indian Dominions; and, therefore, he was quite willing to argue the question before the House upon the broad issue of the security and welfare of Hindostan as against any possible foe. But, in passing, he must say he saw with some surprise how little consideration was given to what he might call the maritime character of India. He had heard, however, with pleasure the allusion made to this subject by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). He would almost venture to say that India was the natural possession of the greatest Naval Power of Europe. When we ceased from being the first Naval Power of the world—which he trusted might never happen, and which no efforts and no sacrifice on the part of the British people should be wanting to avert—then our Indian Empire would indeed be in great and serious peril. If possession of India were ever obtained by a Power which was inferior at sea, that hold would be of little worth and of short duration, for India, with its vast seaboard and its rugged uninviting Frontier on the North, economically resembled an island rather than a peninsula. But having thus glanced at a consideration which he thought ought not to be omitted, he would endeavour to concentrate attention upon that Northern Frontier, and have regard, in the first place, to the barrier which our conquest reached in the annexation of the Punjaub, and which nature had interposed between the waters of the Indus and those of the Oxus. He made no pretension to originality when he spoke of Afghanistan as the Switzerland of Asia. There was a volume of truth in that comparison. The diversities of the human race were mainly caused by conditions of food and climate. Where the struggle for existence was most difficult there would the vigour and the love of independence of a people be most remarkable. The conquest of countries was usually difficult in a ratio inverse to their wealth. The Afghans were a people who had acquired a reputation for fanaticism and ferocity, which was not wholly unmerited, but which were, more or less, the qualities of every people living under similar circumstances. He did not care to investigate the niceties of origin. They had been told that the people of the Province of Candahar were not Afghans. There was, however, in the Papers presented to Parliament evidence that three-fourths of the population of the district of Candahar were Durani Afghans. He attached the least possible importance to what had been said about the desire of the people of the town that we should remain the local guardians of Candahar. Hon. Members must be utterly devoid of Oriental experience who imagined that the politics of Afghanistan were ruled by the traffickers of the bazaars. In countries like Afghanistan the ruling class, the class with which we had to reckon, was the more vigorous people of the mountains, and these were always enlisted in the Service of the Government, and were of themselves a controlling power over the rest of the population. It was not a technical question of race; the conditions of life in Afghanistan had made, and would continue to make, the people what they were. No doubt, these conditions obtained with less force at Candahar than in other parts of the country; that was natural. But that element of the Candahar population which our commanders thought it best to turn from the city because it was most Afghan was the strongest and the most vital element. The House must not be deceived for a moment by the assertion that our rule in Candahar was popular. It was our expenditure which was popular. It was the same everywhere; it was the same at Corfu. When England wisely abandoned her barren protectorate of the Ionian Islands, the late Sir Henry Storks, who was at the time he thought Lord High Commissioner, told him all that was said about the popularity of British rule in that Island was true only of those who made profit from the British garrison. So it was at Candahar; so it would be if British forces were to occupy

Ispahan. Lord Lytton, it might be said, knew little of India when he wrote the Minute of 1878; but it was interesting to note what was then his view of such a proceeding as the permanent occupation of Candahar. He said—

> "No invasion and subjugation of Afghanistan is contemplated. Such a measure would at once re-kindle the animosities of that fanatical people, and probably destroy any party we may now have there, uniting the whole nation against us."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 18.]

The opinion of General Roberts had great popular weight. He should not quote him as a political, or even as a strategic authority; but he should think he was a competent witness as to the characteristics of the Afghan people. He said—

> "I feel sure I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us the less they will dislike us."

And he added—

> "Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghanistan, or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interests if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, p. 71.]

The Afghans—that is, the governing people of Candahar as well as Cabul—disliked us if we interfered with their country. They did not dislike us when they dissociated us from connection with conquest. The opinion of the ferocity of Afghans was not confined to the people of this country. He had heard a Belooch quote in his native country the significant proverb—"If you meet a cobra and an Afghan, kill the Afghan." By the Persians, the Afghans were not less feared; and we had lately heard their own proverb, that "Force and money were the only powers in Afghanistan." But this reputation meant nothing more than that they fought as mountaineers always fought; they would be faithful to those whom they must respect, but whom they neither feared nor hated. He knew but one unofficial person who had seen much of the Afghan people, and he was a clergyman of the Church of England, a brave and noble man, who had devoted his life mainly to education in the city of Ispahan. That gentleman, the Rev. Robert Bruce, had often told him of the kindness with which the Afghan people received him as an unarmed traveller. If we desired that the Government of this country should be strong in Afghanistan, we must prove, by our retirement, that we did not intend the permanent occupation of any part of that country. No opinion was really more hostile to that policy than that of the late Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Frederick Haines. He said—

> "I cannot pretend to believe that the ruler of Cabul, be he who he may, even our own nominee, will calmly and for ever accept the partition of the country which involves the alienation of Candahar from Cabul."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 82.]

That was a tribute from a most unwilling witness to the patriotism of the people of Afghanistan. He would now refer to the evidence of another soldier unfavourable to the policy of the Government. He had been impressed with the high ability of the Minute by Colonel East. He said—

> "The establishment of an independent province of Candahar means, in fact, the dismemberment of Afghanistan."—[*Ibid.*, p. 45.]

Further, he had only, as to this part of the argument, to refer to the innocent reference, which General Merewether made, to the opinion of the Ameer Abdurrahman, that he would rather not have Candahar. He should, indeed, have been astonished if an Oriental Prince had said anything else until the city was placed by the conquerors in his hands. He thought he had shown that, so far as the disposition of the Afghans towards the British power was concerned, we should be strengthened by a retirement from Candahar. He proposed now to refer to the external consequences of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and especially to our relations with Russia and with Persia. He did not think there was much utility in any examination of the Correspondence found at Cabul. The events to which that Correspondence had reference must have burnt into the minds of the Sirdars of Afghanistan the fact that, by mistaken confidence in Russia, Shere Ali Khan died a fugitive; they had taught us that while we were or were likely to be at war with Russia in Europe, we must expect that Russia would attempt a diversion of our forces in Asia; and they had, he thought, effectually taught both the Afghans and the Russians that our claim to superior influence in Afghanistan was not a nominal claim, but a real claim, and one which we should maintain. The retention of Candahar would be a modification of the understanding which was communicated in 1876 to Russia. He did not make much of this, because in 1875 Prince Gortchakoff informed Lord Derby that the Russian Government would not object to the annexation of the whole of Afghanistan to British India. But, reviewing all that had taken place since that time, he was not disposed to differ from Colonel East in the opinion that while Russia admitted that our influence must be paramount in Afghanistan she had the understanding that the country remained united and independent. However that might be, if he thought the retention of Candahar necessary to the security of India, or that the retention would even promote that security, he should be among the partizans of that policy. The first consideration bearing on the retention was that by none of the active advocates of that policy had the line been drawn at Candahar. Candahar was outside what was now known as "Lord Beaconsfield's Frontier;" but Candahar was comparatively nowhere with other professors of the forward policy. That brave man, who lately met a soldier's death in South Africa, inspired Lord Lytton with the belief that British forces must not only secure the Passes leading into Afghanistan, but also those leading out from Afghanistan into the Valley of the Oxus; he would have had us occupy "the whole mountain mass of Afghanistan." Then there was Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was the author of what might be called the "key" policy. Years ago, Sir Henry Rawlinson proclaimed that Herat was "the key of India;" and, later, the same authority declared that Maimana was "the key of Herat." Some other authority, perhaps, would say that Karki on the Oxus was the key of Maimana; that Bokhara was the key of Karki, and so on to Siberia. He thought many hon. Members, and he should fancy the illustrious Duke (the Duke of Cambridge) also, who had written a confident Minute concerning Candahar, would be filled with amazement if in Herat they were told they had their feet upon "the key of India." The colour and material of the city was that of mud. Some minarets of sun-dried bricks rose above the mud-built hovels. There was nothing to be seen but walls and roofs of mud. Jackals howled at night in the crumbling ruins of the mud-built houses. There was no trace of grandeur or splendour. A writer of repute lately commenced a book on Herat with the Persian saying—"Khorassan is the oyster-shell of the world, and Herat is its pearl." Those gentlemen of the keys told us that the possession of Herat was the possession of a gold mine; but, for the most part, they were the dupes of the magnificence of the Persian language. It was the same with the Bala-Hissar of Cabul. Ten years ago a volume ten times as thick as the Blue Book he held in his hand relative to Candahar might have been filled with illustrious military and political opinions upon the tremendous importance of the Bala-Hissar of Cabul. However, fact rather than fiction had proved the superiority of the position at Sherpur. The position of Asiatic cities was generally such as rather to favour assault by modern artillery. Herat was a position of importance with reference to Central Asia, rather than with regard to India. The House must remember that nine out of ten of those who favoured the retention of Candahar were either committed to the support of Persia in the occupation of Herat, or, what was virtually the same thing, a British occupation of Herat. At Candahar there was no boundary. Sir Donald Stewart said—

> "Circumstances would necessitate further movements at no distant date, until some natural boundary has been reached; indeed, the most fatal of the objections to Candahar as a frontier is its want of defined and defensible boundaries."—[*Ibid.*, p. 28.]

The opinion of Sir Henry Norman on this point was very decisive. He said—

> "Our occupation of Candahar, or its being held by a ruler under our guarantee, would infallibly land us, and speedily land us, in renewed difficulties, such as our recent experience should lead us to avoid."—[*Ibid.*, p. 34.]

He thought that when we looked to the character of the Afghan people, when we remembered the intimate connection between Herat and Candahar, everyone would condemn the advocacy of the forward policy, and would be inclined to say, in the words of General Roberts, that—

> "The longer and more difficult the line of communication is, the more numerous and greater the obstacles which Russia would have to overcome; and, so far from shortening one mile of the road, I would let the web of difficulties extend to the very mouth of the Khyber Pass."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, p. 69.]

He agreed with the high military authority referred to by Sir Henry Norman that if we were to oppose Russia we ought not to advance to Herat to do so. We had the opinion of Sir Garnet Wolseley that whenever Russia advanced upon Herat we must occupy Candahar. He agreed with Lord Lytton, who had recorded his view, that—

> "Though we could never allow Candahar to fall into the hands of a rival Power, he did not consider that such occupation would actually strengthen our Western Frontier."

But he said, while every authority declared the dislike of the Afghan people to our presence in their country, we had not yet tried their temper, as we must if we were to undertake permanent occupation. Permanent occupation meant that we must raise a revenue, or supervise the raising of a revenue, and that implied the collection of taxation. Now, Afghanistan was even a poorer country than India; but if it were true that Candahar was one of the richest parts of Afghanistan, even then, while the difficulty and unpopularity of obtaining a revenue would be such as we had never yet faced, there would be, in addition, the grievance felt throughout the whole of Afghanistan that we had abstracted the milch cow from the country. Our rule would be expensive, because it was, in a sort, an absentee rule; the pay and the supplies of the officers and troops being, to so large an extent, remitted to and provided from other places than the territory we should occupy in Afghanistan. On grounds of economy, as well as on grounds of security, the retention of Candahar was an unadvisable policy. The late wars, he did not deny, had had results. The first was, to dispel for ever the illusion which struck the fancy of Lord Auckland in defence of the first Afghan War, of the existence in Afghanistan of a "strong, friendly, and independent Power." We had accomplished the disintegration, the destitution, and the dependence of Afghanistan. There was only one strong and independent Power, beside that of Her Majesty, in Central Asia, and that Power was a Power which he trusted would be friendly—he meant the Power of Russia. The results of this war had been the repudiation by ourselves of the object for which it was undertaken—namely, the placing of British Agents in the cities of Afghanistan, and the assumption by this country of unreserved control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan. Those foreign relations had a tendency to increase in the direction of Persia, and he hoped he might be permitted to say a word or two upon that important branch of the subject. In 1880, Lord Lytton recorded in a Minute, dated the 7th of January, his concurrence in the decision of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, on grounds of Imperial policy, whereby Persia was to be

> "Provisionally permitted to occupy Herat, under sufficient guarantees for the good administration of it, and for her adequate protection of British and Indian interests at that point, and with a special reservation of our right to occupy the place with British forces in certain eventualities."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No 1, p. 6.]

He had reason to believe that the policy indicated in that Minute was embodied in a draft Convention, which, most fortunately for the interests of this country and of India, was never executed. Perhaps we were saved from that most fatal error by the failure of a Water Bill, which might have precipitated an appeal to the country upon the foreign policy of Her Majesty's late Government. He defied anyone who possessed any real acquaintance with the territory and politics of Persia to justify that Convention. He knew that Sir Henry Rawlinson was its partizan, and he could fancy the interest with which his article in *The Nineteenth Century* of February, 1880, was studied in Teheran. There was some, though slight, recovery of prudence discernible in Sir Henry Rawlinson's Memorandum on the relations of Candahar, written seven months afterwards. What an escape had that been for England—from the defensive alliance with Persia! Was Persia to be defended in Herat, and not in Astrabad, or in Tabriz? A British Cabinet might as well promise to swallow the Pyramids of Egypt at a single meal as guarantee the Persian shores of the Caspian. What was the meaning of this Persian policy? It was the survival, in another form, of the old delusion about a "strong, friendly, and independent" Afghanistan. The dream was to replace that shattered ideal by a "strong, friendly, and independent" Persia. The Empire of Persia could not be strong nor friendly, nor independent, in the exclusive sense in which it was desired by those who wished to place the Shah in Herat.

In the Papers before the House, Sir Henry Rawlinson stated that—

> "Our staunch supporter, the late Prime Minister of Persia, has been driven from office, to be replaced by a notorious Russian partizan."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 62.]

He (Mr. Arnold) had had the honour of intercourse in Teheran with the Persian statesman referred to, who was, undoubtedly, the best informed of his class in Persia. Why was he driven from office? Because of the blunder of Her Majesty's late Government, because he was beguiled into a foolish Convention, which he (Mr. Arnold) hoped to see laid upon the Table of the House. If Persia was in Herat, Persia was also in Tabriz. The most important and the most populous city in Persia, was Tabriz, and he did not know a city in the world of similar importance which was so utterly without the range of British power. The strength of England in Persia was founded on the conviction that it was not the intention or the interest of England to follow a policy of annexation at the expense of Persia. When we were told that the influence of England at Teheran was inferior to the influence of Russia, it meant nothing more than that Russia was in proximity to Teheran; and that might be illustrated by another fact—namely, that Russian gold imperials were the most advantageous money for travelling expenses in Northern Persia, which was comparatively the richest part of Persia. In the Southern Provinces, equally of course, British money was current, and British influence was paramount. If we wanted to facilitate the entry of Russia into Herat, the best way would be to enter into some fast-and-loose arrangement with Persia. The wars in Afghanistan had caused widespread ruin in Persia, by draining that country of mules, and thus rendering the cost of the only form of carriage almost prohibitive. Passing to Candahar, he had given much attention to the subject of trade and trade routes in Central and Western Asia. It was Cobden, he believed, who had said that an Ambassador should be the commercial traveller of his country; but he (Mr. Arnold) never heard that that function pertained to the Commander-in-Chief; and he ventured to say, with great respect, that the Duke of Cambridge was not a first-rate authority upon this important mttaer. He would even question the commercial geography of those who wrote of the trade of Persia coming to us through Candahar. The evidence on the subject was really very curious and contradictory. There was the statement of General Merewether that Russia's most strenuous efforts had been devoted to keeping the trade of Central Asia in her own hands; that British goods from India had been completely debarred from the Khanates; that assistance, and with no sparing hand, was given to merchants by the Russian Government. But how was it possible to reconcile those statements with the argument of the illustrious Duke that by the retention of Candahar we should bring the trade of Central Asia to Kurrachee, or with the random assertion of Lord Napier of Magdala that by holding Candahar we should deliver British manufactures to Central Asia? His constituents were interested in this question of exports to Asia, the major part of which were such as they manufactured. The trade of Candahar, both export and import, would naturally continue to pass by the Valley of the Indus. He could not see any probability that our exports would be increased by a single piece of cotton goods in consequence of the retention of Candahar; while it was very evident that by increasing the financial burdens of the Government of India, that long promised act of justice and advantage to our trade, the removal of the import duties on cotton goods, would be deferred, if not abandoned. The lines of Persian trade tended to the Persian Gulf; and he was hopeful that before long the Governments of Great Britain and Persia would enter into arrangements to insure development of commerce by way of Ispahan to the Persian Gulf. All these considerations could, he thought, leave no doubt upon the mind of the House that the retention of Candahar would place us in a position of permanent hostility to the Afghan people. In lieu of a strong and friendly and independent Afghanistan, which was a vanished dream, we should have, in consequence of the retention of Candahar, an Afghanistan ever inimical to the British power, and full of suspicion and hatred against us; ready at all times, and in any manner, to be the friends of our enemies, and the enemies of our friends. No other conclusion was possible from an impartial study of the evidence submitted to the House. Then, as to Russia, not only should we be weakening ourselves by this unprofitable charge upon the Revenues of India; but, by giving the rein in this case to the forward party, not one of whom had a fixed boundary to propose, and some of whom did not stop short even at the Oxus, we should be fanning the passions of rivalry and of belligerency between the two great Powers, which it was so greatly to our interest to pacify and subdue. As to Persia, in regard to Herat, we could do nothing that would not, directly or indirectly, imply a guarantee of her Empire, and to do that we must deliberately descend to that which was described by the Prime Minister last Session as the lowest depth of immorality, to enter into political pledges which we were powerless to fulfil. Last, but not least, there was to be considered the effect of the retention of Candahar upon Native opinion in India. It was of the greatest importance to our security in India that we should avoid wars of annexation. Native opinion would conclude, and rightly conclude, upon the abandonment of Candahar, that we did not expect or fear a Russian invasion of India. It was well said by an authority, in one of the Blue Books, that—

> "The Princes and Chiefs of India watch closely all we do. It will be a relief to them when they find we are not resuming the policy of annexation. It is what they dread, naturally feeling that their time may come next."

Sir Henry Norman says—

> "I feel certain that the real political effect of such annexation will be injurious to us in India, as it will impress upon the Chiefs and people the notion that a mere cry that we should be better for possessing certain territory is sufficient to justify us in seizing it."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 52.]

And all that might be said for withdrawal from Candahar, and more might be said for withdrawing from Pishin. The House of Commons, which was trustee for the millions of India, especially must not disregard that which it was in duty bound to follow—the opinion of the people of the United Kingdom. Speaking, as was, at least, his right, for the not insignificant section of that population which he represented, he believed that the policy of the Government in this matter had established a new claim to their confidence. There could be no doubt that those pages of the world's history were most exciting, and, perhaps, most interesting, which recorded the consequences of the errors of Sovereigns and statesmen. Red with the blood and fires of war, pitiful with the waste and the ruin which followed in its train, dark with intrigue, joyous in triumph, and bitter in failure were those pages. But while many, if not most, of those chapters had had their origin in acts of annexation, he doubted if the best student of history in Parliament could point to an instance in which a great Power had committed, even from the lowest point of view, an error in self-interest by an act of renunciation; and he had a firm and confident assurance that when the policy of the Government, in the surrender of Candahar, came to be reviewed, it would be found to be true and faithful to the welfare of India and to the lasting interests of this Empire, which, by the free suffrages of the people of the United Kingdom had been committed to the charge of the Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

BILLS OF SALE ACT (1878) AMENDMENT (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 104.]

(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr Fry, Mr Barran.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. MONK, in moving that the Speaker do now leave the Chair, said, it was his intention, if the House went into Committee, to ask the Committee not to consider the Amendments that night, for there were a great many Amendments on the Paper; and he understood that the President of the Board of Trade wished for further time, in order to consider what Amendments it might be his duty to also place on the Paper. He therefore intended, after the Preamble of the Bill had been postponed, to move to report Progress, and to postpone the further consideration of the Bill in Committee until after Easter.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT observed, that this was a most important Bill, and suggested that the best course would be that the Speaker should not then leave the Chair, but that the debate should be adjourned, so that the further Amendments might be placed on the Paper, and a good opportunity afterwards be given for the consideration of the Bill in Committee.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I hope the House will assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk). The grievance which the Bill proposes to deal with is really a very urgent one, and is a great and growing scandal. It is exceedingly desirable that there should be some speedy legislation on the subject; but, at the same time, I do not think the Bill of my hon. Friend should be allowed to pass exactly in its present form, and the House will have to give very careful attention to the Amendments already on the Paper, and to others to be proposed. There are some important Returns which have been asked for from County Court Judges, and some statistics which I hope to be able shortly to lay upon the Table. I therefore asked my hon. Friend, if the Bill should be now moved into Committee, to agree to the next stage of the Bill not being taken until after Easter. There will then be full time given to consider the Amendments; and considering the great difficulties there undoubtedly are, especially in a Session like this, in making progress with a Bill, I hope the House will assent to the suggestion now made.

MR. R. H. PAGET hoped the official Amendments would be placed on the Paper before Easter; otherwise, when the House met after Easter, they would be in the same position as they now were. If the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance to that effect the proposal might be agreed to; if not, he thought it should not be assented to.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member is under some misapprehension. I understand that there are already on the Paper one or more Amendments to this Bill, and that there are other Amendments to be placed on the Paper by private Members. It was to those that I particularly referred. As to the position of the Government, it might be possible to deal with this subject in connection with the Bankruptcy Bill; and that is under the consideration of the Board of Trade. If not, then we should propose to place any Amendments we might consider necessary in connection with the present Bill on the Paper. So far as I have any influence in the matter, there shall be full time for the consideration of the Amendments.

MR. R. N. FOWLER did not wish to offer any opposition to the Bill; but he thought the House should have some understanding that the Amendments of the Government should be placed on the Paper before Easter.

MR. C. M. PALMER also urged that the Government Amendments should be placed on the Paper before Easter, in order that they might be properly considered.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: With regard to the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), I am afraid I could not pledge myself to put my Amendments on the Paper before Easter; but if I cannot do so, I will endeavour to insure that there shall be sufficient time for consideration afterwards.

MR. WARTON, observing that the Government seemed not to have recovered from the influence of urgency, said, there was no urgency about this Bill. It was a ridiculous Bill; and if there was any scandal, it would be in passing a Bill of this insane description, which would destroy bills of sale altogether. There were, at least, 100 Bills of more importance than this before the House; but the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) was always endeavouring to force on legislation at an unseemly hour; and he protested against going on with the Bill now.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

On Question, "That the Preamble be postponed?"

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he hoped, now that his hon. Friend had got the Speaker out of the Chair, he would at once consent that the Bill should not be brought on till the month of May. The House would then have an opportunity of seeing the Amendments of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain), who was so exceedingly fond of getting Bills into Committee, so that they might be advanced a stage, if there was something that he wished done. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) objected to the principle exceedingly; and as it was not a good principle for the House or for the country, particularly in the case of a Bill like this, which required the most serious consideration. It was a most important Bill. Undoubtedly it ought to pass; but it ought not to be passed in a hurry. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he was not prepared to put down his Amendments until after Easter; but he though the ought to be able to place them on the Paper before the House separated for the Easter Recess.

Mr. MONK said, as soon as the Preamble had been postponed he should be ready to report Progress, and he would ask that the Committee should be fixed for an early day in May. He hoped that would meet the wishes of his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). It was, as his hon. and gallant Friend said, a most important Bill, and he wished to have it thoroughly considered. He wished to give ample time for putting further Amendments upon the Paper, and to consider those Amendments which were now on the Paper; but he hoped to see the Bill carried during the present year; and, as his hon. and gallant Friend knew, it was almost impossible for private Members to carry their Bills, unless they took these opportunities of moving the Speaker out of the Chair. A single Member would be able to stop this Bill if he postponed it this evening without taking the stage.

Earl PERCY wished to point out that if the practice were pursued of moving the Speaker out of the Chair before the Amendments which were known to be about to be moved were put on the Paper, the only way in which such a very irregular practice could be prevented was by systematically "blocking" Bills.

Mr. WARTON hoped that as he had given way to the feeling of the House in not pressing for a division, the hon. Gentleman opposite would not unduly press the matter now. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had not yet got a notion of the way the Government were going to treat the Bill, whether they would move Amendments to the Bill itself, or whether they would incorporate in it some Bankruptcy Bill, which would never be seen passed this Session.

Preamble *postponed.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* 3rd May.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT PRACTICES COMMISSIONS).

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Mr. WARTON moved—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, a Return to be made by the Commissioners who have recently sat or are still sitting for the purpose of inquiring into Corrupt Practices in the Cities of Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, and Oxford, and in the Boroughs of Boston, Knaresborough, Macclesfield, and Sandwich, of the actual places or premises in which bribery has been carried on, specifying shops, private houses, public institutions, public houses, stables, solicitors' offices, the open street, and all other places and premises (if any), and giving the number of persons bribed, and the amount of money laid out in bribery in each kind of place or premises respectively."

The hon. and learned Gentleman said, he wanted, if possible, to get at what the Government were going to do with regard to electoral corruption. He understood that the Motion was not opposed in the sense of any Amendment being put upon the Paper; but he had had a courteous communication from the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, informing him that the Government did not like the Motion, and would possibly oppose it. He did not see why the Government, in the face of Parliament and the country, should object to the exposure of all corruption, wherever carried on, whether by the Birmingham caucus, or in any other part of the country.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he had informed the hon. and learned Member again and again that it was quite impossible for the Government to grant the Return, because they had not the materials to make it. The Gentlemen who had served on the several Election Commissions had, for the most part, discharged their offices and made their Reports, and had not, in their investigations ascertained the particulars desired by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, as to—

> "The shops, private houses, public institutions, public houses, stables, solicitors' offices, the open street, and all other places and premises (if any) in which bribery has been carried on."

Being thus destitute of all the information which the hon. and learned Member desired, it was impossible for the Government to grant it to him, unless he desired the whole of those Commissions to be re-opened and inquiries made on the spot. For these reasons, he could only say that the Government were unable to give the Returns.

Question put, and *negatived.*

PRESUMPTION OF LIFE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Presumption of Life (Scotland) Bill do consist of Seventeen Members:—Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Preston Bruce, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Cochrane-Patrick, Dr. Webster, Mr. Dalrymple, Sir David Wedderburn, Admiral Sir John Hay, Mr. Hinde Palmer, Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Warton, and Mr. Anderson:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, before the House adjourned it would be convenient to have a fair understanding with regard to the proceedings that day and on Monday. His hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) was most desirous to do everything that was reasonable to facilitate the progress of Business. But he felt that he had a very good position on the Paper, and that it was his duty to make proper stipulations—if he gave up precedence today for the purpose of continuing the debate on the Motion which had been discussed that evening—for a good place in return. He had hoped that it might have been possible for the Government to allow him to take precedence of all other Business on Monday; and he (Sir Stafford Northcote) still thought that would have been a very possible arrangement. However, he believed the Government thought that would involve too much risk to proceeding with the Army Discipline Bill, and, therefore, they still proposed that his hon. Friend should have the second place. If that were so, it might happen that the Army Discipline Bill might not take long for the second reading, and that the Motion might come on at a reasonable hour; but if it should prove otherwise, he hoped the Government would, at all events, promise that, in the event of there not being a fair opportunity for the discussion of the Motion on Monday, they would consider their engagement to assist his hon. Friend as a still continuing engagement, and that they would undertake to do their best to give him an early day after the Recess. He believed it would be impossible for them to give his hon. Friend any other day than Monday before the Recess, and, therefore, he suggested that if it proved necessary, the Government should undertake to give an early day after the re-assembling of the House.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he was sure the House and the Government felt grateful to the hon. Member for the desire he had manifested to meet their convenience. He hoped the discussion on the Army Discipline Bill would not intervene long on Monday before the discussion of the hon. Gentleman's Motion; but if it should, he certainly had no hesitation in saying that the Government would remain under an obligation to the hon. Gentleman to endeavour to give him the earliest day in their power after Easter.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, in that case it would be a great convenience to the House, and, he believed, to many Members of the Government, if the Government would give his hon. Friend the first Monday after the House returned, putting off the Irish Land Bill to the Thursday. Monday would be an inconvenient day to take so important a measure as the Land Bill.

Mr. E. W. HARCOURT said, he would only ask the noble Marquess for a definition of what he would call a reasonable hour, after which he should not be expected to bring forward his Motion on Monday next. Would that definition be taken not to extend beyond 10 o'clock, supposing the Government Business extended beyond that hour?

MR. R. N. FOWLER would suggest 7 o'clock.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON replied that he thought the hour named by the hon. Member for Oxfordshire was a reasonable hour.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 25*th March,* 1881.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Municipal Franchise (Scotland) * (55).

Third Reading—India Office (Sale of Superfluous Land) * (51), and *passed.*

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—(THE NEGOTIATIONS) — THE 94TH RÉGIMENT.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT BURY said, he wished to put a Question to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with regard to an answer he had given yesterday to the noble Lord (Lord Brabourne) with reference to the 94th Regiment. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that the noble Earl said that certain action that had taken place on the part of the Boer commanders, to which reasonable exception might be taken, and which would come generally under the head of "outrages and massacres," would be referred to the decision of the Commissioners to be appointed in South Africa. The noble Earl had gone on to say, however, that the massacre or destruction of the 94th Regiment would not be one of the points so referred, but that it would be covered by the amnesty. Whatever opinion he (Viscount Bury) himself might entertain as to that destruction, he did not wish to obtain from the Government any declaration of opinion upon the subject; but there were so many people who entertained the belief that thetransaction in question was not a justifiable act of war, that considerable dissatisfaction would be occasioned if it were withdrawn from the consideration of the Commissioners. He should be sorry, therefore, if any words which had fallen from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies should be considered as pledging the Government to so withdraw the destruction of the 94th Regiment from the consideration of the Commissioners, and he, therefore, hoped that the noble Earl would be able to give an assurance that what he had said yesterday was not to be taken as conveying such a pledge. Sir Owen Lanyon, in his despatch of the 23rd of January, had said that the column of the 94th had been surprised by the Boers, who numbered about 1,500, while the band was playing, and the men were spread over a line a mile and a-half long. The enemy sent a message with a white flag to order the column to proceed no farther, and whilst that was being done, they continued to advance under cover of the white flag, and so took up a position which, from a previous reconnoitre of the ground, they had chosen as most suitable for pouring in a deadly fire upon our men. He (Viscount Bury) hoped it would be considered that if any armed force used the white flag to decoy troops into a previously-selected ambush, that was, at any rate, a subject which ought not to be withdrawn from the consideration of the Royal Commissioners when they began their work. It must also be borne in mind that, though we had not any certain information on the subject, we did not know that war had actually been declared when this attack was made on the 94th Regiment; but if the matter were referred to the Commissioners, the real facts of the case would come out. He hoped, therefore, that they would hear from his noble Friend that Her Majesty's Government were not pledged to withdraw it from the consideration of Her Majesty's Commissioners.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, that the noble Viscount (Viscount Bury) had not correctly repeated what he (the Earl of Kimberley), on the part of the Government, stated to their Lordships on the previous evening. He had not said that certain "outrages and massacres" were to be referred to the consideration of the Commission. But what he had said was that an amnesty had been agreed to, from which were excepted persons who had committed, or were directly responsible for, acts contrary to civilized warfare; and that the Boer leaders had declared their willingness to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in punishing such persons. As to the affair at Brounker's Spruit, he said that with regard to the destruction of the detachment of the 94th, according to the information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, that act was not contrary to those usages, and was, therefore, covered by the amnesty. But, of course, Her Majesty's Government were not precluded from further action in the matter; and if they should receive information which would alter their view, though they did not anticipate it, of course they would take a different course.

EARL CAIRNS asked, whether certain telegraphic communications made known to the other House last night would be laid before their Lordships also?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I am not aware to what telegrams the noble and learned Earl refers; but I read here last night the same telegrams that were read "elsewhere." Perhaps he refers to the telegram ordering General Sir Frederick Roberts to return home; but the best answer which I can give is to say that I have to-night laid on the Table of your Lordships' House a further Paper, which brings the telegraphic despatches down to the present time.

EARL CAIRNS gave Notice that, on Thursday next, he would call attention to the arrangements recently made by Her Majesty's Government with the Boers, as appeared in the communications received from South Africa, and would ask for explanations.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (THE NEGOTIATIONS) — THE TERM "SUZERAINTY."

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD LAMINGTON asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether, before entering into the new arrangements with the Boers, there had been a clear understanding as to the interpretation to be put on the word "suzerainty?" He found, on consulting *M. Littré's* dictionary, that it really meant less than "sovereignty;" but he did not think, from the despatch of Sir Evelyn Wood, that clearly appeared in the arrangements with the Boers, and unless there was a clear understanding as to the meaning of the word, there would be inextricable difficulties.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I have a high respect for *M. Littré's* dictionary, which I believe is the highest authority that exists on the French language; and as far as I am able to gather from what the noble Lord read, the opinion of that authority upon the word "suzeraineté" coincides very much with my own. He does not define "suzeraineté" to be sovereignty, nor do I. I imagine it is something less than sovereignty. The noble Lord has referred to the definition, or rather explanation, which Sir Evelyn Wood gave to the Boers when he stated he considered it to mean that the country should have entire self-government as regards it own internal affairs, and cannot take action against or with any outside Power without the permission of the Suzerain. My interpretation of the suzerainty which Her Majesty's Government is to assume, is that it refers to the regulation and the control of the relations of that State with foreign Powers, and any other rights which the Royal Commissioners may think it right, after full inquiry, to reserve to Her Majesty, which might derogate from the full sovereignty of the State.

TUNIS — THE ENFIDA CASE.

QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR asked, Whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give any further information with reference to the question of the Enfida Estate in the Regency of Tunis? He said that, perhaps, the noble Earl would excuse his bringing this question again under his notice; but, as his noble Friend must be aware, it was one which was exciting great public interest, not only in the Regency of Tunis, but also in this country. Statements had been made in the public Press in France, as well as elsewhere, arising out of the Enfida case, but really involving the relations of this country and the Regency of Tunis. It would be very desirable if the noble Earl could give their Lordships further information as to the present position of affairs, and whether the case was to be decided by the local Courts? Perhaps his noble Friend might not be unwilling to lay before their Lordships the Papers and Correspondence relating to the subject?

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, there could be little doubt that the case of Enfida ought to be left to the local tribunals, because when the Porte made the concession of allowing foreigners to hold land, it did so on the express condition that they were to be subject to the law of the country in all that concerned their property. The Enfida question, however, was a secondary one compared with the dangers to which Tunis was now exposed from France, but for which Italy was as much, or perhaps more, to blame; for the French would not have become so excited at Tunis, nor have threatened that State, if it had not been for the intrigues of the Italians, and the fear the French had of the Italians attempting to establish themselves at Tunis. The Italian Government might fairly be suspected of not having too great a regard for the Law of Nations, since the Italian Kingdom had been formed by a disregard of that law. There was another danger said to threaten Tunis besides the fear and rivalry of the French for the Italians, and for that this country was to blame. He would ask his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether the statement which had gone the round of the Press was true—namely, that a former Minister of the Crown had, shortly after the acquisition of Cyprus, admitted the claims of France to supremacy over Tunis? That statement ought not to be credible, for whilst France had no right to supremacy over Tunis, which was part of the Ottoman Empire, still less had any Minister of this country the right to give away and betray portions of the territory of an Ally, the integrity of which was secured by the Treaty of Paris. The statement that had been made, even if entirely untrue, showed the inherent vice of the Cyprus Convention, and the baseness of the whole of the policy called "peace with honour," but which had consisted in joining with Russia in despoiling our Ally whilst pretending to oppose Russia. In doing that the late Government had demoralized Europe, for France had come out of the Berlin Negotiations with clean hands; but now it seemed that she wished to invade and conquer a country which had given her no offence or just cause for complaint, and, if the statement now made in the Press was true, the late Government had been tempting France to this dishonour, in order, apparently, to secure her complicity, or to prevent and silence her remonstrances. He would remind the House that there were engagements long anterior to this on the part of France not to meddle with either Tunis or Morocco, given at the time of the conquest of Algiers or shortly after.

EARL GRANVILLE: I regret that I cannot give any information at the present moment in answer to the Question put to me by the noble Earl opposite (Earl De La Warr). The matter is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and I have referred it to the Law Officers. Their opinion is confirmed by that of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. Two days ago further despatches were sent from Tunis; but they only arrived this morning. I have thought it right also to refer them to the same learned authorities, in order that they may make any observations on them. Till that is done, it will not be competent for me to give any information to your Lordships. With regard to the Question of my noble Friend, I was not aware that he was going to put it. I believe it is evidently founded upon a conversation which had taken place between Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington; but the former had denied that he had made such an admission. The question was not one that he (Earl Granville) could enter into without Notice, and he did not think there would be any advantage in re-opening the matter at the present moment.

PARLIAMENT—THE EASTER RECESS.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) observed, that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs seemed to have made a mistake in saying the House would meet after the Easter Recess on the 4th of May.

EARL GRANVILLE said, as he found that the 4th of May would fall on a Wednesday, it was now proposed that the adjournment of their Lordships' House for the Easter Holidays should be from the 8th April to 5th May, instead of from the 7th to the 4th.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock,
till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 25*th March*, 1881.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Land Tax Commissioners' Names * [126].

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 2) *, and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—SMALL-POX HOSPITAL, FULHAM.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is within his knowledge that a charge made at a public meeting against the managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District, of negligence in the management of the Small-Pox Hospital at Fulham has been investigated; whether the gentleman who made that charge expressed himself as satisfied that the charge was unfounded; and, whether the same publicity has been given to the contradiction as was given to the accusation?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, I am aware that a charge was made at a public meeting against the managers by a gentleman, who stated in a letter that he had repeatedly seen the nurses from the Small-Pox Hospital at Fulham walking up and down the Seagrave Road in their working costumes among the children of his neighbours. I have since seen a copy of a letter written by the gentleman in question, after attending a meeting of the Hospital Committee, in which the whole matter was fully investigated, in which he expressed his satisfaction at finding the persons whom he saw were not, as he imagined and incorrectly reported, nurses in the employment of the Hospital; and I cannot but regret that, so far as I am aware, the same degree of publicity has not been given to this retraction as was given to the charge.

Mr. FIRTH said, that he was chairman of the meeting that had been referred to, and did not read the letter, which was one of many, but stated on the authority of the letter that nurses were seen walking in the street. He was sorry that there had not been an opportunity of making, with similar publicity, the explanation suggested; but he would offer the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of having it done at a public meeting, provided that he would attend and give some explanation of what was at present regarded as the inexplicable conduct of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in the matter of this Hospital.

STATE OF IRELAND—RIOTOUS CONDUCT OF SOLDIERS AT CASTLEISLAND, CO. KERRY.

The O'DONOGHUE: The last time I put the Question which stands on the Paper in my name, the Chief Secretary for Ireland complained that I did not give the authority upon which I asked it, and that it did not appear in any newspaper. That may have been an oversight of mine; but, as a matter of fact, the statement to which the Question refers did appear in the *Kerry Sentinel*, and was the subject of comment at two local public meetings. I now beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has now received any information on the alleged misconduct of the soldiers quartered at Castleisland, in Kerry, who from night to night assemble in the streets, whirling their belts, and calling on the "Irish cowards to come out and fight;" why the military authorities do not take steps to prevent such conduct; and, why the police remain passive spectators of proceedings highly calculated to provoke a breach of the peace?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, he had made inquiries, and he found that what had happened was this. On one occasion only, the night of the 11th instant, six of those soldiers were drunk, and did create a disturbance in the street. They were, however, kept in check by a party of police until the arrival of the picket, which was first summoned by the sub-inspector of police, and then they were taken in charge by the military authorities. There was no assault, nor was any injury done. The statements in the Question were, therefore, incorrect, or very much exaggerated. He did not think that the censure conveyed in the Question on the police was at all justified, as it was not correct that they were passive spectators on the occasion.

ARMY—ADJUTANTS OF VOLUNTEERS.

MR. ROWLEY HILL asked the Secretary of State for War, If, under the new scheme of Army Re-organisation, it is intended to disturb the old Adjutants of Volunteers in their appointments, or if they will be permitted to continue to serve until sixty years of age, as laid down in Royal Warrant of 6th April 1874?

MR. CHILDERS: Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the arrangements as to the term of service of Volunteer adjutants hardly come within the general plan of Army re-organization, which I have brought before the House; but my attention has been drawn to the advanced age of some of these meritorious officers, and I am considering the subject referred to in the Question.

IRELAND—ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (RETIREMENT).

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and resident magistrates are subject to the same rules of compulsory retirement, according to age, as officers of the Army, Navy, and Militia; and, if not, if he will state if it is contemplated by Government to introduce rules fixing the age of retirement for officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and resident magistrates; and, whether it is a fact that at present there are officers in the upper ranks of the Constabulary who have over fifty years' service as officers, and resident magistrates who have over thirty years' service as resident magistrates?

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that neither the Constabulary officers nor resident magistrates were subject to the rules referred to, and the Government did not intend to make any change in that arrangement. One Constabulary officer had over 50 years' service, and one resident magistrate over 30 years.

THE ROYAL MINT—THE ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. RYLANDS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will arrange that the Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint for 1880 shall be placed in the hands of Members before the Vote for Expenses of the Mint is taken in Committee of Supply?

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH: Sir, the chief obstacle to arranging for an earlier issue of the Mint Report is that the reports of the branch Mints in Australia do not arrive in this country till some time in April. It is also usual to include in the Report a short statement of the coinage and currency arrangements of other countries during the past year. All that information cannot be got together and put into shape till about the middle of May, when the Report is generally laid upon the Table. I think it would not be desirable to publish it in a less complete shape for the sake of a rather earlier issue, and if hon. Members wish that the Report should be in their hands before the Vote for the Mint is taken, the Vote can, of course, be deferred.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1878—EXAMINATION OF HIGHER CLASS SCHOOLS.

MR. J. CAMPBELL asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the Scotch Education Department is now prepared, on the application of a School Board having the management of a higher class public school, to make provision for the examination of such higher class public school, in accordance with the 20th section of "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1878?"

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, this question has been repeatedly referred to the Treasury since the passing of the Act of 1878; but, as the inspection is held by them to be optional, and not obligatory on the Education Department, they have declined to allow a Vote to be taken for the purpose of meeting charges which the Act of 1872 placed on the local rates.

STATE-AIDED EMIGRATION.

MR. RANKIN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have any intention of proposing any legislation this Session with a view to establish a system of State-aided emigration from the United Kingdom to the British Colonies?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have not come to any conclusion in favour of doing so.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE TRANSVAAL (NEGOTIATIONS).

SIR JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, To lay upon the Table a Copy of his letter to Messrs. Krüger and Joubert, referred to in [C. 2838] South Africa, March 1881, page 24, and if he will further assure the House that measures will be taken to exclude from any amnesty, and to bring to justice, the leaders in the treacherous attack on Colonel Anstruther and the 94th Regiment, by which that officer and 57 men were killed, and 101 officers, men, and women wounded, see page 5 of same Paper?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the letter referred to in the first part of the right hon. and gallant Member's Question has been laid before Parliament, and is printed at page 464 of Parliamentary Paper C. 2676, August 1880. With respect to the remainder of the Question, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman is no doubt aware that a full and complete amnesty has been arranged in South Africa, which is to cover all acts that are conformable to the rules of civilized warfare. The Question, therefore, amounts to this—whether the attack on Colonel Anstruther and the 94th Regiment is covered by the rules of civilized warfare? We have not full information on the subject; but it was announced by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his place in Parliament, that so far as we had information, it was covered by the rules of civilized warfare. We have not received any information which authorizes us to say whether or not it is excluded, and I can only answer the Question from such information as I possess.

Subsequently,

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask a Question of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government with reference to the Papers connected with the Transvaal. I wish to know, When the Royal Commission will commence their labours; and, when the right hon. Gentleman will be in a position to lay the Instructions to the Royal Commissioners and any despatches on the general subject before Parliament? I may, perhaps, be allowed, in explanation, to say that the Papers, even supplemented by the telegrams, contain the barest possible information on a subject of the very greatest importance. As to the mode in which the Government intend to carry out the control of the foreign relations of the Transvaal and the liability for the Debt of the Province, the Papers contain very little information at all. If the right hon. Gentleman finds it inconvenient to answer the Question now, I will repeat it on Monday.

MR. GLADSTONE: It would be convenient if the right hon. Gentleman would defer the Question till Monday, as it will give me the opportunity of communicating with my noble Friend, who intends to put his views in writing upon these questions. The right hon. Gentleman will very well understand from the immaturity of the proceedings and the nature of the telegraphic communications, that the subject will require of be handled with care. The despatch to Colonel Anstruther, giving his account of the attack on the 94th Regiment, will be published in *The Gazette* of Tuesday, and I also learn that further information accompanying that despatch has arrived, but has not yet been fully examined.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS) — FEVER HOSPITALS AND CONVALESCENT HOMES.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, having regard to the statements made to him by a deputation on the 21st instant on the subject of the prevalence of scarlet fever in the Metropolis and the increase of centres of infection, owing to the absence of all provision for the reception of convalescents from that infectious and dangerous disorder, he will give this urgent question his immediate attention; whether it is the duty of the Local Government Board to make provision for the establishment of convalescent homes in connection with the fever hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board; whether the existing state of the Law admits of this being done efficiently; and, if it does not, whether he will take immediate steps to obtain by legislation the necessary powers?

MR. DODSON: Sir, I shall not fail to give my attention to the matter. There is no duty imposed upon the Local Government Board to require the establishment of convalescent homes in connection with the fever hospitals of the Metropolis. Assuming that such homes can properly be considered hospitals for the sick, the Board would have a discretionary power in respect to them. Having regard, however, to the recent action which has been taken to suppress some of the small-pox hospitals, it is not likely that the Board would at this moment meet with much encouragement, if it attempted to exercise such a power.

NAVAL AND GREENWICH HOSPITAL PENSIONS.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Instructions to the Committee on Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions; and, if it is intended to make similar inquiries into the system of granting pensions and gratuities to employés in the dockyards?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it would not be advisable to lay any Papers relating to the Pension Committee on the Table. It is a Departmental Committee of Inquiry appointed to inform the Lords of the Admiralty on questions of great importance, but questions on which, in the present stage of their knowledge, they have not decided whether any action can be taken or not. Two things they do know, that nothing will be done to affect the pension rights of anyone, man or boy, who is already in Her Majesty's service; and that the inquiry does not extend to the pensions and gratuities of existing employés in the Dockyards.

FLOODS (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW.

MR. MELDON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the constantly recurring floods caused by the overflow of its banks by the River Barrow, whereby the sanitary condition of the town of Monasterevan, in the county of Kildare, and other places, is rendered, exceedingly bad, and 50,000 acres of land, mostly in the hands of poor tenants, are left in some years practically useless; and, if the Government will consent to an inquiry by Royal Commission, or otherwise, into the circumstances connected with such floodings, with a view of removing the causes of same? I also beg to ask, in the unavoidable absence of the hon. Member for Portarlington (Mr. Fitzpatrick), the Question on the same subject, which stands in his name. It is, If any steps have been taken with regard to the drainage of the River Barrow; if not, whether he will appoint a Select Committee to inquire into that question, as suggested by the deputation which waited on him last year?

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, that the question was brought before him last year by a very influential deputation, and he was rather under the impression that the deputation wished him to wait for further information from them before doing anything. The matter, however, had been considered by the Government with a view to appoint a somewhat similar Commission to inquire into the matter as was appointed in the case of the Shannon. The Shannon Commission has not yet concluded its labours, and the Government were inclined to think that it might, before doing so, inquire into this matter also. In such case its constitution would undergo some changes.

PARLIAMENT — SECURING SEATS IN THIS HOUSE.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST wished to know the precise rule as to securing seats in that House? It was something of a scandal that seats should be appropriated in the wholesale way that was now common. The mere fact of a Member having his hat on a seat was no guarantee that he was in the House at Prayers; for it seemed to be usual, in many cases, that hon. Gentlemen, after depositing their hats, were much more likely to be found at the time of Prayers in the Smoking Room than anywhere in the immediate precincts of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The rule which governs this matter is that a Member who has been at Prayers shall place his card over the seat he then occupied. The Member is then fully entitled to occupy that place during the evening.

MR. MACARTNEY asked, whether a Member who was standing at Prayer time opposite a hat would not be fulfilling the conditions of the rule if he carded the seat at which he stood?

MR. SPEAKER replied in the affirmative.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Vice President of the Council, When the new Order in Council imposing restrictions on fairs and markets will be issued? It was very desirable that the Order should be issued, so that they might know how long the restrictions were to last.

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, that it would be issued on Tuesday.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE THAMES RIVER BILL.

In reply to Mr. RITCHIE,

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Bill had been fixed for Tuesday next, and there was no intention to alter that arrangement.

MOTION.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That the Standing Order relative to Supply or Ways and Means standing the first Order of the Day on Friday be read and suspended:—That the Committee of Supply be deferred until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Afghanistan." — (*Mr. Gladstone.*)

EARL PERCY begged to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the success which had attended his efforts to absorb all the time usually devoted to private Members. It appeared to be the interest of the Government to prevent any discussion of a measure which involved a serious charge against a part of the policy of the Government. That was the 31st or the 32nd day that the Government had taken from private Members; and he should have thought the Government would have felt it their duty to secure for the adjourned debate a day other than that which, in the usual course, would have been devoted to a subject of great importance—the operation of the Highway Act of 1878. He was afraid the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) could not expect much from the indefinite promise to give up a day after Easter. The result of the course pursued would be to get rid of or to limit materially discussion on the second reading of the Mutiny Bill; but he trusted, in spite of what had been said by the Prime Minister, the House would not be prevented discussing a Bill involving principles upon which the Conservative Party was much impeached at the last Election.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

AFGHANISTAN — THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN.

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [24th March],

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the true and permanent interests of India."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, they had had the advantage of hearing, in the course of discussion, several very able speeches made from the other side of the House, especially by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). He hoped the latter hon. Gentleman would allow him, as an old antagonist in another arena, to congratulate him on the success he had achieved on the first occasion of his having addressed the House. In all these able speeches there was, however, a very remarkable defect, and that was that they were not applicable to the Motion which was before the House; for in all these speeches—in the remarkably dexterous speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as well as the others—it was assumed that the Motion proposed to pledge the House irrevocably to the perpetual occupation of Candahar. Now, he (Lord George Hamilton) would candidly admit that, so far as he himself was concerned, if any such Motion were made, he should have grave doubts as to its expediency. There was an obvious disadvantage in coming to an irrevocable decision, and he should not be willing to support such a Motion. But the Motion related merely to the time at which the Government insisted on evacuating Candahar. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India, in answer to a Question last night, said he had given the Government of India the utmost discretion as to the time and manner of carrying out the evacuation of Candahar; but he (Lord George Hamilton) felt bound to say that that statement was not borne out by a careful perusal of the Papers, and particularly of those that were produced yesterday. On the contrary, the noble Marquess spoke in the most peremptory tone of the importance of evacuating Candahar, and the Government of India showed that the time for evacuation was very much limited in consequence. Mr. Rivers Thompson, in that masterly Minute, stated that he was strongly opposed, not to the evacuation of Candahar, but to the precipitate action the Government had taken in a peremptory manner, and to the promulgation of their decision without waiting for the advice of those who were responsible for the Government of India. He said that he deprecated the peremptory character of the despatch, which forced their action in a matter which necessarily demanded very delicate handling. He added that the question of time was all important, and that if sufficient time had been given to the Indian Government to mature their arrangements, Abdurrahman might have been established at Candahar; while now it was almost certain that when he got there, Ayoob Khan would try to drive him out, and the probable result would be that his authority would be overthrown, both in Candahar and Cabul. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke) stated that the Government had some claim on the consideration of their opponents, on account of the enormous difficulties of the task of re-constituting a stable Government in Afghanistan. Well, he (Lord George Hamilton) quite agreed that their task was a difficult one. He could conceive no task requiring higher statesmanlike qualities than the construction out of the shifting and unreliable elements of Afghanistan of a stable Government; and, therefore, if the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had, after full consideration and consultation with the Indian Government, laid down certain principles of action which were calculated to secure that result, he should have been quite ready to have subordinated his own opinions, even though he might be disposed to disagree with what was proposed. But the hon. Baronet made use of a rather curious argument. He said that the late Government failed to establish a united, friendly, independent Afghanistan. That was true; but what the late Government now contended was that because they failed in their attempt to establish a friendly, united, and independent Afghanistan, that was no reason why they should give their sanction to measures which, in their opinion, must establish a united, hostile Afghanistan. The hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. P. J. Smyth) was always eloquent on the question of nationalities; but it was unfortunate that before the delivery of his speech, in which he drew a graphic picture of a population welcoming a Ruler, he had not duly weighed the significant answer of the noble Marquess to the effect—"We have received information from Colonel St. John, Political Officer at Candahar, and he states that if Abdurrahman comes with a sufficient number of troops, it is just possible his assumption of authority may not be resisted." With a sufficient number of troops! Why the same thing might be said of the Czar at Warsaw and the German Emperor at Metz. But that was not the whole difficulty. When Abdurrahman undertook to govern Cabul he never undertook to become Governor of Candahar. The Ameer was at present in great difficulties in Cabul. His army was hardly large enough to enable him to hold his position there, and yet they were going to force him to bring the troops which were necessary for maintaining order in Cabul to Candahar, the inevitable result of which would be the overthrow of his authority. In the remarkably dexterous speech of the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State, he ridiculed, amid cheers from the other side of the House, the notion of Russian intrigue; but that line of argument was, he (Lord George Hamilton) maintained, very inconsistent with the earlier part of the hon. Baronet's speech, because therein he claimed special credit to the Government for having adhered to the policy of all preceding Governments, which was, that in all circumstances

Russian influence should be excluded from Afghanistan. Further, he had to remind the House that when the hon. Baronet was a private Member, no one showed more conclusively and with greater knowledge the danger of Russian intrigue. But now, since he had become the authoritative exponent of the policy of the Liberal Government, he seemed to think it his duty to ridicule the danger and repudiate his former appreciation of the importance of this aspect of the case.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Will the noble Lord quote the passage in which I ridiculed that?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he had not the speech by him; but he took at the time a note of the words, and, undoubtedly, the hon. Baronet, though he might not perhaps have used the word "ridicule," put together a number of words which conveyed to the House an impression that there was nothing to be feared from Russian influence. It struck him (Lord George Hamilton), however, as an inconsistent argument for anyone to use who attached cardinal importance to the exclusion of Russian influence from Afghanistan. For his own part, he would admit that he did not at present apprehend any danger from the invasion of India by Russia. If Russia were to equip an army sufficiently large for the purpose we should, he believed, have ample notice to prepare to meet it. So far as he knew, no Member of the late Government ever put forward in support of their policy any immediate fear or dread of Russian invasion. But the danger to India of the establishment of Russian influence in Afghanistan had been insisted on by every Viceroy and every Secretary of State for many years past, and by no one more emphatically than by Lord Lawrence, who not only indicated the shape the danger would assume, but also the remedy by which it was to be met. That noble Lord's remedy was, that they should stop the advance of Russia, either by negotiation or by a threat of war. He asked any hon. Member, who had studied the advance of Russia in Central Asia during the last 20 years, whether it was possible to stop that advance by such means? The people of this country would, he thought, always submit to any sacrifice that a war might demand, when that war was made for some great object, for the maintenance of the Empire, for the national unity, or for some question admitted to be of great importance; but he did not believe it to be possible to persuade the people of this country to assent to a policy which at any moment might involve them in war with Russia, because Russia, in that quarter, happened to annex a certain number of square miles in Central Asia, or in some other locality which they never heard of before. To such a war they could not, in his opinion, be reconciled. The danger was too remote, and the object too small to justify sanction being given to such a policy. Well, then, could they stop the advance of Russia by negotiation? The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had, when in Office before, obtained a very definite assurance that there was no intention on the part of Russia to advance on Khiva. They knew what had happened notwithstanding that assurance. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State told them last night that the new Czar, on ascending the Throne, had caused General Skobeleff to be re-called. Well, but what did the hon. Baronet mean by the word "recall?" It was a word capable of more interpretations than one. Did it mean in this case that the General was recalled because he had done something which the Czar did not approve? Had the hon. Baronet any authority which would enable him to state that General Skobeleff had been displaced from his command because the Czar disapproved of his conduct in carrying out the campaign? For his part, he did not doubt that the Czar was most pacifically disposed towards us; but, on the other hand, might it not be said that he might have re-called General Skobeleff to consult him as to what was the best means likely to push on the Russian advance in Central Asia? He did not blame the Russian Government, he should say, for not being able to control their servants in their advance in Central Asia. No Government was so dependent upon its civil and military officers as was an autocracy, and for this reason, that no one intervened between the head of the Government and the people they governed except the Civil and Military Services. They should remember, too, that it was engrained in the Russian

Civil and Military Services that it was the destiny of Russia to advance till she reached her goal, and that there was nothing to interpose between that tradition and the opinion of one individual, he being for the time Emperor of Russia. Therefore, you had on the one hand the steady influence of this tradition, and on the other the casual and intermittent influence of the reigning Emperor, if that chanced to be on the side of control. They must, therefore, come to the conclusion that Russia would continue to advance, and it was perfectly clear that it was not by war or by negotiation that the advance of Russia in Central Asia would be stopped. Allusion had frequently been made to what was known as Lord Lawrence's policy. Now, Lord Lawrence, when Governor General, had a singularly able Council. Including Lord Lawrence himself, there were five men who signed the despatches which had been referred to. Of those five, three only were now living—namely, Sir Henry Maine, Sir Richard Temple, and Sir John Strachey—and every one of those men approved the policy which Lord Lytton adopted. And why did they do so? They did so, not because they had changed their opinions, but because the policy which was known as the policy of Lord Lawrence had irretrievably failed. Let them take the policy of Lord Northbrook, and they would find that towards the end of the noble Lord's Viceroyalty his deliberate policy was that, in the event of the Russians occupying Merv, it would be absolutely necessary to enter into a definite understanding with the Ameer of Cabul and to place a British Resident at Herat. Was that, he asked, in accordance with the policy of Lord Lawrence? There was nothing in common in the action of succeding Viceroys except a desire to abstain from internal interference in Afghanistan; but their external policy was regulated and controlled by the advance of Russia alone. Well, then, if they could not stop the advance of Russia in Central Asia by war or by negotiation, how were they likely to exclude Russian influence in Afghanistan? Practically, Russia was as near Herat as if she were at Merv. She had established her rule in Turkestan, and overcome, whether Sovereigns or nomadic Tribes, every single Native Power between herself and Afghanistan. In every case, the Russian Government preceded their expeditions by a declaration that annexation was not their object; but in every instance annexation had followed. In every case the Power about to be attacked had implored assistance from the British Government; in every case it had been refused. They had this further fact before them, that, in almost every case, Russia had excused her annexation by an allegation as to the ill-treatment of her subjects. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State said that Russia had lost prestige because she had thrown over Shere Ali. If that were so, why was it suggested that we should do the same thing in the case of Abdurrahman? If we did, would not the same result—the loss of prestige—follow? It seemed to him that if while Russia advanced as the British retired — if we allowed our railway to be destroyed as they advanced theirs—the contrast between the action of the two Powers must inevitably lead to the loss of our prestige. The Indian Government had received instructions to evacuate Candahar, while they had reason to believe that, with the exception of Major Baring and the Viceroy, the Government of India were opposed to the policy which was sought to be forced upon them. In his (Lord George Hamilton's) limited experience there had not arisen a question as to which it was more necessary to have full and complete information from the Government of India; but, until last night, they had not been afforded a scrap of information. As the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India would not give the House public information, he was obliged to make the best use he could of private information. He believed that when the question now under the consideration of the House was brought before the Council of India, and when Lord Ripon attempted to raise the question of the policy of evacuation, he found himself in a minority of 1; but, that after a formal discussion, the Viceroy, so far from influencing the opinions of the Council, was himself influenced by their opinions, and he found himself in a minority of 0. He had asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India the other evening whether, as the Papers had disappeared in some mysterious manner, he would telegraph to India, with a view to obtain, for the information of the House, the purport of those opinions? The noble Marquess had declined to do that, on the ground that the value of those opinions would be diminished by telegraphic abbreviation; but it was not easy to understand the course he had taken, inasmuch as it was entirely opposed to Papers, the opinions of which were so valuable that they could not be summarized. The question that occurred to him was as to the best means to be taken in order to keep Russian influence out of Afghanistan, if it was decided by Her Majesty's Government that such a policy was necessary or advisable. How were they going to do it? The country certainly had had, within the last two years, a bitter experience of what ought not to be done in the way of policy as far as questions like the present were concerned. He frankly admitted that it had been shown that, in the invasion of any country, it was much easier to destroy than to construct; but if it was wished to avoid the necessity for invasion, the reason for invasion must be removed. The cause of the invasion in 1878 was an affront offered to us by the Ameer of Cabul, and that was done because Russian Agents were at Cabul. He was not disposed—nor was it necessary for the purposes of his argument—to inquire as to the reasons which led to the alienation of the Ameer of Cabul. It was sufficient for him to know that the alienation took place, that the Ameer afterwards lent a too willing ear to Russian advice; and they might fairly conclude from the past that whenever the relations between Russia and England became strained, Russia would be sure to use Afghanistan as a means of embarrassing us. If the Ameer was alienated by a policy of timidity, and Russian influence thus allowed to enter, it was absurd to suppose that it could be excluded by a hasty "skedaddle" from Candahar. He admitted the difficulty of the task which Her Majesty's Government had undertaken; but it was to his mind perfectly clear that if once they let in Russian influence, and if it should become paramount in Afghanistan, there would be only one alternative, either to acquiesce in it and its injurious effects, or to drive it out of the country by force of arms. And which would the Government adopt? He regretted the course which the exigencies of the Liberal Party had forced upon the noble Marquess, because he (Lord George Hamilton) felt that the policy he had pursued, and the peremptory orders which he had given, were not dictated as being the most beneficial arrangements for India; and also because, in his view, the present was a favourable opportunity of making political arrangements which would have had a beneficial effect on the political future of Afghanistan. Suppose that if they had said to the Ameer of Cabul that they would keep Candahar until they were perfectly certain that the Native Ruler to whom they would hand it over was a friend of their own, and was able to comply with the conditions on which they would hand it over; that before they retired they would complete the railway from Sibi to the Frontier station; that they would keep a certain garrison there, and then leisurely retire; and, at the same time, give a distinct and tangible assurance to the incoming Ruler of Candahar against Russian aggression. If that course had been taken, England would have been able to make good her words whenever either condition on which they handed over Candahar was infringed, or it was attempted to introduce Russian influence; and just in proportion to the increase of English influence in Afghanistan would be the decrease in external interference, either Russian or Native. Such a suggestion must often have been offered to the noble Marquess. Why had not that course been followed? The only excuse he could offer was that the Government had not taken that course because the Liberal Party, at the last General Election, committed themselves to a theoretical policy, which was almost certain, in his view, to lead the country into danger, if not disaster. Therefore, the noble Marquess would not adopt it. In the speech which he last night addressed to the House, the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs mentioned, in support of his view, the opinions of the military and political officers and officials of India; but he omitted to say that there was and had been, for some time past, a difference in view as to the Frontier policy of this country in regard to our Indian Empire, whose Frontiers were peopled by individuals of very different races and views. There were certainly various views on this point among officers and officials in various parts of the Empire; but no particular importance was to be attached to that difference of opinion, because the persons who differed in opinion were stationed on widely divergent points, both geographically and politically. With regard to the retention of Candahar, however, it appeared from the Papers before them, that Sir Robert Sandeman, and all the military and political officers, were in favour of it. The question of cost had been raised as an argument against the retention of Candahar; but he could not admit its validity, because he thought every hon. Member who had examined the facts must know that most of the Estimates made were largely beyond what was likely to be the actual cost. What would be the expense? Sir Henry Norman put it on record that 20,000 men would be the necessary force; but Sir Frederick Roberts said that 13,500 would be sufficient—thus knocking off one-third of the former Estimate. Double allowances would be necessary for the Native troops, but not for the British. It was an error to suppose that the troops would have to be additional to the usual force, for it appeared that though 55,000 men were employed in Afghanistan during the war, there was no appreciable increase in the Indian Army. Well, were Indian finances in such a deplorable condition that they could not stand that small increased outlay? Why, they heard that the surplus Revenue in India wouldt his year be about £4,300,000. They had heard something about additional taxation; but he had a strong impression that taxation was less in India now than it was 10 years ago. As far as the sources of revenue were concerned, the salt duty had been referred to, and, as far as that was concerned, he thought it was not out of the way to suppose, as many of the advocates of the reduction which had been already made did, that the increased consumption of salt would make up for any reduction that might result from the reduction of the duty. That was almost entirely due to increased consumption. If the Finance Minister of India would act upon the experience which had been gained during the last few years, he might slowly reduce the salt duty in a way that would lead to no diminution of the revenue; for there would be a much greater consumption, and the revenue would be remunerative in proportion. So with public works; the annual charge for them would be followed by an increased revenue. There were other matters which showed a prospect of surplus revenues. Some years ago an income tax was imposed, which, Carlyle had said, affected the shrieking units and not the dumb millions. In consequence, however, of the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, that tax had been repealed, and a licence duty substituted, which affected many of the dumb millions. To pretend, therefore, that Indian finance would not permit of the retention of Candahar was perfectly absurd. Without asserting that India was in a financial position that could justify extravagance, he believed that within the next three or four years there would be a sufficient Indian surplus which would amply justfy the policy recommended by his hon. Friend with regard to the retention of Candahar, for, at all events, the next two or three years. The Report of the Commission upon the Indian Army showed that it would be possible to reduce the military expenditure by £1,200,000; and, if the noble Marquess had reversed his policy, and been peremptory in directing the Government to carry out those economies, and given some discretion in evacuating Candahar, in his (Lord George Hamilton's) opinion, they would find themselves in a much better position than they were both politically and financially now. Her Majesty's Government had recently announced their intention of making a present of £5,000,000 to India, notwithstanding the glowing accounts they now thought fit to give of the financial position of that country. That sum was given not as a matter of necessity, but of policy; not because it was required by the condition of Indian finances; and it was absurd to come down last week and say that the expenditure of a small portion of that sum would place the finances in perpetual confusion. The change that the opinions of Her Majesty's Government had undergone since they came into Office with regard to the financial position of India was certainly astonishing. A little more than a year ago they were exclaiming that India was on the verge of bankruptcy; and now they were congratulating themselves on the fact that she was in an extremely prosperous condition. He had been much struck last night by the position that had been taken up by some Members of the Liberal Party, who had congratulated themselves upon the superior morality and honesty of the present Government as compared with the late Government. That House, however, had had a specimen of the morality and honesty of the present Government laid before them last night, when Her Majesty's Government opposed the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) on the ground that Indian troops had no right to be at Candahar—that the country did not belong to India, and, therefore, on grounds of morality, they proposed to give it up. That was an intelligible proposition; but, then, almost every Member of the Government concluded his speech with the remark that "we could always re-occupy Candahar whenever we chose to do so." The fact was, the evacuation of Candahar was but one of a number of steps which the Government were taking for the execution of their policy in Afghanistan; and it was a policy to which they on that side of the House objected. It was evident, from the Despatches that had been laid upon the Table of the House, that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to give to Abdurrahman Khan a guarantee, which was nothing more nor less than their old Friend Lord Northbrook's guarantee of 1873. He would not say that that guarantee was not worth the paper upon which it was written, because Lord Northbrook would not put it into writing. The noble Lord opposite the Member for Winchester (Viscount Baring), the son of the distinguished man who had held the post of Viceroy of India, last night had challenged any hon. Member on the Opposition side of the House to show that Shere Ali had been alienated from the Indian Government previous to the acceptance of Office by Lord Lytton. He (Lord George Hamilton) ventured to accept that challenge. He would mention a little circumstance which occurred before Lord Lytton went to India. As soon as he received his appointment, he sent for the whole of the Papers relating to past transactions. He went most carefully over them; and he (Lord George Hamilton) would never forget the result of a conversation which the noble Lord had with him. "I am perfectly certain," he said, "from the insolent tone in which Shere Ali addresses Lord Northbrook, that the flirtation between Cabul and Tashkend is much closer than you have believed, because otherwise no one in the position of the Ameer would venture to address the Viceroy of India in the language which he used." It was quite evident that the Russian Agents were at work in Cabul. In 1873, Shere Ali sent an Envoy to see Lord Northbrook at Simla. He had previously had a conference with Lord Mayo at Umballa. In that conference, the question of a guarantee against Russia was never raised, as was clearly admitted by the Duke of Argyll. That Nobleman was doubtless a great orator, but he was an impetuous Scotchman; and he had one defect, which was, that when he had once got an idea into his head there was no possibility of getting it out of it again. In 1869, Shere Ali asked Lord Mayo for an unconditional internal dynastic guarantee against Russia, which Lord Mayo declined to give; but he never alluded to Russian aggression, and in 1873, without mentioning the subject of the internal guarantee, he simply asked for assistance against Russia. The Duke of Argyll apparently believed that the Ameer asked in 1873 for the same thing that he had asked for in 1869. There were two sets of Papers in reference to that matter, one set in 1878 and the other in the following year. These latter contained the more confidential part of the negotiations; and it was only by putting the two sets together that the strict sequence of events could be observed. If hon. Members would bear in mind the dates, they would see how conclusive his case was. On July 12, 1873, Lord Northbrook was asked by the Ameer's Envoy to give him in writing an assurance of protection against Russia, the Ameer being dissatisfied; and Lord Northbrook then commissioned Mr. Aitchison, the Foreign Secretary, to see the Envoy and communicate with him. On page 13 of the Afghan Papers, No. 3, 1879, was a record of the interview held on July 20, between the Ameer's Envoy and Mr. Aitchison, when the Envoy represented that in the conversation of July 12 between the Viceroy and himself—

"Invasion or aggression on the part of the Turkomans, Khiva, Bokhara, and other countries under Russian influence, had been alluded to, but Russia had not been specifically mentioned."

The reply of Mr. Aitchison was—

"There seems no objection to specify the case of an invasion by Russia in the paper to be eventually given to the Envoy."

On July 24, Lord Northbrook telegraphed to the Duke of Argyll the purport of the interview—

"Ameer of Cabool alarmed at Russian progress, dissatisfied with general assurance, and anxious to know definitely how far he may rely on our help if invaded. I propose assuring him that if he unreservedly accepts and acts on our advice in all external relations we will help him with money, arms, and troops, if necessary, to expel unprovoked invasion. We to be the judge of the necessity."

On July 26, the reply was sent—

"Cabinet thinks you should inform Amir that we do not at all share his alarm, and consider there is no cause for it; but you may assure him we shall maintain our settled policy in favour of Afghanistan, if he abides by our advice in external affairs."—[*Afghanistan*, No. 1, 1878, p. 108.]

Four days afterwards was held the final interview between the Viceroy and the Ameer's Envoy; and it was stated in Mr. Aitchison's Minute of what passed on that occasion that—

"The Envoy pressed that the contingency of aggression by Russia should be specifically mentioned in the written assurance to be given to the Ameer. To this his Excellency replied that, setting aside the inexpediency of causing needless irritation to a friendly Power by such specific mention, the suggestion was one that could not be adopted, inasmuch as it implied an admission of the probability of such a contingency arising, which the British Government are not prepared to admit in the face of the repeated assurances given by Russia."—[*Ibid.* p. 114.]

And now, to make the case as complete as possible, he need only make one more quotation. Four years afterwards, at Peshawur, the same Envoy gave an account of the interview of July 12, 1873, and said—

"As regards the name of Russia, which I mentioned in connection with aggression, it was owing to an observation made by Lord Northbrook in the interview of the 12th July, who said, 'It is necessary that the Ameer should be informed that, since the country of Afghanistan is a "buffer" between the territories of the English and Russian Governments, it is therefore advantageous for Hindustan that Afghanistan should be strong and independent.' Therefore, since he called Afghanistan the buffer against Russia, does this, or not, prove the aggression of Russia? Ultimately the Viceroy observed that 'even a friendly Government can become an aggressor. But the English Government, considering the repeated certain assurances which they have received from the Russian Government, cannot entertain any likelihood of it.' After hearing this, I remained silent, because I thought that unity and friendship between Governments is a matter of the greatest importance."—[*Ibid.* p. 205.]

Now, the whole of that passage showed conclusively from the writings of the Duke of Argyll himself that he had misled the Cabinet by not knowing what the proposal of Shere Ali was, and induced them to come to a decision which they never would have come to if they had known all the circumstances. The telegram of July 26, 1873, was necessarily nonsense, because it spoke of the possibility of maintaining a settled policy in reference to a question that had never before arisen. The causes of Shere Ali's disaffection were clear, and the change that came over his mind was very noticeable. In 1872 he had accepted from the British Government a subsidy of £100,000; but in 1876, after the Simla Conference, he refused to accept a farthing, although he was in great want, and declined every proposal and suggestion that was made. It was admitted that the two things that turned his mind against England were, in the first place, Lord Northbrook's refusal to give him in writing a guarantee against Russia; and, secondly, Lord Northbrook's action in protesting against his ill-treatment of his son, Yakoob Khan. He (Lord George Hamilton) considered the Government of that day had acted inconsistent. Having given him to understand that in case of necessity they would assist him against Russia, they refused to reduce the agreement to writing, while, having pledged themselves not to interfere in his internal affairs, they prevented him from killing his son. But the Ameer's Envoy had at last received from a Liberal Government a material guarantee. The other day, in Calcutta, he was presented with a large quantity of children's toys, and the House might imagine the impression that would be made in Candahar on his arrival there with a box of toys in one hand and in the other the Duke of Argyll's assurance of July 26, 1873. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India would, he hoped, shake himself free from all prejudice in the matter, The question was, what would be the effect upon the mind of the Ameer, now of giving him assurances of friendship, and, at the same time, precipitately retreating from Candahar? It seemed to him that of all questions that had arisen during the past few years with reference to India, there was none which, if wrongly decided, could bring greater evils in its train than the one under discussion. He had always thought that the day would come when it would be a great problem to know how to maintain the connection between England and India. He believed that India ought to be capable of self-defence, and that if advantages were taken of the opportunities which now presented themselves, it was possible to confer upon her, in a political sense, practical invulnerability. If we boldly showed the Afghans that, in order to cultivate their friendship, we were willing to take upon ourselves an additional risk and guarantee, we could, to a certain extent, secure them; but if we retreated just when Russia was advancing, how could we expect to succeed in our endeavours to exclude Russian influence? With regard to another matter, the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General had, in a recent speech, drawn a distinction between an Imperial and an Indian war; and he had inferred that the war, being Imperial, was not also Indian. He (Lord George Hamilton) contended, on the other hand, that they were both the same; that England practically had no great interest in the Eastern Question, except as far as it affected her possession of India; and that any war that concerned the security of India was therefore necessarily Imperial. To say to the contrary seemed to him to be making use of words that were meaningless. We had established an Empire in which lived one-sixth of the human race, and the whole power of our autocratic Government which we had set up was based on an Act of Parliament of a self-governing people, living in an island thousands of miles away. We had conferred inestimable benefits on India; but our retention of India had imposed upon us heavy obligations; and that being so, was it wise to go against the whole official opinion in India for certain Party exigencies? If this withdrawal brought about the disaster which Mr Rivers Thompson had proved by unanswerable argument that it would, were the Government prepared to meet the cost out of our English Revenue? If not, what right had they, because the Liberal Party was disunited, to force this policy upon India? His language might appear too strong; but he thought he could justify it. One of their cardinal points on the hustings was that all the troops must be withdrawn from the Frontier. It was not the policy of the Government; but the policy which the Radical Party advocated was that all our troops should go back, regardless of the obligations the Viceroy had incurred, and should leave our friends behind to be massacred. ["Oh, oh!"] He was afraid that hon. Gentlemen opposite had not read the leading organ of the Radicals in London. *The Daily News* said yesterday—

> "Our only course, therefore, is to let it be clearly known that Candahar will be evacuated on a certain day. We must say to Abdurrahman, 'Whether you come or not we shall go.' The responsibility for what happens after we are gone does not rest on us."

He would apologize. The writer did not suggest that all our friends should be left behind to have their throats cut, for he went on to remark—

> "It is, of course, understood that in the evacuation of the city those persons who have been friends of the British occupation will be allowed to accompany the army if they desire to do so."

The article concluded thus—

> "The contingency of Ayoob Khan taking possession of the city is one there is no need to contemplate."

On that he would observe that a distinguished political officer told him he had lately received news from Afghanistan, to the effect that the moment we left Ayoob Khan would drive Abdurrahman out of Candahar, and cut the throat of every man, woman, and child that had, in any way, been favourable to us. If that occurred, should we invade Afghanistan again or not? He should probably be told that the supporters of the Motion were animated by a spirit of aggression and blood-thirstiness; but he thought it was admitted by all who had read Indian history that our Empire had conferred inestimable benefits on the populations under our control. No one, he thought, would dispute that the continuance of our rule in India meant a steady advance in the material prosperity and happiness of 250,000,000 people. If that were so, then it was in no spirit of selfishness, of panic, or of aggression, but in the truest interests of humanity, that they objected to allow the foundations of our Indian Empire to be sapped and her bulwarks to be abandoned.

Mr. FAWCETT said, that among the many references by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) there was one which he would not allow a single moment to pass without noticing. The noble Lord had made the gravest charge which could be made against a Secretary of State for India when he said his noble Friend was not going to decide, on Indian considerations, an Indian question of paramount importance, but that the decision would be determined by the exigencies of Party. [*Opposition cheers.*] He (Mr. Fawcett) knew perfectly well that when hon. Members opposite thought calmly of what they were cheering, they would admit there was no Member of that House against whom such a charge could be made with so little foundation. There was no one, he ventured to say, whose character stood higher in the estimation, not only of Liberals, but of Conservatives than the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India for straightforwardness in politics; and it was absolutely impossible to believe that he would stir one single step to injure India for the sake of Party. The noble Lord opposite said the Liberal Party were disunited; but it was not long since that they were taunted with being a "mechanical majority." They were, at all events, united in approval of Her Majesty's Government with reference to Candahar. The noble Lord began his speech by paying a well-deserved compliment to the speeches delivered last night by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke), the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), and the noble Lord the Member for Winchester (Viscount Baring). But the most conclusive compliment that could be paid to those speeches was to observe the marvellous effect they had in changing the entire tone of the Opposition. The noble Lord began by saying—" Remember that what we are advocating is not the permanent retention of Candahar; all that we want to do is to whittle this issue down to an occupation of a few months or a year or two." But the noble Lord could not keep long on that tack, and he soon went on to describe the perpetual advance of Russia, which, he said, was urged on by the uncontrollable force of a traditional destiny. If that uncontrollable force were urging her on, the retention of Candahar, in the minds of the Opposition, could not be whittled down to a question as to whether it should be given up now or a few months hence. It had been repeatedly asserted that, by leaving Candahar, we should be doing great injustice to certain of the inhabitants who were extremely anxious that we should stop there. What evidence was there of this? He (Mr. Fawcett) thought he should be able to adduce some specific evidence on the other side. Whenever retention of occupation or annexation was proposed, we were always told that such a step would benefit the people. This was what we heard when the annexation of the Transvaal was proposed. Unfortunately those statements misled a majority in that House, and hon. Members knew what a heavy penalty we were now paying for the acceptance of these statements. What evidence was there that the people of Candahar wished us there? Every Indian statesman of eminence, from Lord Lawrence downwards, had told us that the Afghan people loved independence with a perfect passion; and Sir Frederick Roberts said—" The less the Afghans see of us the less they will dislike us." He might here make a remark, in reference to the statement of the noble Lord opposite that the people of Candahar were Afghans. What did Sir Frederick Roberts say about Russian influence in Afghanistan? He said that—

> "Should Russia in future years attempt to conquer Afghanistan, or invade India through it, we should have a better chance of attaching the Afghans to our interests if we avoid all interference with them in the meantime."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 1, p. 71.]

And again he said—

> "I would not shorten by one single mile the length of the difficult path which Russia would have to traverse, and I would not shorten by one single mile the network of difficulties in which she would be involved."

In the speech of the hon. Gentleman the late Under Secretary of State for India

(Mr. E. Stanhope) last night, and that of the noble Lord that evening, there was one notable omission; there was not one word said as to the justice of the step which the Government were urged to take. It was virtually implied that wherever British interests led us, there we had a right to go. Now, a most specific promise was made to the people of Afghanistan that we would not annex a square inch of their territory except for the purposes of self-defence; and what, he would ask, would be thought of British morality in Afghanistan and elsewhere if the Government yielded to arguments in favour of the retention of Candahar, one of the principal of which was the commercial importance of the Province they were urged to annex? If they proposed to annex some barren rocks, they might put in the plea of self-defence; but it was absolutely impossible to maintain that plea when the English people were told in that House, and out of it, that if they retained Candahar they would bring about a great development of trade and commerce in that part of the world. And then, what about the feeling of the Afghans themselves in this matter? It would be absurd to suppose that they would view with more friendly eyes our retention of Candahar than the French viewed the annexation by Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. To return to the military question. Sir Henry Norman's Estimate of the cost of occupying Candahar had been characterized by the noble Lord as being too high; but surely hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, with their experience of the Afghan and Abyssinian Wars, had some reason to doubt the probability of military Estimates erring on the side of moderation. He (Mr. Fawcett) had authority to say that Sir Henry Norman's Estimate was considerably below that of the present Commander-in-Chief in India, and also below that of the late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines. In fact, Sir Henry Norman omitted all reference to the cost of keeping up communications between Candahar and the present Frontier of India, which every military authority declared to be necessary. Sir Frederick Haines, whose Estimate of the force that would require to be kept at Candahar was greater than that of Sir Henry Norman, said that for many years to come the cost would greatly exceed the revenue we should obtain; and Lord Napier of Magdala, again, foreseeing a difficulty in getting Indian troops to serve at such a distance from their homes, declared that for the garrison at Candahar a special rate of pay would be necessary. Now, if they embarked upon the boundless sea of special pay, there was scarcely any limit to the expenditure that might be incurred. Lord Napier of Magdala further said that at least half the cost of the occupation ought to be borne by England; and the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), going a step further, said he should not have the slightest objection to England bearing the whole cost of it. Now, after the opinion he (Mr. Fawcett) had expressed that England ought to bear a portion of the cost of the Afghan War, no one would suspect him of wishing to throw a shilling of unnecessary expense upon India. That war was undertaken avowedly for Imperial as well as Indian purposes. The late Prime Minister told the House of Lords that their decision on the subject would animate England and encourage Europe. Well, he (Mr. Fawcett) not unnaturally protested against the people of India alone having to pay for the animation of England and the encouragement of Europe. But the proposal to share the cost of the occupation of Candahar between England and India was wholly different in its character, and one which, in his opinion, ought to be strenuously resisted. There was not the shadow of an excuse for the retention of Candahar, except for the defence of India, and if they once made England contribute directly to the defence of India; they would give a most disastrous encouragement to extravagance. There were no bounds to which the military expenditure of India might not go if those responsible for governing India could, at will, dip their hands into the Imperial Exchequer. Such a proposal, in his opinion, ought to be resisted even more in the interests of India than in the interests of England. But let them look for a moment at the proposal from the English point of view. People talked lightly of an extra £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 being thrown upon the English taxpayers at the present time. He did not wish to take an alarmist view of the position of England; but was the English agricultural interest, for instance, whether regarded from the point of view of the landlord, the tenant farmer, or the labourer, able to bear a halfpenny of unnecessary burden? Was it not well known that many of our industries had every day to contend more keenly with foreign competition, and that every additional farthing imposed on English trade unfairly handicapped the producer? But if that was true with respect to England, what, he would ask, was the condition of India? The noble Lord appeared to speak lightly of £1,500,000; but while that sum would represent here but an addition of ⅗*d.* in the pound to the Income Tax, what did it, he would ask, mean in the case of India? It was true that there the number of persons to be taxed was great; but their poverty, too, was so great that, in order to raise lately the sum of £1,500,000 for the Famine Fund, it had been found necessary to impose a tax on incomes of 4*s.* a-week; while as to equalization of the salt duties referred to by the noble Lord, what was it except a lowering of duties on some of the richest Provinces of India, and an increase of the burdens of the poorest, in Madras and Bombay, to the extent of no less than 30 per cent. The noble Lord, however, called that a policy of equalization; but what had been done with the proceeds of the taxation? The present Government had been taunted with breaking their promises; but all the promises they had ever broken sank into insignificance compared with the promise the Party opposite gave when they solemnly told the people of India that if they would bear that cruel and crushing tax not a penny of it would ever be spent for any other purpose than in the relief of the famine; whereas, before 12 months had elapsed, the proceeds were spent in a war of aggrandizement. But it was said that the people of India wished that Candahar should be retained. Could it, however, he would ask, be fairly supposed that any people in the world would wish that funds which they had devoted to the relief of famine should be devoted to such a purpose as the retention of Candahar? As to the Income Tax, he (Mr. Fawcett) would tell the noble Lord why he had opposed it. It was because everyone in authority had said that such a tax was unsuited to such a people as that of India, and that it possessed one of the greatest defects of all taxes, that while it cost a considerable amount of annoyance, it yet brought back a comparatively small amount to the State. He had opposed that tax, because he knew that it had been objected to by the best and wisest of statesmen. In a passage which had often been quoted, Lord Canning had said that, danger for danger, he would rather incur the responsibility of governing India with half the existing European Army than encounter the discontent which the Income Tax produced. Lord Mayo, endorsing that opinion, expressed it to be his opinion that the tax, at the time it was imposed, produced among all classes of the community an amount of discontent which it was impossible to over-estimate. But the noble Lord opposite went on to contend that those who sat on the Ministerial Bench had changed their views with regard to Indian finance. Now, for his own part, he had felt it impossible to exaggerate what might be the state of that finance if the career of a Government had not been closed which involved the country recklessly in an enterprize which ended by costing it £15,000,000 instead of £6,000,000; and if he had changed his views with regard to Indian finance, it was not because he thought the opium tax a less uncertain source of revenue than he did a few months ago, or the salt duty a less onerous burden on the poor, or that an Income Tax reaching incomes of 4*s.* a-week ought not to be imposed except in a case of extreme necessity, but because he and his right hon. Friends near him knew perfectly well that all Indian finance required was care, thrift, and the surrender of an ambitious policy, and because they believed that that care and thrift would be practised by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India, who had given proof in the despatches on the Table that he, for one, would not be a party to launching India into a sea of trouble by moving beyond our Frontier. Again, complaint had been made about the Indian Council not having been consulted, and it was objected that the question of retaining Candahar was going to be decided upon, because three Minutes of Members of the Council of the Viceroy were missing; but the policy which led to the retention of Candahar was decided, not when there were three Minutes missing, but when neither the Council of the Secretary of State nor that of the Viceroy had been consulted at all. Besides, it would be recollected that the Afghan War was begun before the English people had obtained the Papers necessary to enable them to express an opinion on the subject. The noble Lord had referred to the opinion of Lord Lawrence. Now, he (Mr. Fawcett) had enjoyed the intimate friendship of that great and distinguished statesman, with whom he had repeated conversations, and whom he recollected saying, as well as if it were only yesterday, while he held the Blue Book containing the Afghan Papers in his hand—"If we had only had those Papers three weeks ago, before war was declared, I am convinced the English people would never have sanctioned its declaration." It ill became, therefore, he thought, hon. Gentlemen opposite to quarrel with the conduct of his noble Friend in reference to the absence of Papers on the present occasion. A good deal had been said in the course of the discussion about one place or another being the key of India. Lord Beaconsfield had made the latest discovery that the key was London; but he (Mr. Fawcett) would venture to tell the House that, in the opinion of a great and distinguished statesman, the key was finance. That was the opinion of Lord Canning, who saw India through the troublous days of the Mutiny; and his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington), in one of his despatches, stated that the security of India was to be looked for in good government and the development of her resources. He was confident that that opinion would obtain the support of the House and the country. The late Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. E. Stanhope) had characterized the policy of the present Government as one of masterly surrender. He supposed that the hon. Gentleman insinuated, in that expression, that the Government were lacking in courage. In his (Mr. Fawcett's) opinion, however, true courage was best exhibited by showing that we were determined to retrace steps taken in the path of injustice. It had been said again and again by the supporters of the Motion that the issue which would be decided that night was one of great importance. In his view it would be almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of that issue. Whatever might be the nature of the measures or financial reforms that might be passed in the next few years by the present House of Commons, he (Mr. Fawcett) believed that that Parliament would be most gratefully remembered, and that it would be considered by posterity to be one of its best, if not its very best, achievements, that it had afforded to every elector in the Kingdom an opportunity of showing, by the rejection of the Motion, that he had an influence in electing a Parliament which had the power to determine that wrong once done need not necessarily be continued, and that injustice, once committed, would, if possible, be redressed.

MR. ONSLOW said, he must profess himself to be one of those who were of opinion, both on political and financial grounds, that Candahar ought to be permanently occupied. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General said that evidence was wanted to show that the population of Candahar preferred British rule to the rule of Ayoob or Abdurrahman. He (Mr. Onslow) would refer the right hon. Gentleman to the last paragraph of the Minute by Mr. Rivers Thompson, who said there that a few months of Native government would vastly increase the numbers of those who wished for British rule in Candahar. In that opinion Colonel St. John was said to share, and his views were contained in one of those documents which had unfortunately miscarried. Another point made by the right hon. Gentleman was that if troops were kept in Candahar they must have extra pay. He admitted that might be so for the present; but he held that we ought in time to be able to recruit among the Candaharis soldiers who would be as loyal as any recruited in India; for there was no reason why they should not be as trustworthy as the Punjaubis or Sikhs who were now in our service. With reference to the opinion of Sir Richard Temple in 1868, quoted by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke), he must be allowed to say that the views of Sir Richard Temple on the policy of "masterly inactivity" had greatly changed since that time, the reason of the change being the change in the policy of Russia, who had shown us and the people of Afghanistan that she could very soon get to their country, if she should so wish. But he would remind the House that it was not only the opinions of Sir Richard Temple which had been changed by circumstances; but the opinions also of a large number of officers, who had at one time advocated the policy of masterly inactivity. He hoped the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) was not going back to that policy, for that policy had done an enormous deal of mischief in India. The expression "masterly inactivity" was, in fact, more properly described as being a euphemistic term for "mischievous indolence." The expression first appeared in an article in *The Edinburgh Review*, written by Mr. Wylie; but he (Mr. Onslow) had been informed by Mr. Wylie himself that the expression had not been used by him, but had been inserted in the article by the editor of *The Edinburgh Review*. He would not quote Mr. Wylie's remark when referring to that circumstance, as his language was not Parliamentary. The policy of the late Lord Lawrence, at whose instigation that article was published, embraced the recognition of any conqueror who might come to the front in Afghanistan. A policy such as that was, in his (Mr. Onslow's) opinion, an encouragement to bloodshed, as it was a direct inducement to any who could muster a sufficient following to try his hand at defeating any Ameer whom we might recognize. Lord Lawrence, in 1868, said that for many years to come we should not see a solitary Cossack across the Oxus, and yet only 10 years after the utterance of those words the Russian Mission was seen at Cabul. In pursuance of our policy of "masterly inactivity," the two brothers of Shere Ali, who had been recognized as Ameer, were permitted to leave India, where a monthly stipend had been given to them, and where they had been living as political refugees, and actually allowed to fight Shere Ali. Shere Ali, in the end, prevailed, after a succession of severe battles and much bloodshed. He only mentioned that as an instance of the policy of "masterly inactivity." Lord Lawrence's own account of his policy was that we should not be too hasty, but await the development of events, and for the time being recognize Shere Ali as Ameer, and show clearly that we should not actively interfere with the struggle that was going on, but leave the Afghans to settle their own affairs. He would, however, point out that Lord Lawrence did interfere in Afghanistan, because he allowed the two brothers of Shere Ali to leave their abodes in India for the purpose of fighting Shere Ali. He (Mr. Onslow) believed for himself that the policy of "masterly inactivity" after the recent action of Russia, would be fatal to our rule in India. The surrendering of Candahar would be also fatal to our rule in India; and he could not help thinking that even Lord Lawrence himself, if he were alive, and had seen the Cabul Correspondence, and had known how much farther Russia had advanced towards Herat, would have modified his opinion. Indeed, in 1868 he urged the desirability of coming to some understanding with Russia, and said that we ought not to allow Russia to interfere in Afghanistan or any State contiguous with our Frontier, and that the advances of Russia had produced in the minds of Europeans and Natives an exaggerated estimate of the resources of that Power. In fact, Lord Lawrence saw clearly the danger of Russia's advances; but he did not wish in any way to interfere during the term of his Viceroyalty. He wished to remind the House that as far back as 1819 a Russian General stated that if Russia were at Khiva, she would shake the superiority of the masters of the sea, even in their Indian possessions. Even now the whole commerce of Afghanistan and the countries North of India was in the hands of Russia; indeed, the commerce of the whole of Central Asia was in her hands. Turning to the subject of the late war, he thought they ought to find out who was really responsible for the late war, and whether Lord Lytton was its real author. Lord Northbrook had said—he (Mr. Onslow) thought it was in his Winchester speech—that he had endeavoured to carry out the policy of Lord Mayo and Lord Lawrence, not merely because it was a successive policy and it was desirable to maintain continuity of action, but also because he thoroughly approved it. He would endeavour to show that he did not carry out that policy, but a very different one. Lord Lawrence for years set his face against a single soldier, either Native or European, for any purpose entering Afghanistan. Lord Northbrook, however, was on the point of sending troops into the country, and would have done so, but that he was prevented by the Duke of Argyll. The House may recollect that now famous telegram to the Secretary of State in which he expressly uses the words "troops" to assist Shere Ali if need be. Then, when Shere Ali was detaining his son, Yakoob Khan at Cabul, and Lord Northbrook wrote to him on the subject, Shere Ali resented the interference, and asked him why he should interfere between father and son. For his own part, he thought there was wisdom in Lord Lawrence's remark, when it came to his knowledge that Shere Ali had, some years before, behaved to another son in exactly the same manner, that the Afghans, in their domestic relations, ought not to be judged by the standard of Christendom. Then Lord Northbrook proposed to send a British officer to Cabul to settle boundaries; but permission was not granted. The Ameer also refused to allow Colonel Baker to pass through the country on his way between Teheran and India. The whole of this policy was in direct opposition to that of Lord Lawrence, for the latter had over and over again maintained the impolicy of sending any European officer, no matter for what purpose, to Afghanistan, for this simple reason—that the mission of such an officer would be looked upon as an interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. A similar refusal was made in the case of Sir Douglas Forsyth. Altogether the attitude of Shere Ali to this country had been unfriendly and cold since the meeting at Simla in 1873. He did not, therefore, believe that Lord Lytton was responsible for the late war. It was, in reality, a legacy arising out of the blunders of his Predecessor. It had been said that the war was not popular amoung our Native subjects in India. He (Mr. Onslow) knew, however, as a fact that it was popular, and was warmly supported by every Rajah in the country, and that nearly all of them had volunteered to send troops with the British Army. Sir Henry Norman had asserted that Candahar would not add one iota to our security in India. That was a broad assertion. The manner of obtaining Candahar, and quitting it now that we had got it, were two different matters. Without entering into the former question, he would say that the possession of Candahar was a great security for our moral prestige in India. To retire from it now would be looked upon by the Natives as a sign of great weakness, and that we ought to retain it at almost any price. It was said service at Candahar would be unpopular; but the same thing had been said before now about places in India and in Burmah. Did they think if they retired from Candahar it would strengthen their position in India? Would the moral effect be good or bad? Would the people of India be more proud of British rule when they saw our Army withdrawing behind the Indus merely to appease a certain political Party in England? He denied that by remaining in Candahar they would be obliged to mix themselves up in the affairs of Cabul; and he maintained that until there was settled rule at Cabul they ought not to leave Candahar. If they retired now they would court bloodshed and disaffection among the people, many of whom would be handed over to almost certain death from Ayoob Khan, who would not be inclined to deal kindly to those who had assisted our Generals when he himself beseiged Candahar, and who had, since then, become accustomed to our rule. Certainly there ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the preservation of the lives of the Candaharis who had been loyal to us, for it would be cruel of a Christian country like England to leave them to anarchy and murder. But the noble Lord could give us no such assurance, the word had gone forth, go you must, never mind the consequences. At present the people between Candahar and Sibi were perfectly friendly to the British, and why? Because they saw how good British rule was as compared with Native Rulers. We had nothing to fear in India; the people were prosperous and contented; therefore there was no danger in that quarter, if the troops remained a year or two longer. He would not maintain Candahar, however, unless they made a line of railway from India. This would develop commerce and have a civilizing effect on the people. Moreover, it would be essentially necessary to open up the communication between Sibi and Candahar, in order that we might compete in trade with Russia. No doubt the retention would entail an increase in the number of troops for a time; but when the railway was completed, a single extra man would not be needed, as recruits might then be obtained in the neighbourhood of Candahar, and our garrisons now on the Afghan Frontier could be much diminished. Therefore, in the long run, he held there would be no necessity for an increase. If we retired precipitately from Candahar, he did not see how we could prevent that country from again becoming a scene of anarchy and confusion. It was a somewhat extraordinary fact that, although soon after the present Government came into Office the noble Marquess the Secretary of State wrote to India calling for a Report on the subject of Candahar and of our leaving Afghanistan, no Report should have come to the present day. At least, the only Report they had had was a despatch from the Viceroy in Council, which was placed in their hands yesterday. The House would do well carefully to peruse that document, which seemed to him an urgent appeal to Her Majesty's Government to hold their hands, and not to be in such indecent haste to leave Candahar. Such a dangerous course was, in his opinion, only a part and parcel and a consequence of the Mid Lothian election campaign of the Prime Minister. It was a procedure dictated by Party spirit; but he warned the Government against making India the battle-field of Party warfare, and against committing one of the most fatal mistakes ever made in that country by any Government.

Mr. BRETT: Sir, I must ask the House to grant me the indulgence which it always generously accords to those who address it for the first time. Before touching upon the general question, I should like to make one remark in reply to an observation which fell from the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). The noble Lord has told us, from private information he has received, the story of what he says occurred at an informal meeting of the Viceroy's Council. At the first meeting he distinctly stated that there was a difference of opinion as to the retention of Candahar between the Viceroy and his Council, and that the Viceroy was left in a minority of one. At the next meeting the Viceroy did not convert, but was converted by his Council, and was now in favour of remaining at Candahar. Well, the noble Lord has not a monopoly of private information, and from private information which I have received, from a higher source than that which is relied on by the noble Lord, I can say that there is absolutely no foundation for that statement, and that Lord Ripon is not, and never has been, in favour of remaining at Candahar. I have listened with attention to the speeches which have been delivered by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) and others during this debate, who think that the course which Her Majesty's Government are taking is fraught with danger to the security of the Indian Empire; and I must say that, although I appreciate the force of some of their arguments, my opinion formed previously as to the wisdom of abandoning Candahar has remained unchanged. As I understand the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, the two arguments on which he chiefly relies, although they are supplemented by several considerations of, as I think, minor importance, are these—First, that to abandon Candahar will render more easy the advance of Russia towards India; secondly, that the sovereign character, or, as it is called, the prestige, of British rule in India would suffer by the evacuation of that city. It is true, perhaps, that Russia is the rival of England in Central Asia, and that she is advancing by a series of rapid conquests from the North towards the Southern seas. It is probably true that her object has ever been, and still continues to be, to establish her authority upon the shores of the Mediterranean as well as of the Persian Gulf; and that, although baulked in her object, and frustrated on many occasions, she adheres to her policy, and is unlikely to fail in achieving it. It is an undoubted fact that, although for centuries her progress was slow, during the last 20 years she has advanced with rapid strides, especially in the direction of the North-West Frontier of India. So far the state of things is sufficiently grave; but when we come to the year 1878, it reveals a state of things more serious still. The late Government, owing to proceedings about which there is much difference of opinion, and which are altogether foreign to the question raised by the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, found that the difficulties which had arisen between this country and Russia in Europe had led the Russian officers in Tashkend to attempt a diversion in favour of Russia by intrigue in Afghanistan. It is asserted that the late Ameer, Shere Ali, was induced by letters from military authorities in Central Asia, and by Russian officers despatched to Cabul, to break off those friendly relations with the Indian Government, which had, up to that time, not uniformly, but, on the whole, existed, since the accession of that Prince to the Throne of Afghanistan. I am perfectly aware that there are many who deny that this statement of the facts is accurate; but I think we shall do well, at any rate, to admit that the state of things which is asserted by the late Government to have existed in 1878 might occur at any moment; for, unless we are ready to concede this, we lay ourselves open to the retort that we have not recognized the full strength of our adversary's case. At the same time, I think we should carefully examine what was the significance of the Russo-Afghan Alliance in 1878. Was the danger as formidable as it appears to hon. Members opposite? If we look back to what occurred at Cabul in 1878, it is impossible not to be struck by the difficulty which the Russians encountered, even though Shere Ali was bitterly offended with Lord Lytton and his Government. I cannot help thinking that even then, had Lord Lytton acted with the most ordinary prudence, there is but little doubt that the attempts of the Russian officers to disturb our relations with Afghanistan would have been frustrated. There is, at any rate, this to be said, with regard to the future, that after the failure of Russia to keep her engagements with Shere Ali, and after the rude lesson which the Afghan tribes have been taught by Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts, hon. Gentlemen opposite ought to be ready to admit the probability of an offensive alliance between Afghanistan and Russia to be considerably diminished. But even if we assume that an intrigue undertaken by General Kauffmann could be successful, to what would it amount? It is, perhaps, conceivable to some hon. Members that he would prevail upon the future Ruler of Cabul to attempt an invasion of India by the aid of such troops as those which defeated General Burrows at Maiwand. Does that danger appear a very formidable one to hon. Gentlemen opposite? I put a question a short while ago to an officer who is well acquainted with the Afghans and our Indian Army; and who, I may say, is in favour of retaining Candahar. I asked him whether it was not illusory to talk of the best-armed and best-drilled Afghan force as a danger to India; whether Ayoob Khan could have moved the force with which he beat us at Maiwand into our country for lasting operations. And he replied that the Afghan Army as an invading one is, of course, an absurdity. Any further intrigue by the Russians in Afghanistan must be based upon some more material consideration than an attempt to stimulate the future Ameer to advance into the Punjaub. In order to be dangerous, intrigue must be strengthened by the presence in Afghanistan of a large Russian force. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) said, last night, that he did not believe in the possibility of a Russian invasion of India; but he said that he did feel that past experience justified him in believing in the probability of Russian intrigue in Afghanistan. Well, I think we have a right to ask what hon. Members really understand by Russian intrigue in Afghanistan; and what was the danger which they consider likely to result from it. If I were forced to choose—and I think the choice would lie between two great evils—whether we should see India invaded in the course of the next 10 years by a Russian Army, or Candahar annexed at the present time to the Indian Empire, I should prefer the annexation of Candahar. But if I were asked to choose between the annexation—at the present time—of Candahar, and a recurrence of Russian intrigue—not 10 years hence, but next year—in Afghanistan, by General Kauffmann, or whoever may command the Russian Armies in Central Asia, I should most certainly select the latter alternative. And for the reason that, as I before observed, Russian intrigue in Afghanistan, though extremely objectionable on various grounds, cannot be considered dangerous by any reasonable man, unless it is followed up by powerful and effective action. And I cannot refrain from pointing out to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin that he has not shown how intrigue by Russia in Afghanistan would be prevented or neutralized by our occupation of Candahar. But it has been said, if we keep Candahar, we have nothing to fear from intrigue, or even from invasion by Russia. Well, I think that it can be said in answer to that statement:—First, that we have no reasonable ground for fear even if we do not keep Candahar; and, secondly, that the great military authorities, whose opinions are so frequently quoted on this subject, have not formed them—not one of them, so far as I know—on military grounds alone. Take, for example, the Minute of Lord Napier of Magdala, and it will be found full of political, moral, and even financial considerations. I am prepared to make an exception in favour of Sir Edmund Hamley, who in his famous lecture, delivered three years ago, did consider this question from the strategical point of view only. And what was the result? Sir Edmund Hamley discussed the probabilities of an invasion of India, and these are the words he used—

> "Now, when we remember what an invading Army of India implies—that it shall bear with it the means of passing the Indus—that it shall be prepared to encounter the forces of our Indian Empire—and that, thus formidable in numbers and equipment, it must rely for supplies on the path through which it has issued, we shall form some idea of the difficulties which would encompass an army in its attempt to enter India by these routes; and these difficulties I will ask you to bear in mind when I recur to this part of the subject. Let us next see what conditions another part of the theatre may present. But first let me pause to say what I understand by an invading Army. Not all the assembled forces of the Afghans—not such a Russian force as we saw lately assembling on the Frontier of Bokhara —not such an army as Persia can at present send forth—any or all of these would fall far short of the requirements of such an enterprize. But I will suppose that Russia has completed those improvements in her communications which we know she persistently contemplates; that she has united the Caspian and the Aral by a railway; or that, combining with Persia, she has made a convenient way from the southern shore of the Caspian to Herat; that the Ruler of Afghanistan has thrown in his lot with them; and that within the fortified triangle Herat, Candahar, Cabul, the dispositions for this great undertaking have been brought deliberately, with all the aids of military science, to completion. We may be assured that an invading Army of India, such as we cannot afford to despise, will be no improvised force, no barbarous horde, but truly formidable in numbers, organization, and leadership."

These are the conditions under which, in the opinion of Sir Edmund Hamley, an invasion of India might be attempted, and I do not think even the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) will say that these conditions will be realized within any distance of time which we can reasonably measure. And Sir Edmund Hamley goes on to say that, assuming such an invasion to take place, he would consider Candahar a valuable strategical position. But his statement is so qualified that I think almost every Member of this House would be ready to acquiesce in it. These are his words—

> "As I have said, I should feel confident of the result even in the Valley of the Indus; I think our position vastly improved by the occupation of Quetta; but I should think it all we could desire if we occupied Candahar."

Sir Edmund Hamley confined himself strictly to the points on which he was best qualified to speak. I confess I do not attach as much importance to arguments from authority, as do some hon. Members opposite, on a question of this kind. Any ordinary man, with a little common sense, if he chooses to take the trouble, is just as well able to form a right judgment upon it as the most experienced soldier. The authority of experts appears to me only decisive on questions of fact, or of inference so strong that it amounts to fact. But if we are to be influenced by authorities, they must be content to be bound by the limits of their own special qualifications; and Lord Napier's opinion on the trade of Candahar, or on its probable revenue, is not worth more than that of anybody else. Is it not a fact, I should like to ask hon. Gentlemen opposite—and Sir Edmund Hamley admitted it as far as he was concerned—that these opinions by military authorities in favour of retaining Candahar are in reality hypothetical—that is, they demonstrate what would be the best scientific Frontier under conditions which do not exist, and under circumstances which may never arise. I have reminded the House of Sir Edmund Hamley's estimate of the force it would require to invade India with any hope of success. But Lord Lytton, in 1876, believed that with 5,000 men he could successfully undertake the conquest of Afghanistan; and with 30,000 men he would not have hesitated to attack the Russian possessions in Central Asia, either with or without the leave of the Ameer of Cabul. But experience taught him, when his military reasoning had failed, that nearly twice 30,000 men were required to hold, not the whole, but merely the Eastern half of Afghanistan; and when a further expedition was contemplated—only 12 months ago—in the direction of the Bamian Pass, military considerations forbade it. Can we not justly infer from these facts how great the difficulties of the Russian Generals would be, whose advance would lie through the Trans-Oxus deserts; through hostile tribes of Pathans in front, and with semi-hostile Turcomans in rear, into plains watered by that river, of which Sir Edmund Hamley said that—

> "He thought there was no spot in the world where we could make such a military display of strength at short notice as on the Lower Indus."

I should like to be permitted to say a few words upon the second of the two arguments which I think strongest in favour of remaining at Candahar. I mean that in which it is said that by withdrawing we shall lower the sovereign character of British rule in the eyes of the Native population of India. This, Sir, is very much a matter of opinion, and I am bound to say that I take a somewhat different view of the effect which our retirement from Candahar will have upon the Native mind. The Natives of India—at least, those whom it is important to influence—are not so ignorant and ill-informed but that they can appreciate the motives which actuate Her Majesty's Government in resolving upon the abandonment of this district of Afghanistan. Perhaps if we had retired immediately after Sir Frederick Roberts' victory at Candahar our motives would have been less easily comprehended. But it is now clear to everyone that we have for six months held the country without any difficulty, however trifling, and that no Afghan force could undertake, with success, to molest the Army now at Candahar and on the line of communications. They understand that, if we chose, we could stay just as easily in Candahar as in Rawul Pindi, but that we do not choose; and I believe that they appreciate our motives. They recognize that we deny that such a step is necessary, and that, not being absolutely necessary, our remaining there would be to place a useless burden upon their poorer fellow-countrymen. I cannot believe that the prestige of England will be lowered in the opinion of Natives who recognize these considerations, and that they do recognize them no one who is acquainted with the tone of the Native Press can for a moment doubt. I have endeavoured to refute the arguments which are used in support of the contention that we ought to remain at Candahar, rather than to reiterate the reasons which have probably induced Her Majesty's Government to decide on its abandonment; and I have done so, because it appears to me that it is not for us, who wish to retire—that is, to take the ordinary and natural course to explain our reason for taking it. But the burden of proof obviously lies on those who wish this country to go out of her way to annex a large Province in Central Asia; and my contention is that hon. Gentlemen opposite have failed to prove their case. I was surprised to hear the terms in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University described Candahar. He called it a "great citadel," and "the granary of Central Asia." I am not sure he did not say it might become the "garden of the world." His information has, I fear, been derived from some Oriental novelist, rather than from the soldiers who have been forced to reside for many months, much against their will, in the city, which is magnificent only in the imagination of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The late Prime Minister has told us that it is absurd to talk of Candahar, or Herat, or Merv, as the key of India; and I cannot help feeling that hon. Gentlemen opposite must see that the late Prime Minister is right when he asserts that the key of India is not some squalid town in Central Asia, but the great city in which the noble Earl himself resides. The question, therefore, of remaining at Candahar is, from the point of view of the late Prime Minister, of importance; but not of vital importance. I merely offer this remark as a consolation to the hon. Member for Eye, for whose obvious sufferings the House must feel some sympathy; and I merely suggest to him that if after all he is right, and the Government are wrong, the Leader of his Party, when he reminded him that this is a mere question of outposts, held out to him a hope that the evil is not irremediable. There is, however, from the point of view of the hon. Member for Eye, this to be said in favour of the course of Her Majesty's Government being the right course, and that is that on two separate occasions, when it was in the power of hon. Gentlemen opposite to retain Candahar, they decided to retire from it. The vote, therefore, which a few weeks ago was taken in "another place," no doubt, condemns the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers; but it doubly condemns those Ministers who were in Office when the Treaty of Gandamak was signed, and when the arrangement with the Wali, Shere Ali, was made. It was observed, not long since, by the late Viceroy of India, that the

> "Only grounds on which the Government acts in retiring from Candahar are those of finance and morals."

There are not many hon. Members sitting on this side of the House who will agree with that statement of the noble Lord. The grounds on which the Government objects to remaining at Candahar are, I believe, grounds of high policy, involving all those manifold and complex considerations which decide the acts of powerful States. Important as it is when taken as a part of our case, I cannot look upon which I may be permitted to call the £ *s. d.* policy alone as decisive of any course which is worthy of statesmen. At any rate, we are justified by experience in believing that an annual expenditure of £2,000,000—however inconvenient it might be—would not stand in the way of a policy which appears to any Ministers who may for the time be serving the State necessary for the public safety. Financial considerations alone never have governed the policy of this country, and let us hope they never will. But, if I may be permitted a retort upon the late Viceroy of India, I should like to observe that there are many occasions in history when political judgment has been sacrificed to military opinion; and never, so far as I know, with good effect. The most notable and recent instance was when Prince Bismarck was notoriously opposed to the annexation by Germany of the Rhine Provinces, an act which was forced upon him by the high military authorities who had brought the war to a victorious issue. Is there any Englishman of sound judgment who believes that those stipulations of the Peace of Versailles, by which Alsace and Lorraine were wrested from France, have proved or will prove advantageous to Germany? I agree with a great authority that the desire and the efforts to increase its territory are the signs of life in a nation; but it must not be forgotten that human desires and human efforts are circumscribed; and history teaches us by notable examples that there is a limit beyond which the strain of Empire cannot be borne. No one, Mr. Speaker, can suppose that there is any advantage of a positive kind to be gained by the annexation of Candahar. The demand of hon. Gentlemen opposite is based upon the ground that, by doing so, we shall have established a check upon the movements of Russia. I have not endeavoured to go over once more the arguments which have been already so ably stated why—even if the necessity for our remaining at Candahar were more clearly proved than it is—we might well hesitate to remain there. I have tried to show that the necessity does not exist. No doubt, it can be effectively and truly said to retire from Candahar is not a policy. I admit that that is so. It may further be said that to remain at Candahar is a policy; but that I must respectfully beg to deny. It appears to me that just as to retire from Candahar can only be called part of a policy, so to remain there is only the part of a wider scheme. And for this reason—that, if we remain at Candahar, further questions of great interest and complication immediately arise. For example, whether we retire from Candahar or remain there, the pertinent inquiry can be made—"Will you allow Russia to occupy Herat, and, if not, how will you prevent it?" I merely use this as a simple illustration, in order to show that the policy of this country in Central Asia, beyond the Frontier of India, cannot be encircled by the walls of Candahar. And the House must forgive me if I remind hon. Members opposite that, in the opinion of the late Viceroy, it was scarcely to be bounded by the Hindu Kush. The real question which the Government have had to decide has been the policy to be pursued in the future with regard to the external relations of India on her North-Western Frontier. As to whether or no Candahar is to be retained is merely a portion of that policy. We have not at present the whole policy of the Government before us, and no opinion can be formed justly of its merits; but this we know—and the great majority of this House and of the country are satisfied of its wisdom and expediency—that that policy does not include the maintenance of from 15,000 to 20,000 British troops at and about Candahar. The House must recollect that in 1878 the Indian Government were placed in a position of great difficulty. They were called upon to decide how to meet the contingency of war with Russia on the Frontiers of India. At the instigation of the late Government, who preferred not to meet it directly by remonstrance, they decided to meet it indirectly by an attack upon the dominions of the Ameer of Afghanistan. That policy has hardly proved a conspicuous success. The next act of the late Government was the Treaty of Gandamak, which was doomed to speedy and gloomy failure. A third time they failed by the arrangement with the Wali — as Lord Lytton has himself admitted—to conceive a policy which could bear the tension of six short months. Why, then, should hon. Members, after these three experiments, be so confident of their own powers to effect a settlement of this question? I must thank the House for having borne with me so long. I believe that there is a policy which can and will be pursued with effect towards Afghanistan and Russia. It is not, I regret to say, the policy of Lord Lawrence, for that is made impossible by recent events. It is not the policy of Lord Lytton, for obvious reasons. But it is a policy which can honourably be initiated by Her Majesty's Government, and which will, if loyally carried out, I trust conduce to the peace and security of the Indian Empire, and to the enduring prosperity of this country.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, that the House was indebted to his hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) for bringing forward the Motion, if only because it had given to several hon. Members of great ability an opportunity of addressing the House for the first time, and the speech which had just been delivered laid the House under a fresh obligation to his hon. Friend. He had, at first, been at a loss to understand the opening remarks of the Postmaster General; but he fancied he detected in the extravagant eulogy which the right hon. Gentleman had passed upon the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India a sign of repentance on the right hon. Gentleman's part for having himself, in his free-lance days, been a thorn in the side of Under Secretaries and officials generally. However that might be, he (Mr. Dalrymple) did not know anyone who stood in less need of defence than the noble Marquess, whose fairness in political life contrasted favourably with others who sat near him on the Treasury Bench. The analogy which the right hon. Gentleman drew between Candahar and the Transvaal seemed to him most unfortunate, considering how many Members of the Liberal Party had supported the annexation of the Transvaal; and the absence of Papers, of which the right hon. Gentleman made light, though it was a constant subject of complaint on the part of the Liberal Party when in Opposition, was really a most important matter. If it had been shown, for instance, by the production of despatches containing communications with Abdurrahman, that the Government had taken steps to assure themselves of his being able to hold Candahar after the departure of our troops, their position would have been, to some extent, vindicated. He could hardly, indeed, imagine anything more important than the negotiations in regard to the position of Abdurrahman. What he most complained of was the random character of the policy which the Government had adopted in their determination to quit Candahar, throwing responsibility upon the Indian Council at one time, and at another time treating their opinion with indifference. The Members of the Government did not even seem to be fully informed as to what was about to be done; for while the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, a short time ago, did not contemplate as imminent the evacuation of Candahar, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India stated shortly afterwards, in correction of the right hon. Gentleman, that the English troops were on the point of leaving the country. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General had complained of the statement that the policy of the Government was affected by Party considerations; but he (Mr. Dalrymple) contended that a Party character had been imparted to the debate, as for many days an Amendment had been on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), and then, at the last moment, the question of his hon. Friend was made one of confidence in the Government, so that it became impossible to prevent the question being considered as one of a Party character. For his part, he wished that the discussion could have been kept free from Party considerations, as he believed that, in that case, the question would have been more fairly, calmly, and impartially discussed. The Government had, however, by the course they adopted, taken care that such should not be the case. They all knew that the policy of retirement from Candahar was shadowed forth in a despatch of the noble Lord in May last, when he had not been long enough in Office to give an opinion on this great question. Change of policy in reference to Candahar on the part of the late Government had been referred to by hon. Members on the other side; but the change was entirely owing to change of circumstances. He (Mr. Dalrymple) would not detain the House with further quotation of the opinions of Indian authorities; but the case of Sir Donald Stewart required special notice. In April, 1879, that distinguished man had given an opinion in favour of retirement from Candahar; whereas it was well known that in July, 1880, he, for excellent reasons, changed his mind, and now advocated its retention. He did not mention that for the purpose of magnifying Sir Donald Stewart's present opinion; but he (Mr. Dalrymple) observed two things. In the first place, Sir Donald Stewart could not any longer be quoted as an authority in favour of retirement, because his second opinion had obviously cancelled his first. The other consideration was that a change of circumstances had led to that alteration of the opinion of Sir Donald Stewart, and a change of circumstances in like manner had dictated, in the time of Lord Lytton, a policy different from that of previous Viceroys. He complained, however, that the present Government did neither one thing nor the other. The Government did not retain Candahar itself, and did not take measures to insure that any settled form of government should be left behind. He believed if Candahar was left without any Ruler who had a fair chance of holding his own a terrible state of things might ensue. It was only those whose eyes were dazzled by a great Power into blindness of vision, who could say that even when circumstances altered there should be no change of opinion. The remark had been recently made that if England changed her policy, other countries—Russia, for example—ought to be able to do the same. But Russia changed her policy in cases where distinct pledges that she would not do so had been given, and that was a course in which he hoped this country would not follow her. He had asked the other evening, what would be likely to happen if we withdrew our troops from Candahar before the troops of Abdurrahman arrived; but, as there happened to be several Questions in reference to Candahar on the Paper, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India said he would answer them all together, and he had, unfortunately, been answered in gross, and consequently got no answer at all. He feared the Government, by their policy and by not insuring, to some extent the position of Abdurrahman, or some other Sovereign, were paving the way for intrigue and mischief of a most perilous kind. As reference had been made to the absence of opinion from the Viceroy's Council, he would only say that he thought it was very unfortunate, to say the least, that these opinions were not before the House, and that they were discussing that question in the absence of important documents. "The Spanish Fleet you cannot see, because it is not yet in sight." The opinions of the Viceroy's Council they had not received, because they were not despatched. On an occasion like the present it was most essential that the fullest information should be before the House; and if the Government had been willing, he thought it would have been possible to have had a brief opinion from the Council of India telegraphed, giving a plain "aye" or "no" on this important matter. It was, however, clearly understood that those opinions were not favourable to the policy of the Government. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke), speaking last night, and making the announcement with the air of mystery which accompanied Foreign Office communications of no importance, said he regarded the recall of General Skobeleff to St. Petersburg as necessarily involving a change of policy on the part of the present Czar of Russia in the direction which he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) desired; but it was possible it meant a further step in the contrary direction. It could not be denied that the Members of the Government took very light views of their responsibility in the matter; while as to making the question one of morality, he thought the morality involved in it was of a most doubtful character. Lord Derby, the other day, said that we could always return to Candahar when we chose, if we should evacuate it, and that was supposed to be a very gratifying and assuring statement, though it seemed to dispose of the claim to morality implied in the present retirement. But could we return to Candahar with great ease if we threw over our friends there, and those friendly tribes in the neighbourhood of Pishin who had been so loyal to us during the late campaign? It was not easy to get to Candahar under any circumstances; and it would be much less easy in time to come to traverse a country occupied by tribes who had trusted to our pledges, and whom we had afterwards deserted. He observed that if any hon. Member, especially if he were a young Member of the House, desired to raise a cheer, he had a fling at prestige. He did not attach much importance to prestige; but he thought they had better take care, while protesting against a military spirit—a spirit of bravado and bluster, of which he confessed that at present he saw few symptoms, though, for Party purposes, they were represented as being prevalent—lest, while protesting against these things, they were imperilling confidence in their fidelity to national engagements, and doing injury to the cause of truth, of honour, not to say of justice.

MR. LAING said, there had been such a remarkable change of front on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite that it was difficult to know what the issue was the House was debating. Did it mean that those who supported the Motion, knowing that they must be defeated both by numbers and by argument in the House, knowing that the public opinion out-of-doors was against them, and finding by experience that all the efforts of the Patriotic Association were like flogging a dead horse—had not got the courage to nail their colours to the mast, but wished to minimize their defeat by showing that the issue was a trifling one? He would accept the issue as being the permanent occupation of Candahar, and consider what that would cost, and whether it was worth the cost. Very little had been said on the subject of cost, except some weak attempts which had been made to disparage the Estimates given by some of the highest authorities. The question of cost turned entirely on the extent of the force that would be required for the occupation; and, speaking on the basis of his personal experience of Indian affairs, he did not think Candahar could be retained with a *Corps d'Armée* of less than 20,000 men. It was not merely the occupation of a single outpost like Quetta, in a friendly country; but a whole Province must be occupied, and that in the midst of a hostile population, for, practically speaking, we had not a friend in the country surrounding Candahar. That fact would necessitate a large force of effective soldiers being maintained there, and we should be obliged to station troops not merely at Candahar, but at a number of minor garrisons in the surrounding country. Taking everything into account, the estimate of 20,000 men by Sir Henry Norman, and of 21,000 odd by Major Baring, was demonstrably a very low and moderate estimate of the force that would be required, and the smallest force that would enable us to hold the position securely would be some 20,000 men. It must also be remembered that that force would have to be relieved every two years from a distance of 1,500 miles These were minimum estimates, applicable to quiet times only; but supposing there was Russian aggression, or that Persia, instigated by Russia bribing the Ruler of Herat to make a demonstration on our Frontier, or a hostile movement at Cabul, these 20,000 men would not be sufficient, but would have to be nearly doubled; and was not the occupation of Candahar meant to be merely the first step to Herat? In the event of a Russian advance we must inevitably occupy Herat; and if he were told that Russia was menacing that city, he would be the first to say we must meet her boldly. Therefore, we should be no longer masters of our own motions if we retained Candahar. But it was Candahar, and not Herat that was in question; and he could state with confidence that the cost of maintaining such a force would, on the average, be £100 for each man, or a total sum of £2,000,000 per annum, being £1,000,000 more than the same number of troops would cost in India. But even that sum would not be sufficient, for there would be many sources of extra expense, and this Estimate made no allowance for fortifications, barracks, military roads, hospitals, and those various contingencies which went to swell up the military Estimate. What revenue should we derive from Candahar to place against that large expenditure? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson) had told them the other night that Candahar was a sort of Eastern Gibraltar, and that it was the key to the commerce of the whole of that part of Asia, and that it had a large revenue. The whole revenues of Candahar and of the surrounding district, comprising an area as large as the United Kingdom, however, amounted to only 20 lacs of rupees or £200,000 a-year, which would be manifestly insufficient to pay the civil expenses of the occupation. It had been said that the troops to be maintained at Candahar would not be an addition to the existing force in India, but would be provided out of that force. What use, however, would 20,000 men stationed at Candahar be to India in the event of an emergency arising in that country? The retention of the city meant the locking up of 15,000 or 20,000 men, who, in the event of any outbreak in which their assistance was required, instead of being available, would require help themselves, as the Afghans would take advantage of our misfortunes to harass us. If, on the other hand, we could afford to lock up 20,000 men in Candahar, surely our existing Army in India must be 20,000 too large, and ought to be reduced. That was a very serious question, because it involved saddling India with a permanent expenditure of £2,000,000 a-year. They were told India was so rich that she could afford all that expenditure; but he challenged that statement. It was true that there had been many favourable circumstances lately in Indian finance, and that the Revenue had shown additional elasticity; but, nevertheless, he maintained that the financial condition of India was still one of considerable embarrassment and tension, and certainly an additional £1,500,000 or £1,000,000 in the cost of the military establishments could not be regarded as a mere flea-bite. How, he asked, could they expect English rule to be popular in India if such taxes as were now imposed were to continue? Was India to be the only country in the world which, when the Revenue expanded, was never to get any remission of taxes? If, instead of occupying Candahar, they could save the £2,000,000 a-year in military expenditure, they might then be enabled to repeal the licence taxes, to level the salt tax down instead of up, and to remove import duties altogether. But that could not be done so long as the surplus revenue was to be spent in large and expensive military operations outside, rather than in remission of taxation. What did they really hope to get by the retention of Candahar? He supposed they thought they would in some way or other check Russian advances in Asia. Now, was there any real reason for this exaggerated fear of Russia; and even admitting its truth, would the occupation of Candahar assist them? His reply to both these questions was in the negative. In talking about the great advances of Russia, it seemed to be forgotten that, during the last 50 years, we had advanced in political and military strength and position in Asia enormously more than Russia had. In that period we had swallowed up British Burmah, the Punjaub, Scinde, Oude, and Nagpore, which might very well be set off against any advance on the part of Russia. What had the policy of the invasion of Afghanistan done for us? The people of Herat, who, a few years ago, led by an English officer, had resisted an attack which might have been dangerous to us, would welcome the advance of Persians or Russians in hostility to us. We had thrown these people into the arms of Russia, and while professing to be afraid of Russian intrigue we had effectually assisted it by severing from Afghanistan, and ourselves occupying, one of its most important Provinces. A well known Russian Professor of the anti-English school, one of the leaders of what was called the Forward or the Pan-Slavonic Party in Russia, had written a pamphlet in which he stated his views of the relative policies of Russia and England in India. The writer said that Russia wanted to be in such a position that if she had a quarrel with England in Europe she could oblige us to send troops to India rather than Malta or Constantinople. He explained that while the hereditary policy of Russia had been to defend the Eastern Christians it had been ours to support Turkey. But with a Liberal

Government had come a suspension of that policy on our part, and there was no reason why we should not be friends. He added, however, that Mr. Gladstone was not immortal, and Governments were apt to change; and as, with a return of the Conservatives, there might be a renewal of differences, Russia ought still to be able to make diversions on the side of India. He then said that the invasion of Afghanistan and the occupation of Candahar were the best things that could have happened to favour Russian designs, and that we had so far divided and alienated the Afghans that it would be easier than before for the Russians to find allies among them. The reasoning of that anti-English Professor was in accordance with common sense, for if we wanted a strong Afghanistan the worst thing that we could do was to disintegrate it. After all, the question of Candahar was only a subsidiary one, arising out of the conflict of two policies, the forward policy and that of prudence and self-reliance, which had been described as one of "masterly inactivity." If we had adhered to the latter policy during the last few years, we should have saved many millions in money and thousands of lives. In addition to that, there was also a moral question to be considered in the retention of Candahar. Was it just? He, for one, felt humiliated when he saw England made to assume, especially in the eyes of heathen and weaker nations, a position which they must all feel to be wrong in itself, and of feeling that they were not twice armed by having their quarrels just. The old English policy of standing still in manly self-reliance was properly a Conservative policy, and among modern statesmen it was identified with the name of Sir Robert Peel.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that if the old English policy had been to stand still, he did not know how we should have obtained our Empire. The hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) appeared to be blind enough to believe in the words of a Russian Professor, who traced the differences between England and Russia to the defence by the latter of the Eastern Christians. Was not Russia extremely well paid by the acquisitions of territory she had made every time she had come to their defence? We were not, as had been said, spending £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 a-year on re-productive public works, but only £2,500,000; and the amount of that error of statement was more than the difference that the retention of Candahar would make to the finances of India. In speaking of the difficulty that would have arisen at the time of the Mutiny if we had had forces locked up at Candahar, the hon. Member for Orkney overlooked the obvious answer that might be given to his observation in the increased facility of communication that had been brought about by the construction of railways since the Mutiny. Without the least doubt, it was now easier to get a force from Candahar to Delhi than, at the time of the Mutiny, it was to get a force from the Punjaub to Delhi. What on earth, then, was the value of arguments founded on that hypothesis? The Government gained great advantage in this discussion from the fact that those who were advocating retirement from Candahar were really influenced by two different and wholly inconsistent theories—one they held, but did not avow; the other they avowed, but would, he believed, never act upon. The first theory was, that all we had to do was to retire behind the Indus, and let the Afghans fight the matter out among themselves; and the second was, that we ought to retire from Afghanistan, and, while we did so, to exclude all Russian influence in that country. He admitted that, unless we governed India justly, we should probably not stay there, and we should not deserve to stay there; but to say that a sufficient defence of our Indian Empire would be to govern her justly was simply clap-trap. Good actions, except in fairy stories, were not rewarded in that plain way. As matters stood, we had already taken some substantial measures—we kept 90,000 men there, we had spent many thousands of pounds on barracks and fortifications, we had constructed there a network of railways, chiefly with the object of military communication; and it was quite clear, therefore, that every Government relied, and rightly relied, for the purpose of maintaining our hold on the country, on something besides the justice of our cause. But the maintenance in India of 90,000 men, and the construction of railroads were, he contended, insufficient without that prestige by which the English name in India had hitherto been accompanied, and which the present Government had already within the short period of a year done so much to diminish on three Continents. They should, however, recollect that that prestige was equivalent to money and men, that it meant an army without recruiting, and all the advantages of victory without the shedding of a drop of blood. We had kept our Indian Empire solely by prestige; and if we could not keep that prestige at all, a larger garrison than 90,000 men would be necessary. He was quite aware the Members of the Government admitted that it was necessary for the security of our Indian Empire that we should exercise some sort of control in Afghanistan, and that Russian influence should not be allowed to pass beyond its borders. But if we retired step by step as Russia advanced, how was that control to be maintained? It had been over and over again said, by the advocates of the policy of "masterly inactivity," that the countries which lay between our Frontier and the old Russian Frontier were so barren that it would not be worth the while of Russia to conquer them; but she had conquered them without having, as had been predicted, weakened herself. Up to the present time she, in her conquests, resembled an investor who laid out his money on unremunerative work in the hope that something remunerative would follow. She had conquered deserts; she was consolidating her base, from which she could make future conquests. Her profits were yet to come, and she would ultimately advance to Herat and Candahar. The progress of such a country in Central Asia would be by slow degrees, and it would be impossible to say at what particular point in that progress a Minister could come down to that House and ask it to declare war against her because of her advance. And if she could not be stopped in Europe, could she be stopped in India? If Russia wanted to take some decided step in that quarter, she would await the time that was most convenient to herself and seize upon the point which she thought most important. If we allowed Russia to secure a base of operations in Asia, and to choose her own time for action, she would practically have Southern Afghanistan, Quetta, Pishin, and the Bolan Pass at her mercy. It had been said that if we were to hold Candahar, we should be involved in the intricacies of Afghan politics; and Lord Derby had argued that if we were to allow a hand to be entangled in the machinery of Afghan politics, the arm would inevitably be entangled also. But the Government admitted that we could not allow Afghanistan to be wholly uncontrolled, and, consequently, the hand of the Government was already as good as entangled in the politics of that country, and so Lord Derby's argument was not of much avail. It was admitted by hon. Members opposite that, on the whole, the weight of Indian official opinion was in favour of the retention of Candahar; but it was urged that this support ought to be discounted, because military official opinion in India was almost always in favour of advance. He admitted that allegation; but contended that the Indian Services had generally, if not always, been right in advocating a policy of advance. Would any hon. Member, at the present time, recommend our withdrawal from Oude, from Scinde, or the Punjaub? Yet, the retention of those Provinces had been advocated by the Military Service, on the very same grounds as those upon which the argument for the retention of Candahar was now based; while their evacuation was advocated at the time by a minority of Indian authorities, just as there was a minority on this occasion, represented by Sir Erskine Perry and Sir Henry Norman. And, in the former case, who were right? Why, the Services, in their recommendations of annexation, had, in fact, always been right. He should be glad to think that the Government were actuated solely by considerations of economy and morality, such as had been advanced in the course of the debate; but he could not help feeling that the retirement from Candahar was due mainly to the speeches which had been delivered at the last Election, and not to any considerations of policy. If that were so, and if the disasters which he feared would follow this melancholy retreat came upon the country, it would be a bitter reflection to think that they had committed an error which could have been avoided, and the consequences of which had been foreseen. He could not help thinking that, after all, the debate was a very hollow affair, because the Government had taken the most ample precaution that the evacuation should be beyond recall before the opinion of Parliament could be taken upon it.

MR. BRYCE said, he wished to point out the difference in the language now used by the supporters of the Motion from that which they had used in advocating their Afghan policy two years ago. When a similar Motion had been brought forward in "another place," those who there proposed it argued only, not that Candahar must be retained, but that no sufficient grounds had been shown for retaining it. And now in this House those who formerly defended with so much boldness and self-satisfaction the whole plan of the Afghan War, were found protesting that they did not wish to raise the general question of the permanent occupation of Candahar, but merely the question as to whether that was the proper time at which to withdraw from it. In reply to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), who asked was that the moment at which England should retire, he (Mr. Bryce) would say that to do a just and wise action there was no time like the present. There was no moment at which England could, with greater advantage, withdraw from Candahar than when her troops had just performed in Afghanistan a brilliant series of feats of arms, which established the military supremacy of this country, and when a Government was in power which enjoyed the full confidence of the country, and which was likely to remain in power sufficiently long to make its policy steady and permanent. Much use had been made in the debate of the word "prestige." Hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to think that the idea involved in that word was that one must always be bullying and blustering, and that if a State had forcibly taken possession of anything, it ought to be retained at all hazards. He held that of all kinds of fear there was none so contemptible and dangerous as the fear of being thought afraid—nothing so likely to lead men against their better judgment into perilous enterprises. He would not attempt to estimate the weight of this argument from prestige, for it was too vague and imponderable. It was said that the opinion of India as regarded the power of England would be injuriously affected by this measure; but he would content himself with asking whether it was not more likely that the prestige of England would be raised by our faithful adherence to our promises, if, after declaring that we did not enter Afghanistan for the purpose of making annexations, we retired without making any? He could not conceive anything better calculated to give us additional claims on the loyalty of the Native Princes in India than the knowledge that we voluntarily retired from Candahar, in fulfilment of declarations made when the war began. As to the argument founded on the wealth of the district, those who knew it best told us that it would not pay more than one-fifth of the cost of the civil administration. As to its military advantages, some of the best authorities who desired to see it retained proposed that our troops should be stationed in cantonments 10 or 12 miles away from the city. It was by no means a strong and easily defensible position. We must look with great suspicion on the prospects held out of a remunerative trade—especially as those prospects were dwelt on by military men, who only had recourse to the commercial argument because they felt the weakness of their cause so far as strategical considerations were involved. The fact was that Russia already absorbed the whole commerce of Central Asia, and the population was much too sparse and the country too poor to afford any scope for commercial enterprize. In all Afghanistan there were only 4,000,000 of people in an area of 280,000 square miles. The only reason which really actuated the advocates of annexation was fear of Russia—a most unworthy fear; for he could not understand why a Party which arrogated to itself the title of "patriotic" should always be the Party that had the lowest opinion of the power and the greatness of England. ["No, no!"] Lord Beaconsfield had told them that the key of India was in London, and this remark was far nearer the truth than the discoveries of that key in Herat, or Merv, or Candahar. But the real secret of our power in India was the character England had won for its vigour, its energy, and its courage; and as long as England retained those qualities there was nothing to be feared from Russia. No one who knew both England and Russia would dream of comparing either the power or the moral influence of the latter with those of our own country. There were two main reasons why we should not retain Candahar. The first was, that it would be easier to defend India from our own Frontier than at a point 400, or 500, or—if we went on to Herat—900 miles away. The second was, that the invader of the country would incur the implacable hostility of the inhabitants. The advocates of retention argued that wars would be prevented by the adoption of their policy. That policy, however, would involve us in permanent war with Afghanistan. Two questions had been addressed to the Government by speakers on the opposite Benches. The first was—If Candahar is given up, what will you do with Afghanistan? In his opinion, the way to deal with Afghanistan was the way in which it had been dealt with in the years preceding the disturbances introduced by the late Government—namely, by reverting to the policy of Lord Lawrence, which retained the Afghans in a state of tacit but friendly dependence, while letting them fight out their intestine quarrels. The other question was—Why did the Government feel bound to carry out this policy of retirement? Was it not in obedience to the pledges given at the General Election? In reply, he would ask another question—Why should the Opposition be so anxious to retain Candahar? The late Government had many policies; but this was not originally one of them, for it was not till the last moment when they had to retire from Cabul that they bethought themselves of keeping on Candahar. It was because the late Government, having lost everything they fought for, and having become sensible that the war was a mistake from beginning to end, grew anxious at last to have something to show for the money and lives they had expended. Their successive policies had failed. Lord Lytton's Frontier of the Hindu Kush; Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific Frontier;" the Frontier to be protected from Cabul itself, had all successively disappeared. Now it was desired so to involve the country in the policy of aggression that it should appear that the policy of the late Government had met with national approval. There was a hope, on the other side of the House, that the Liberal Party might be drawn into complicity with this war—that they might be put, so to speak, in the position of receivers of stolen goods. But it was too late for this. The country had emphatically repudiated and condemned the Afghan War altogether; and all the arguments which had been so convincingly used against the Afghan War, as a whole, were equally good against the retention of Candahar. Speaking as an independent Liberal, he was glad to believe that the Government were now endeavouring to carry out the pledges which they made at the hustings. Those pledges were—that unjust wars should be stopped as soon as possible; that needless annexations should be restored; that the safety and prosperity of India should be secured by promoting the contentment and loyalty of the people of India; that the Government should not by going in search of imaginary dangers thrust us into real ones. The action of the Government, both as regarded the Transvaal and Candahar, had gone far to remove any suspicion that they were not going to carry out those pledges. Someone had said that the Liberal Party was disunited. So far from being disunited, it had never been more united than it was upon this question—united, not only in that House, but throughout the country. It had perfect confidence in the present policy of the Government; and he believed that the country would to-morrow applaud the action of the House when it spoke to-night the last word of condemnation upon a war with regard to which history would have only one question to ask—whether the folly of it exceeded the wickedness, or the wickedness the folly?

Mr. BOURKE said, he wished to recall the attention of the House to the character of the Motion before them, and that was whether the proposal to abandon Candahar in the mode suggested by the Government met with their approval, and to that, he thought, they should give a distinct answer in the negative. His noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had been accused of whittling away the subject before the House. He (Mr. Bourke) had listened very carefully to the speech of his noble Friend, and he observed no such tendency in his remarks. Now, the view he took of the question, and he had had an opportunity of studying it upon our Indian Frontier itself, was that no person who had ever visited that Frontier could help feeling that the subject was not only one of deep interest, but one which might, at any time, involve us in great difficulties. There was no use appealing to the inconveniencies which an advance might cause us in respect of finance. There was no use appealing to the increased Estimates which such an advance might necessitate; because, if it were right that it should take place, all the money which we expended upon the advance would be expended, not for aggression, but for the safety of India. No matter how prosperous our finances might be, and no matter under what condition the internal state of India might be, nothing would relieve us, under certain circumstances, from dangers upon our North-West Frontier. He had always thought that the distinction which some hon. Gentlemen drew between the policy of "masterly inactivity" and the policy of "advance," was one which could not be sharply defined, but was one of degree. Lord Lawrence laid down most distinctly that, although he believed his policy to be the best on the whole, yet there were circumstances connected with the advance of Russia which would oblige us altogether to abandon that policy, and not only to abandon it, but to go to war with Russia in all parts of the world, The whole of the case rested, in his (Mr. Bourke's) opinion, upon the dangers which might result to India from the changed relations which had taken place of late years between England and Russia, and also between England and Afghanistan. He need only remind the House that one of the first axioms which had always been laid down as applicable upon all English statesmen, was that there must be no Russian influence in Afghanistan—that the influence of this country must be paramount. That principle had been acknowledged over and over again by the Russian Government itself; and he might also remind the House that it was the corner-stone of the policy of 1865, which had been so often praised. When Lord Mayo, in that year, brought about a good understanding with Russia, the very essence of that understanding was that Russia was not to intrigue with Afghanistan. They had, at that time, the assurance from Russia that she did not intend to intrigue in Afghanistan. What was the result of that? Tranquillity in Afghanistan for many years. It resulted also in the most important agreement that ever was made between this country and Russia with regard to Afghanistan, because the agreement of 1872 between England and Russia was one which promised a lasting peace between all the three parties; and that was that the boundaries of Afghanistan should be acknowledged, that the Ameer should abstain from aggression on his neighbours, and that Russia should not advance upon him. From its very nature, that agreement suited all parties. It suited Russia, because what she wanted at that time was to be at peace with Afghanistan. He need not remind the House how England had been disappointed in that—how, before this agreement had been signed more than a few months, Russia showed decided intentions of annexing Khiva; and in 1874, just before Lord Granville went out of Office, he made representations to Russia upon this subject. It would also be in the recollection of the House that Count Schouvaloff denied that there was any intention of annexing Khiva. Notwithstanding that, Khiva was annexed, and a Treaty was made with Khiva of a very remarkable nature. That Treaty was worthy of remark, because, from the remarks of the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs last night, it would almost appear that if Khiva had been taken by Russia, it had been given back. The fact was, that absolute control was obtained by that Treaty over Khivan territory, and Khiva was fined heavily. After the conquest of Khiva, Russia did a still more dangerous thing, as far as we were concerned, because all the time that she was informing the Foreign Office that she had no intention of making any advance towards India, she was making advances in a direction which had more influence on our position than anything else in Central Asia. Those who had studied the question would see that not only had Russia now annexed a large portion of the Attrek Valley, which had hitherto been claimed by Persia, but also annexed a large part of a most fertile district, about 70 miles in breadth by about 200 or 300 miles in length, which afforded her a good recruiting ground. The result of all that was simply this—that by the annexations which Russia had made within the last few years, and which she had completed within the last few months, the whole of that Turkoman country had been swept into the Russian territory, and she had at her command several hundreds of thousands of the best horsemen in the world. Then he came to the changes which had taken place with regard to Afghanistan. He would not now enter into the question of their changed relations with the Ameer; but the corner-stone of the late Government's policy was that their relations with Afghanistan were to be friendly, and he said that there was ample justification for the war in Afghanistan, in consequence of those changed relations. If hon. Gentlemen had read General Roberts's despatch, describing the condition of military affairs at Cabul when he arrived there, they must have been struck with the enormous power that he found the Ameer had developed within the last five or six years. He had raised and equipped 68 regiments of Infantry and 16 regiments of Cavalry; he had 300 guns; a large arsenal, with skilled artizans, where those guns were made; and he (Mr. Bourke) had heard from eye-witnesses that nothing could be more efficient than were the guns made in that arsenal. The Ameer had also an enormous number of rifled cannon, a large quantity of breech-loading muskets, with gunpowder and all the other warlike stores necessary for a large army. All those stores and munitions of war could not have been prepared in a short time, and it was the opinion of General Roberts that it must have taken at least six or seven years to collect them together. When, therefore, they came to take that, in connection with the correspondence that was going on between the Russian Governor General and the Ameer, with the unfriendly character of the Ameer's communications with the Viceroy of India, with the *Jehad* that was preached long before the Russian Mission went to Cabul, and with the Russian Mission itself, he thought that nobody who gave a dispassionate attention to the subject could come to any other conclusion than that the Ameer had entered into a hostile alliance with Russia which was absolutely inconsistent with those relations between England, Russia, and Afghanistan which every statesman of eminence had held should and must exist between those countries. Now, hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House wanted to know from the Government something which they had often asked for, but had not yet been told, but which he hoped they would learn before that debate closed—namely, what arrangements were to be made with Afghanistan before we left Candahar; because if we were going to leave Afghanistan altogether to the mercy of Russia, to make whatever bargains she chose with regard to her external relations, he did not think the country was prepared to endorse that policy. The hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had made much of the trump card about the first step of the new Czar having been to recall General Skobeleff. He (Mr. Bourke) should like to know very much when that General was recalled; also whether the Russian troops had been re-called; how it was that that announcement came to be made last night in the middle of that debate; and also whether the negotiations or communications with our Ambassador at St. Petersburg on the subject would be laid before the House? The hon. Baronet held up to the House the example of Russia with respect to her conduct in Khiva and Bokhara, and also with regard to China. He (Mr. Bourke) was quite willing to join issue with the hon. Baronet on that point, and he would ask him, whether it was not the fact that, in all those cases Russia, before she gave up one single portion of her conquest, took very good care to secure that her influence should remain paramount, and that order, and not disorder, should remain behind? It was the whole point in this case. Now, what was the position of Candahar? Was it not certain that, if civil war ensued, it must entail upon us difficulties far greater than any of those we had to deal with in Afghanistan? He did not say that it was necessary to annex Candahar. What he complained of was the hasty way in which it was proposed to abandon it, and which might involve us in danger. The hon. Baronet said we had retired from Cabul, and we had not met with such dangers, and, therefore, why should we expect dangers by a retirement from Candahar? The difference between Cabul and Candahar was very great. When Sir Frederick Roberts left Cabul, he had every reason to suppose that Abdurrahman would be able to preserve order there. Could any honest man who was able to give an opinion upon the subject say that we could expect the same at Candahar? All the Candaharis were averse to Abdurrahman, and were friendly to his rival. Under these circumstances, he asked the Government how they could hope that Abdurrahman had any prospect of establishing a settled Government in Candahar? If he could not do so, how could they tell what difficulties might not arise? They had remained at Candahar two years; and, now that they were going away, he was certain Her Majesty's Government had chosen the most unfavourable time for withdrawing from the position—a time when, being masters of the situation, they had a great opportunity of establishing a settled Government at Candahar, and making arrangements of a lasting character. With regard to the strategic position of the place, the hon. Baronet had remarked that our military authorities always gave military opinions on political grounds. The observation was more smart than correct. Almost all military men who were connected with the Government of India and connected with military operations in Afghanistan had given military opinions of the value of Candahar. Candahar commanded every single point between Herat and Khiva; and Sir Garnet Wolseley had expressed the view that whenever Russia went to Herat, we must go to Candahar, unless we intended to give up India, or to allow it to be taken from us. Every person, Sir Garnet Wolseley among them, said that if we were to meet the Russians at all, Candahar was the place to do it. It was clearly better to meet invaders at Candahar than on the plains of India, because, in the first case, we should be able to intercept them before they reached any of the Passes; whereas if we waited for them in India, there would be 800 miles of Frontier to defend, and no one could say through what part the enemy would approach. Another of the main objections to the Motion was founded on the ground of expense; but he (Mr. Bourke) would ask whether we were as yet in a position to say what the actual expense would be? He could not set himself against the opinion of so eminent a man as Sir Henry Norman, for whom he had the greatest respect and regard; but, at the same time, it was to be remembered that there were also other authorities of equal weight. Without impugning the accuracy of Sir Henry Norman's estimate, which was very probably correct, he would only repeat that we wanted far more information on the point than we already possessed. The hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) had most elaborately calculated the number of men wanted for the occupation of Candahar; but, according to Sir Frederick Roberts and other great authorities, no addition to the Indian Army would be required, and the cost would only be the difference between the expense of maintaining them in India and in the Provinces. That view also agreed with our experience two or three years after the annexation of the Punjaub, when the Government, in its Minute describing the progress of the Province, pointed out that the establishment of the Army and the cost of the Frontier garrisons remained just as they were before the crossing of the Sutlej. On that analogy, therefore, it did not seem probable that the Indian Army would need to be increased. Again, several objections had been urged to our occupation of Candahar, even for a short time, on the ground that the Afghans would never submit to invasion by Russia. That contention was not strengthened by recent events, and it was a fact that a Russian *Corps d'Armée* was on the Oxus long before the Mission to Cabul. It was to be remembered, too, that the bribes that Russia could offer were enormous. Whenever she chose, she could act upon Afghanistan as effectually in a friendly as in a hostile manner, and would be able to inflict on us all the annoyances from which we desired to guard ourselves. He wished to add one word on another point. The Indian Government had not indicated their own opinion on the matter. Lord Ripon was understood to take the same view as the Government, and perhaps the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington) would be able to state precisely what Lord Ripon's view was; but, at all events, they had the opinion of those very eminent Indian officials who, so far from agreeing with the Government, deplored the fatuity of their policy. Under those circumstances, and considering that in all probability the step Her Majesty's Government were now about to take would lead to civil war in Afghanistan, and if it did that we should be obliged to return and to spend more money than if we remained there, believing that it was absolutely essential that our relations with Russia should be placed upon the same foundation as they were before, and that that could be done only by our remaining at Candahar and establishing good government there, he would certainly vote for the Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Bourke) did himself a slight injustice when he said, on rising to address the House, that he should have little to say, and that he would detain the House only for a very short time. He has given us a good deal of very interesting information, and I can hardly think that in the period of 40 minutes, during which he spoke, he occupied too much time. It will hardly be desired that I should follow the right hon. Gentleman through the somewhat discursive statement he has made with reference to the progress of Russia in Central Asia, and our relations with Afghanistan during the last 10 or 15 years. There were, however, one or two statements of the right hon. Gentleman, referring to more recent events, which struck me with some surprise. I was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the security of Abdurrahman at Cabul upon our retirement, and the general acceptance that he met with there, were partly owing to the march of General Roberts's force from Cabul to Candahar. If the right hon. Gentleman had been in the House last autumn, and had heard the piteous appeals made to me not to allow General Stewart's force to leave Cabul, at the time Abdurrahman was about to take possession of it, I think the right hon. Gentleman would hardly have been of opinion at that time, at all events, that Abdurrahman's position was immensely strengthened by General Roberts's march from Cabul to Candahar. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that the statement made by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, last night, with regard to the policy of the present Emperor of Russia, and the order given for the recall of General Skobeleff, has been made by the Russian Government for some political purpose connected with this debate. Now, I do not think that my hon. Friend attributed any very great importance to the statement which he was able to make; but he thought it was one, and I think it was one, which was satisfactory to the House. And it may be an additional satisfaction to the right hon. Gentleman to know that that information did not reach Her Majesty's Government from the Russian Government, or from Her Majesty's Ambassador in Russia, but from a totally different and a totally independent source. I hope, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman will no longer think that that information was given for the purpose of influencing the decision of the House to-night. The right hon. Gentleman, in the beginning of his speech, undertook to prove a somewhat difficult proposition. It is one to which I may be obliged to refer by-and-bye; but I do not think he entirely succeeded in proving the proposition which he laid down, that there is only a difference in degree in the policy of advance and the policy of "masterly inactivity." No doubt, Lord Lawrence and the other authorities who advocated a policy of "masterly inactivity," which I believe means remaining within our own Frontier unless imperatively called upon to go out of it —no doubt, Lord Lawrence contemplated the possibility of being obliged by Persia, or some other Power, to fight Russia under certain contingencies. But what has never been contemplated, and what Lord Lawrence never would have encouraged if he had been alive this day, was a policy of advancing beyond our own borders into Afghanistan, not for the purpose of meeting a foreign enemy, but for the purpose of establishing our influence in Afghanistan itself. The right hon. Gentleman said he had no intention of whittling away any part of the Resolution moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope). We may very well acquit him of any intention to whittle away that Resolution, for a milder Resolution of censure to be brought forward by a great Party, and made the subject of a Party debate, it is impossible to conceive. I think it must have been somewhat of a disappointment to his Friends—it certainly was somewhat of a surprise to me—to find that, after the nightly interpellations addressed to me during the whole of the Session, and which I always supposed to have for their object that we ought to remain, and remain permanently, at Candahar—it is certainly a surprise to me to find that we are now only asked to share in the expression, that, "in the present critical state of affairs in Southern Afghanistan, it is not conducive to the true and permanent interests of India" that we should withdraw from Candahar. It is not only a surprise to me, but I think it will be a disappointment to some of the members of the Patriotic Association, who have recently been holding two or three enthusiastic meetings, and passing very strong resolutions, in which I have never observed any reference to anything but the permanent retention and annexation of Candahar. And I think the result must also be a disappointment to the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), who has on the Paper a Motion, which, I fancy, very much more accurately expresses the views of the Patriotic Association than the extremely mild Resolution moved from the Front Opposition Bench. The Resolution has not been moved exactly in the usual form in which a Party attack is made. It forms only a part, and I may say the weakest part, of the Party attack. When the policy of a Government is attacked, it is generally the custom to assert that the policy is wrong in itself, and that it is put into operation at a wrong time. But right hon. Gentlemen opposite have not the courage to say that they think the policy of Her Majesty's Government is wrong in itself; they have nothing to accuse us of or to allege, except that it is carried out at the wrong moment. If we had any doubt as to the views of the Opposition, it would have been disposed of by the speeches which have been made. The hon. Member who moved the Resolution did, undoubtedly, bring forward a great many arguments which appeared to tend in the direction of the permanent occupation of Candahar; and many hon. Members who have spoken on that side of the House have done this in the course of their speeches. But, at the same time, every Member who sits on the Front Opposition Bench has been very careful, although he has argued in favour of the permanent retention of Candahar, to put in a few words of caution, in order to say that, after all, what he meant was that we were not to leave Candahar immediately. If this is all that we are to be censured for, I must point out to the House that the censure appears to me to be directed against the wrong persons. If it is only the retirement at this moment that is to be censured, it is not Her Majesty's Government who ought to be censured, because Her Majesty's Government have never given any express directions that any immediate retirement from Candahar is to take place. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) was, last night, extremely severe on the style of some of the despatches which I have addressed to the Viceroy of India. He described them as extremely energetic and dictatorial. Well, Sir, what are the directions contained in that most dictatorial despatch of the 11th of November? I find that we desired his Excellency to keep steadily in view the paramount importance of effecting such withdrawal at the earliest suitable date; and afterwards, in discussing what might take place after our withdrawal, I went on to say that it appeared doubtful whether the position of Abdurrahman was yet sufficiently established to enable him to resume the government of Candahar; or, if he were, whether the people were prepared to accept his authority. I certainly did not dictate to the Government of India that they should offer Candahar to Abdurrahman. Then, in the conclusion of the despatch which the right hon. Gentleman quoted as containing important instructions, I stated that I felt it my duty to place on record, in the plainest and strongest terms, the opinions which the Government entertained on the most important question at issue, and to express the disapproval with which they would view any measure involving a permanent occupation of Candahar by British troops. As far as any expression is contained in that despatch, it might have been agreed to by any Member sitting on the Front Opposition Bench. I do not mean to say that the arguments in the despatch are entirely consistent with the arguments they have employed; but, at any rate, they are not inconsistent with the extremely mild Resolution they have brought forward. If the Censure of the House is really to be directed against immediate withdrawal from Candahar, the censure ought to be pointed at the Government of India, with whom they say they entirely agree, instead of against the Government at Home, who are made the real objects of their attack. Do not let the House suppose for a moment that I complain of the action of the Government of India, or of the promptitude with which they have given effect to the instructions they received from home. The Government of India see, what apparently right hon. Gentlemen opposite do not see, that every day's delay at Candahar makes ultimate retirement far more difficnlt; that every day's delay adds greatly to the arguments in favour of remaining in Candahar. Yes, if the occupation is indefinitely prolonged, great expense must be incurred in fortifications; barracks must be erected for the accommodation of the troops; the railway must be completed; relations must be entered into with the Chiefs of the neighbouring districts; and when all these things are done, the difficulties of withdrawing would be greatly increased. ["Hear, hear!" *from the Opposition.*] Then, what is the meaning of the argument that this is the wrong time? I can understand some of the hon. Gentlemen who are cheering me. I know that the hon. Member for Guildford does not want to say that we are going away at the wrong time. He wants to say that we ought not to go away at all; but that is not what his Leaders say. Then, I say, in answer to hon. Members opposite, that every one of these considerations which increase the difficulty of a withdrawal, if it is postponed, are so many arguments in favour of withdrawing at once, if we are to withdraw at all. Then, for what purpose is the occupation to be prolonged? We are told that it ought to be prolonged until Abdurrahman has consolidated his power, and we can be certain that a strong Government has been formed. But I maintain that so long as we remain at Candahar, no strong Government in Afghanistan is possible, and the chief difficulty which Abdurrahman and his Predecessors, for the matter of that, have always laid before us has been the want of money and resources. Do you think that you are improving the position of Abdurrahman at Cabul and enabling him to strengthen and consolidate his power if you remain in the occupation of the Province which, according to your own representations, is the richest and most fertile part of the country connected with Afghanistan, and is the part which has constituted the greatest pride of the Afghan Sovereigns? Is that the way in which you propose to aid and consolidate the power of Abdurrahman and to strengthen his Government? The fact is, it has been known from the outset that no Ruler could be firmly established at Cabul, or that the people of Cabul would ever willingly accept a Ruler at Cabul, who consented that the Province of Candahar should be severed from the Ameership of Cabul. We are told that when we go away anarchy will ensue, and that it will be made an excuse, a pretext, and a justification for Russian interference. If anarchy is to be the excuse for Russian interference and invasion, Russia posesses that excuse for interference and invasion now. In the very part of the country where you profess to be most apprehensive of Russian interference and influence and intrigue—at Herat—ever since the day when, by our action, Afghanistan was dismembered and its Government broken to pieces, from that day anarchy of the most frighful and hideous description has existed without intermission at Herat. How do you propose to stop it? Does your occupation of Candahar enable you to stop it? It has continued during the whole period of your occupation of Cabul; it is continuing now during your occupation of Candahar. Our presence at Candahar does nothing in the world to stop the continuance of anarchy at Herat. Perhaps it was proposed to avail ourselves of our possession of Candahar to go to Herat, and to put an end to the anarchy which existed there. ["Hear, hear."] "Hear, hear!" says the right hon. Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay). We are at Candahar; but that fact does not offer any proof of an early retirement, such as is contemplated by the right hon. Member for the University of Dublin, if we remain there now. Then, what does remaining there mean? It means more expeditions; it means a new occupation, a new agitation for our remaining at Herat, such as has been got up for our remaining at Candahar; it means new difficulties in the recruiting of our Indian Army; new and increased expenses; and a nearer approach to the permanent occupation of the whole of Afghanistan. Then, I do not see that the argument about confusion and anarchy on our departure from Candahar goes for very much, because I have shown that anarchy is rampant and rife at Herat now; and I do not think that any hon. Gentleman opposite has yet proposed that we should go to Herat in order to put a stop to it. If Russia wanted such a pretext as a justification for her interference, she possesses all the justification for interfering at Herat which could possibly be produced by any amount of anarchy that may follow our departure from Candahar. I am very far from saying that it is not possible, that it is not even probable, that there will be disturbance, that there will be fighting, and that there will be bloodshed after our departuro from Candahar. I should like to know when in the history of Afghanistan the Ameership to the Throne has been transferred from one Possessor to another without disturbance and without bloodshed; and I want to know what there is in our mission there to prevent that disturbance and bloodshed? This time the anarchy and confusion have distinctly been brought about by our own action. I do not know whether, under any circumstances, it was possible for any Successor to have peacefully succeeded the late Ameer Shere Ali; but it was absolutely certain, in the state of things which we had brought about in that country, that a peaceful succession to Shere Ali was impossible. If hon. Members below the Gangway opposite look with such horror at the loss of life and the prospect of fighting in the hitherto peaceful country of Afghanistan, perhaps it would have been better if they had thought of some of these consequences before they sanctioned the invasion of Afghanistan and before they supported the action which broke up the only Government which could possibly exist in Afghanistan. I must say that I look with some suspicion upon those tender-minded people who look with such horror on the possibility of a little Afghan blood being shed by Afghan people, when I cannot recollect having seen any such tenderness on account of the much more considerable loss of life which has ensued in consequence of our own victories there. It appears that the slaughter of a few hundreds or of a few thousands of Afghans may be a matter of perfect indifference to us so long as it is only taking place in pursuit of a scientific Frontier; but if it takes place in settling their own differences amongst each other, in their own way, then the result is to be looked upon with horror by every Member of this House. Do hon. Gentlemen suppose that if we remain at Candahar it would be possible to put up Abdurrahman, or some other Chief, to rule in Candahar; and that then, after supporting him for a time, we should have settled affairs all over Afghanistan, and, having planted a garden in the Province of Candahar, we might then retire and leave our *protegé* to rest upon his own resources? I believe that any idea of that kind would be an absolute delusion. It may not be very flattering to our vanity; but there is one thing which Sir Frederick Roberts has recognized, and which, I think, it would be better for us to recognize too, and that is that the Afghans do not like us. The more they see of us the less they like us; and Sir Frederick Roberts acknowledges frankly the fact that no Ruler appointed by us, who is acting as our Agent, or who rests upon our support, or who owes his authority to our military assistance, has any chance of maintaining his position when we withdraw. I am very far from prophecying what may take place at Candahar when we depart. I should have been sorry to have prophecied what would take place at Cabul when we left in September. What might take place at Cabul was not a consideration that prevented us from thinking it right to withdraw our troops from Cabul. The late Government considered it not only right, but absolutely necessary, that the troops should be withdrawn from Cabul at the earliest possible moment. If a Ruler could be established there in the meanwhile, so much the better; but, Ruler or no Ruler, the troops were to come away before another season. And, in my opinion, the only chance for the establishment of a Ruler in Candahar or Cabul, or anywhere else in Afghanistan, is to follow the precedent adopted at Cabul. There we did not instal the Ameer, but we left the field clear for him. We told him that on a certain day our troops would leave Cabul. A communication was made with the principal people of the place, and with the Chiefs of the neighbouring Tribes, and Abdurrahman was informed that if he was there ready to undertake the government of the place we were willing to leave the field clear for him; but that, in his turn, he must rely after our departure upon himself and his own resources. I believe it is in that way, and in that way only, that it is possible for Abdurrahman, or any other Native Ruler, with any chance of permanent success, to be established in Candahar after our departure from that place. I believe the experiment which we tried 40 years ago of recalling Shah Soojah, and leaving him behind us to trust to his own resources, will never succeed in Afghanistan. The result will never be accomplished of making a Hindostanee an acceptable Ruler to the Afghan race. Then we are told that we have given certain pledges, and that in the course now proposed to be taken we are violating those pledges. But, even if any pledges had been given, I cannot but think that the conduct of the inhabitants of Candahar has been such as to absolve us from them. The conduct of the people of Candahar certainly does not seem to show that they are very grateful to us for anything we have done in their interest. Since the address of Sir Donald Stewart to the Chiefs and the people of Candahar, several things have happened. There was the desertion of the troops of the Wali, Shere Ali; there was the rising of the whole country against the Wali; and there was the massacre of our retreating Army in every village through which they passed. That does not show that the people of Candahar and the neighbourhood were extremely grateful to us for the pledges we gave them; but it shows what little confidence we would be able to place in the people under our protection in Candahar itself. When the remains of General Burrows' brigade returned to Candahar, and it became evident that the place was going to be besieged by the forces of Ayoob Khan, what was the precaution which General Primrose considered to be absolutely necessary for the internal security of Candahar? It was to turn out of the town every man of Afghan race. The people who had anything to fear—people who were capable of taking sides, and of interfering with our successor—have conferred no friendship or benefits on us, and have never acted in any way towards us to give them a claim upon our protection. As to the peaceable, industrial, trading classes of Candahar, I do not believe that Abdurrahman—who has shown himself, it may be, not a very powerful, but as far as we have had any acquaintance with him a sensible and astute, person—I do not believe that Abdurrahman, or even Ayoob Khan, would lend himself to such a needless, gratuitous, and suicidal act of folly as to wreak vengeance upon the industrial classes of the community, who only served us like they would any other persons who were their masters in Candahar. The people in need of protection are the ruling and dominant race; and they, as I have already stated, have established no claim upon us. The few who have, in any way, identified their fortunes with ours, can do as was done in the case of the retirement of the British troops from Cabul—namely, retire with our troops. I have not heard that a single man in Cabul has suffered. Every man who knew that he was in the slightest degree obnoxious did retire with the British troops; and in the case of a change of Government, I do not know how such things can be avoided. So much, then, as to the question of the time of withdrawal and the advantage of protracting the time. I cannot say that I can conceive any fault is to be found with the decision which the Government of India have come to, with the full concurrence of Her Majesty's Government at Home, that when a permanent occupation of Candahar is not to be maintained, the sooner it is put an end to, consistently with making the necessary arrangements, the better. The right hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House (Mr. Bourke) asked, as several other hon. Gentlemen have done, what is the opinion of the Viceroy? I think it has also been asked why no despatch containing the opinion of the Viceroy and his Council appears in the Papers which have been presented to Parliament? Well, Sir, I have previously stated all that it is possible for me to state on this subject to the House. I have said that from the time of the defeat of Ayoob Khan by Sir Frederick Roberts, or—referring to telegrams, I find even earlier than that—from the moment when the inability of Shere Ali to establish his power in Candahar, except with the direct support and under the direct protection of British bayonets, was made manifest—from that moment the Viceroy has been in communication with me as to the necessity or policy, under the altered circumstances, of maintaining the arrangements which were come to with Shere Ali in regard to the measures that ought to be taken. I regret to say that these communications are of a confidential character, and they are not such as I am able to lay on the Table of the House. In a very few minutes I will show the House why they are of that character, and the reason why they are of a confidential nature, and why they have not assumed the form of public documents. After a long communication between the Viceroy and myself, the Viceroy stated his opinion that an expression of the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject would be desirable, and that expression was conveyed to him in the despatch of November 11th. I will state now why it was that these documents were treated as confidential and not as public documents. It is not, in my opinion, in the least degree damaging to the case of the Government to admit, what is perfectly well known to every Member of this House, that on this question the Government of India were not unanimous. It would have been a very extraordinary thing if they had been. The House must recollect that the Council of the Viceroy does not resemble a Ministry—that it does not consist of a Government bound together by a community of political opinions on all questions. The Viceroy changes from time to time—sometimes, as in the last case, that of Lord Lytton, on account of political changes at home; at other times owing to the mere lapse of time. But when the Viceroy changes, the Members of his Council do not change; and I do not suppose that any Member of this House would expect that the able men who form the Council of the Governor General would change their opinions with every change of the Viceroy. Keeping that fact in mind, let us inquire who the Viceroy's Council were in September last, at the time this question was considered. Of whom did the Council consist? It consisted, in the first place, of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines, who was pledged in the very deepest manner to the whole policy of the war, and who had been one of the strongest advocates of every part of Lord Lytton's military policy. He had been the strongest advocate of every different phase of the warlike policy of Lord Lytton. It was not very likely that Sir Frederick Haines would suddenly change his opinion and agree with the Viceroy that it was not desirable to remain at Candahar. The Financial Member of the Council (Sir John Strachey) was equally committed to the policy of Lord Lytton. Among the remaining Members of the Council there was Mr. Stokes, a lawyer of great ability, but to whose political opinions I do not know that it is necessary we should attach very great weight. He had also been a party to the whole of the policy which led to the Afghan War. Then there were Mr. Rivers Thompson and Mr. Gibbs, both of whom were Members of the Council appointed by Lord Lytton. They gave the warmest adherence to the whole of policy of Lord Lytton, as they were naturally pledged to do, and they were not likely to depart from the lines he had laid down. There were two other Members of the Council, one of whom was Mr. Aitcheson, who has been referred to in the course of these debates, I think by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). Mr. Aitcheson, who had had great experience as Foreign Secretary to the former Government of India, was a provisional Member of the Council at the time, and he entirely agreed with the Viceroy in his opinion that Candahar should be abandoned. [An hon. MEMBER: Which Viceroy?] With Lord Ripon. Then there was Sir Donald Stewart, the new military Member of the Council, who also entirely agreed with the Viceroy in his opinion as to the want either of military or political necessity for the permanent retention of Candahar; but who, nevertheless, had been so prominent an actor in all the recent transactions in Afghanistan, that it was not likely, or to be expected, that he would be entirely in favour of the immediate withdrawal of our troops from Candahar. Unfortunately, Sir Donald Stewart's Minute is one of those which are missing; but I have received a telegram to-day in reference to Sir Donald Stewart's opinions. I believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite, or, at any rate, some of them, do me the credit of thinking that I have in some way spirited away these documents. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Insinuations of that kind have certainly been made by some hon. Members opposite. I can assure them, however, that I am extremely sorry that I have not got this Minute of Sir Donald Stewart, because, although I know that he does not entirely agree with the policy of an immediate withdrawal from Candahar, he is altogether opposed to our retaining that place permanently, and his opinion is one which I should have liked to lay before the House. With reference to the Minute of Sir Donald Stewart, without any application whatever on my part, I have to-day received a telegram from the Viceroy in which he says—

> "It seems that Stewart has been charged with inconsistency with regard to his two Candahar Memoranda, and he begs me to say that he always has been and still remains of opinion that our occupation of Candahar is undesirable on military and political grounds. What he regretted in his second Memorandum was the occurrence of a rapid change in the course of policy deliberately adopted, although, personally, he did not approve of that policy."

Well, Sir, such is the composition of the Council of the Viceroy, and we were perfectly aware of the opinions that were held by the Viceroy, and of the different opinions that were held by the majority of the Members of his Council in August and September last. Under these circumstances, it was thought that no authoritative expression of opinion could be given to such an invitation as, under ordinary circumstances, would have been addressed to the Government of India to express their opinion on a question of great and important policy. We knew perfectly well that the only despatch which it would have been possible for the Government of India to send home in answer to any invitation from us on this subject would be one that included a number of conflicting Minutes, stating the individual opinions of every Member of the Council; and that the question must ultimately, under any circumstances, be settled at home. When the Viceroy, in reply to confidential communications, gave me as his deliberate opinion that it would be best the Government of India should receive the expression of the views of the Government at Home, I ask the House whether it was my duty to refuse to give them that expression, and to say—"Oh, no; we cannot tell you what our opinion is until we receive the opinions of your Council, which we know already is absolutely and irreconcilably divided upon the question?" That despatch was received in India early in the Session. It was perfectly possible that they thought that the instructions as to time, or as to any other part of the policy, were too imperative, or were in some way wrong. It was, likewise, perfectly possible for the Government of India to have answered that despatch before the time came for finally settling the decision that was to be arrived at. But the Government of India did not consider that it was necessary to answer that despatch. I am not to be held responsible for that. They contented themselves with reporting the proceedings they had taken in order to comply with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government at home, and it was not until the 2nd of February that the despatch which was laid upon the Table yesterday was written. It was accompanied by the Minute of Mr. Rivers Thompson, which has created so much apprehension in the minds of some hon. Gentlemen opposite. I consider that the course which Her Majesty's Government have taken in the matter does not require any further defence, and does not require any palliation. I must say that I have been somewhat surprised that I should have been so sharply rebuked for the attitude we have assumed towards the Government of India, when I recollect the way in which the Government of India has been treated on former occasions, when right hon. Gentlemen opposite were in Office—when I recollect that the unanimous opinion of the Government of India on such an occasion as the repeal of the Cotton Duties—it is certainly surprising to me that so much importance should be attached by these Gentlemen now to the opinions of the Council of the Governor General of India. I recollect that in the time of Lord Northbrook—when Lord Northbrook was Viceroy—the opinion of Lord Northbrook and a unanimous Council was over-ruled by Lord Salisbury, and, in spite of their entreaties and repeated remonstrances, they were ordered to persevere in the policy against which they had unanimously protested, of sending a Mission to Cabul, and thereby beginning the policy which has led to all these disturbances and difficulties. When I recollect these things, I am somewhat surprised that we should have been attacked as we have been for not having obtained the opinions, which we knew were not unanimous, of the

Council of the Viceroy of India, as at present constituted. I must say I regret the extreme importance which seems to be attached by some hon. Gentlemen opposite to this subject. Whether the policy of Her Majesty's Government is right or wrong is a fair matter for discussion; but it appears to me greatly to be regretted that there should have been so much exaggeration of tone in the way in which this question has been spoken of in many quarters. It is spoken of as if the safety of India depended on the occupation and possession of an outpost, which, after all, is only an outpost, and one which has been considered unnecessary by every Government until the spring of last year, which the late Government were in possession of in 1879, and which they subsequently abandoned. My hon. Friend the Member for Hertford referred to the question of prestige, and said he thought that in India prestige was of very tangible value in money and in men. I am quite ready to admit that if, by prestige, you mean the idea which prevails in India of the moral and material power of this country—the power of the ruling race, and the knowledge that it is our intention and resolve to maintain that power—if you mean something like that by prestige, then I think it is a very valuable commodity. But I think you may easily exaggerate the importance attached to the word in the minds of the Natives of India, who, I think, look upon things from very much the same point of view as we do ourselves, and who, I believe, are not so much influenced by sentimental ideas as some persons suppose. But is it possible to conceive anything more calculated to lower the idea of the Natives of India in regard to our power, and our confidence in our power, than the state of nervous alarm into which we are constantly throwing ourselves whenever we hear of a Russian movement in Central Asia, or the enormous and exaggerated importance which is attached to the possession of an outpost on our own Frontier which we abandoned a few years ago? But if this is not a question of enormous importance, so far as defence is concerned, I think it is a question of very great importance as regards policy. This policy of remaining at Candahar, if it were adopted, would be a decided break in the policy which has been pursued in India by every Government for the last 40 years. Some hon. Members who have spoken appear scarcely to be aware of what the retention of Candahar indirectly involves. It involves the holding not of a mere military position, but of an enormous Province, estimated by Sir Donald Stewart as being one-fifth larger than England and Wales. Do not suppose for a moment that we are holding that Province now. We are holding Candahar, and we are holding a small tract of country around Candahar, together with a belt of territory through which our line of communication with India runs. Hon. Members cannot suppose for a moment, if we remained in Candahar permanently, or until it might suit right hon. Gentlemen opposite that we should come away from there, that it is possible to go on as we are now doing. We are holding the centre of the Province; but the outer portions of it, extending to Persia on one side and Beloochistan on another, are under no kind of government whatever. They are in a state of absolute anarchy. If anarchy means want of government, they have no government. They are accustomed to be governed from Candahar, and they are not being governed from Candahar. If we are to settle down at Candahar, therefore, we must either give up that outlying territory to adjoining States, or take it over and administer it ourselves. But the difficulties would be altogether different from the administering of a small district. It is not only the extent of the Province which we have to govern that constitutes the difficulty. The borders of that Province are very imperfectly defined, and we should be brought into collision with wild and undisciplined tribes. We know by experience what that means. We should have raids, quarrels, and expeditions to punish; in fact, we should be in a state of perpetual hot water. Well, Sir, the avowed object of the greater part of the supporters of that occupation is that we should be in Candahar for the purpose of interfering in the affairs of the people—that we should legislate their affairs, and that we should show that we are present and powerful, while Russia is far off. But that exercise of influence and that interference will bring us into constant quarrels, until, in vexation and sheer weariness of spirit, we should be driven to put an end to that state of things by the adoption of a policy of annexation of the whole country. Well, Sir, I have said that while the Motion, and part of the speeches of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, point only to a temporary occupation, most of the speeches of hon. Members in support of the Motion point to direct and permanent occupation. What are the arguments in favour of permanent occupation? We are told that Candahar occupies a commanding position; but the late Viceroy of India, the present Leader of the Party which desires the permanent retention of Candahar, in a Memorandum which has been published, says of Candahar—

> "Though we can never allow Candahar to fall into the hands of a rival Power, and political or special military considerations may make it necessary for us to occupy that town, I do not consider such occupation would actually strengthen our western frontier."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 9.]

That is the opinion of Lord Lytton, as expressed in the Memorandum, which has evidently been drawn up with all the technical knowledge which could be obtained from the military resources at the disposal of the Government of India. It is clear from this that Lord Lytton, in 1878, did not attach much importance to Candahar as a commanding position. I think it desirable that the House should know a little of what were Lord Lytton's plans in 1878. I have been attacked for having published this Memorandum. I think Lord Lytton himself said it was a very unpatriotic thing to do, letting, as we did, all the world know what were the plans, in 1878, of the Government of India. Well, I do not think it was a very unpatriotic thing to do; for although it was not known previously that certain speculations were entertained by the Government of India, still these speculations, or speculations very like them, had frequently been published by enthusiastic individuals, and all the suggestions made in the document were already, I have no doubt, at the disposal of Russia. What makes me still more convinced that there was no want of patriotism in publishing the Memorandum is that I am informed it was published in the columns of *The Times* as general information, and it would not, I think, have been so published without the authority of Lord Lytton. But what was the plan unfolded in this Paper? It is evident that it was no suddenly conceived scheme, on the arrival of the Russian Mission at Cabul, but one which bears marks of the most careful study and consideration, and which was, I have no doubt, under the consideration of the Viceroy and his military officers from the very first moment he set his foot in India. Now, what was the Frontier which Lord Lytton recommended as necessary? The House must recollect that in this Memorandum Lord Lytton is supposed to take credit for a good deal of moderation, and instead of recommending a more extended Frontier, which might have been favoured by some, Lord Lytton was more moderate, and recommended an inner line. And what is this inner line? It rests upon a central bastion, or line of defence, and that consists of a triangle formed by Cabul, Ghazni, and Jellalabad. These are the points of the central bastion which Lord Lytton considered as necessary to our defence. But this was not sufficient. Lord Lytton must have his outworks; and he, therefore, proceeds to discuss the three groups of roads by which India is accessible from Central Asia. He thinks it would possibly be better not to meet Russia north of the long and difficult passes in the mountains, but to wait for her until she had struggled through them. It appears, also, that in Cashmere our officers were to be instructed to extend our influence. The inner line which Lord Lytton recommended, and which he said would form a convenient Frontier, would have extended 700 or 800 miles, and it would, in his opinion, have been, on strategical and military grounds, perfectly defensible; but here, unfortunately, political considerations intervened to disturb those which were purely strategical, and, accordingly, Lord Lytton says that Herat, although it would give no additional strength, and would be, in fact, an inconvenient out post, was yet of such political importance that it was necessary that our line of defence should be diverted, so as to include it. It may, perhaps, be said that Lord Lytton and his military advisers never thought of occupying the position which he sketched out with British troops. It was only a line, perhaps, ultimately to be taken up, and which our Ally the Ameer was to hold for us for a time. The Memorandum is not quite so explicit on that point as on some others; but it is, at any rate, clear that an occupation by force was contemplated by Lord Lytton, who said that it was difficult to imagine a more commanding strategical position, and that whenever the moment of collision with Russia should arrive, it must find us in possession of it—as friends and allies of the Afghans if possible—but firmly established there in any case. The ways of arriving at this consummation are then discussed. The noble Lord said—

> "If the Ameer proves hopelessly estranged, and we fail in all efforts to win him, we must take immediate steps to neutralize his hostility and to secure our interests. The best course then open to us would probably be to aim at dethroning him, and replacing him by a candidate more faveourable to ourselves."—[*Afghanistan* (1881), No. 2, p. 14.]

Such were the speculations of the late Viceroy in 1878—the trusted exponent of the views of the late Government. I want to know, if this great and magnificent scheme has been completely and utterly abandoned, what necessity there is for this infinitesimal part of it? I was astonished to hear the late Viceroy, in "another place" the other day, say that he attached supreme importance to the possession of Candahar. We see what importance was attached to that in 1878; he did not attach any importance to it at all. Why is it of supreme importance now? To establish, we are told, our influence in Afghanistan. What is the meaning of establishing our influence in Afghanistan? I will tell the House, so far as I am able to observe, what I think is the meaning of it. We have established influence in Afghanistan on the precise spot where we can stand, and not one foot beyond. That is to say, an influence beyond and down to our military occupation; but it is not an influence of a friendly or beneficial character. It is an influence of a hostile character, and not only of a hostile character, but one of bitterest hatred. It is an influence which unites tribes as nothing else can unite them, and of a bitterness which brings down upon us from time to time the whole fighting power of Afghanistan, and induces them to invite the assistance of Russia or any other Power. We have had experience of this sort of influence of occupation. We have had experience of it at Cabul, where everything appeared to be quiet, when all of a sudden, with hardly any warning, with scarcely a day's preparation, the whole country side was swarming with armed men, of whose existence we previously knew nothing, and General Roberts and his troops had to retire from Cabul and take refuge in the citadel. No doubt, General Roberts defeated these hosts in the open field, and if he had not done so he could not have maintained himself long in the field. They are not an organized army; but for a temporary rush—for a rush which may sweep away anything but the strongest and best prepared military force—a national uprising such as that we had then to confront is one of the most serious and dangerous character. There are other instances of the rising of a whole country when we were opposed, not by an army, but by the whole force of a nation—when General Stewart was attacked; and again, when General Burrows was overwhelmed at Maiwand. I do not say that, in spite of all this, occupation may not be possible if you bring to the attack the necessary forces and make the necessary sacrifices. I do not say, if you continue these efforts long enough, you may not in time crush out all the spirit of a people; but when you have done that, although you may have obtained a Province and gained some of those strategic positions upon which Lord Lytton set his heart, you will have destroyed the spirit of the people—that spirit of independence of a people, which, if properly used and turned to account, would be the best protection you could desire against the invasion of an enemy. Well, Sir, I do not deny that Candahar may have strategic importance; but I have some difficulty in reconciling the present opinions entertained by some high military authorities with others they have given at different times, and with the general principles they have laid down as applicable to different occasions. I find that General Roberts, who is a strong advocate of retention, in arguing about another part of the Frontier, says if Russia is to attack us, why should we not make her march as far as possible away from her base of operations, through this difficult and inhospitable country? Recognizing the force of the observation with regard to the Kuram and the Khyber Passes, I do not see why it does not equally apply to Candahar. I am prepared to admit that the possession of this outpost may be of strategical importance; it may be desirable, if ever we have to fight for India, that we should have it; but I maintain that it must, in strategy, as in all other matters, be of immense importance to retain our freedom of action; and it is far better not to be compelled to fight under circumstances which we cannot foretell, or fight in any position such as Candahar, 300 miles from our own Frontier. If it is even to be a valuable outpost for the defence of India, it will be far more valuable—and only valuable in the case of our having to hold and keep or occupy it—if we do so with the assent and goodwill of the Afghan people; if we go among them, not as enemies and aggressors, but as the defenders of their independence, as well as of the safety of our Frontier. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) ridiculed the sentiments of morality expressed on this side of the House by Members who said we ought to go away from Candahar now, because we do not want it; and that we could always go back again, if we could go back under circumstances of any value to us. We go away now because we do not want Candahar, and because we have no right to be there; but if we go back, we shall do so with the assent and goodwill of the Afghan people, to defend them against some other Power. And I do not believe, as some Members seem so ready to believe, that the Afghans would make such sacrifices to maintain their independence, and surrender immediately on the first Russian advance. I regret that I should detain the House so long, and I shall have to leave much unsaid. We have heard a great deal about the Russian advances, and about how they are to be met. Many great authorities have changed their opinions on this subject; but the general principles laid down by these authorities, when they held other opinions, seem to me quite as sound and their arguments quite as powerful as when they were first laid down. But it is not quite the fact that all these authorities have changed their opinions. I think some hon. Members last night spoke of Sir Erskine Perry as if he had never been anything but an Indian Judge. I doubt if they were aware that he had been a Member of the Indian Council, and, therefore, may be qualified to judge of political judges. Sir Robert Montgomery, the distinguished Lieutenant Governor of the Punjaub, was considered a great authority, and he holds as strong as ever the opinion that an advance on Afghanistan to meet Russia would be the greatest mistake we could make. Sir Neville Chamberlain, whom I saw the other day, authorized me to say that, in his opinion, the retention of Candahar would be the greatest mistake we could make, and mainly on political grounds. I regret that we have lost the support of many distinguished authorities who used to agree with us. The late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and also Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Salisbury) used to be one of the strongest defenders of the policy of "masterly inactivity;" and I recollect reading in this House a despatch written by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, a good many years ago, in which he spoke of the advances which Russia was making, and, apparently, would continue to make, but in which he did not see any cause for the slightest alarm or anxiety. Now, however, the right hon. Gentleman seems to think that the advances of Russia have reached that pitch which ought to cause a great deal of alarm. I can thoroughly understand the opinions of men like Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Bartle Frere, and others, who have always been in terror of Russia's advances, and have advised us to take steps to stop them. But what I cannot understand is the changes of opinion of statesmen who have always foreseen the advances which Russia would make; who said their policy would depend upon those advances; but who, nevertheless, when these advances have taken place which they foresaw, think it necessary to abandon that policy. I am sure the House would not desire that at this time of the night I should go into the controversy—the unnecessary controversy—which has been raised about what Lord Northbrook did or did not do to alienate Shere Ali. I think the noble Lord the Member for Winchester (Viscount

Baring) made a spirited defence of his father last night. I have been rather struck by the fact that the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, and others, who have spoken on the alienation of Shere Ali, have never thought of going beyond the time of Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook. With the departure of Lord Mayo the history is always stopped; and I have not heard one word said about the negotiations which took place between Lord Lytton and Shere Ali, and which may, in our opinion, have had something to do with the alienation of Shere Ali and the disturbance of our relations. But I venture to say that the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex, in the elaborate address which he delivered on Lord Northbrook's dealings with Shere Ali, did not attempt to prove that Shere Ali was intriguing with Russia. He said Shere Ali was alienated; but he did not attempt to show that he intrigued with Russia before July, 1876, when Lord Lytton began his operations. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON expressed dissent.] The noble Lord did not prove any intrigue between Shere Ali and the Russians until the date at which the negotiations between Lord Lytton and Shere Ali about sending an Envoy began. But the noble Lord ridiculed Lord Northbrook's promises, and said we had nothing more to offer Abdurrahman than Lord Northbrook had to offer Shere Ali in 1873. What more has anybody to offer? Lord Lytton, although he asked a great deal more, never offered anything more, and never proposed to offer anything more when the Mission of Sir Neville Chamberlain was sent. The pledge which was to be given to Shere Ali has always remained substantially that which Lord Northbrook offered; and it appears to me that it is all that any British Government, having any regard to its responsibilities, can fairly offer to the Ruler of Afghanistan. We are asked now, if we are going to abandon the policy of our Predecessors, and if we are going to give up Candahar, what is our policy, and how are we going to fulfil the pledges given to Abdurrahman, and exclude Russian influence? There is no necessity to go beyond the declarations made by Lord Northbrook, and by former Liberal Governments. Russia knows that Afghanistan is held by us to be outside the sphere of her influence; and, up to a short time ago, Afghanistan knew that we held that principle. What has been the effect of our proceedings upon the Afghans it is difficult to say; and what confidence they may feel in our precautions against Russia is extremely doubtful; but Russia knows now that the present Government holds Afghanistan to be outside the sphere of her influence. If I am asked what we are going to do when Russia interferes, I can only say that I can conceive nothing more unnecessary than to lay down a cut-and-dried policy with regard to contingencies which have not arisen. Russia has never interfered in Afghanistan by military operations. She has never touched in her military capacity one particle of territory which has ever been held by Afghanistan; and if Russia has interfered diplomatically, she has never done so until she believed she was on the brink of war with you in Europe—until by the fault, as we think, of the late Viceroy, but, as you think, of Lord Northbrook, Shere Ali had become entirely alienated from us. Under these circumstances, it is not necessary to say beforehand precisely what strategic positions or what measures you were going to adopt. Russia knows perfectly well that any interference, militarily or diplomatically, in Afghanistan means the rupture of friendly relations with this country, and she knows that we hold ourselves justified in resisting such interference by any means in our power; by any means that may be most convenient and most suitable at the time. It is not necessary to say beforehand whether those means would be war in Europe or Asia—war by our own troops, or war by the assistance of Afghan levies. Russia knows perfectly well that we hold ourselves free, and that we are prepared to give effect to those assurances and those professions we have always made. You want us to trust, as Lord Lytton trusted, to a scientific Frontier, and to conciliate the Afghan people by taking possession of all their principal places, and of the *débouchés* of all their principal Passes. We do not intend to trust to a scientific Frontier; we do not intend to look only to mountain Passes and strongholds. We think that some attention should be paid to the fact that these mountain

Passes and strongholds are held by men, and are inhabited by men of whom the strongest characteristic is their deep and strong attachment to their independence. We think that we will try to teach them once more that we ourselves respect that independence, and that in our own interest, and for the protection of our own Frontier, we will assist them to maintain that independence against any comer from whatever quarter he may come.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I can assure the House that it is with unfeigned reluctance that I rise to trespass upon it at this late hour; but I feel it would be quite impossible for me to allow the House to go to a division upon the remarkable speech we have just listened to from the noble Marquess without recalling their attention for one single moment to the real issue which lies before us, and with which he has dealt with great ability, but, I venture to say, in a manner most excellently calculated to confuse the perception of the House and divert attention from it. Sir, I admit that in the opening words of his speech the noble Lord took a somewhat different line, and a juster line, than that which had been taken by his Colleagues in the course of this and previous discussions. They—and I especially refer to the speech of the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke), but also to other speeches—rather strove, as it seemed to me, to fasten upon my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), and upon the Motion he had submitted to the House, a wider meaning than that Motion bears, and a wider meaning than he had attempted to give to it. The noble Marquess took a different line. He complained not that the Motion was too wide, but that it was too narrow; not that the censure was too severe, but a great deal too mild. He could not conceal his wonder that we should have thought it necessary to bring forward a censure of so limited a character. I will explain in a moment why we gave to this censure the character which it bears; but let me say that if the Motion was of so limited a character, and if the censure was so mild, surely it would have been a better course for the noble Marquess to have met the Motion which he thought so narrow, and to have answered the objections which appeared so trivial, and to have called the House to support him in the answers he thought it right to give. I venture to say that the noble Marquess has given no answer to the Motion which has been submitted. He has talked a great deal about other things, and it was very amusing and interesting—"*C'est magnifique, mais ne c'est pas la guerre!*" Now, why do we challenge you? We challenge you because we take the ground which the Government themselves have taken. In the Speech which Her Gracious Majesty was advised to make at the opening of this Session we find this paragraph—

> "The war in Afghanistan has been brought to a close, and, with the exception of the Candahar force, my troops have been recalled within the Indian frontier. It is not my intention that the occupation of Candahar shall be permanently maintained; but the still unsettled condition of the country, and the consequent difficulty of establishing a Native Government, have delayed for a time the withdrawal of the army from that position."

That was the view taken at the time the Queen's Speech was delivered. There have been a good many changes since then, not only in Afghanistan, but in other parts of the world, and I am not at all sure that we might not with advantage be favoured with a revised edition of that Speech. But, so far as this particular point is concerned, the Government ought either to tell us that they have now changed their mind, and that they no longer hold the view which they held when they penned the sentence I have read, or they should tell us that they think the time has arrived for a settlement of the Government of Afghanistan, and that the proper time has come for the withdrawal of the Army from their present positions. My hon. Friend has challenged them upon that particular point, and he has challenged them by a declaration which he asks the House to affirm, though we do not suppose it will affirm it. We shall clear our consciences, at all events. We declare—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the withdrawal of British troops from Southern Afghanistan in the present critical state of affairs in that country will not be conducive to the permanent interests of India."

I ask you has anything been shown to answer that statement? We have been told that the ideas which we have with regard to the fears entertained as to the advance of Russia and other matters of this kind are wild and chimerical, and that the mode in which it is proposed to meet the danger is altogether unwise and injudicious, and that it is opposed by high authority, and by the sentiments which have, at former times, been held and enunciated by some amongst ourselves. It is interesting and useful for us to discuss these matters; but we complain that we are never told how the Government intend to meet the particular difficulties which we put before them. We want an answer as to the effect of the withdrawal of our troops from Candahar at the present moment. I do not shrink at all from entering into the larger discussion, though I am sorry that I should be called upon to do so at so late an hour, because I know it is impossible to enter fully into the discussion now, and unless I do so I am aware my observations will be held to be imperfect. Perhaps it is necessary that some words should be said in regard to what is called the change of my opinion and that of some others. The time to which reference is made is the time when I myself was Secretary of State for India, and when Lord Lawrence was Governor General. I was then in the closest possible relation with Lord Lawrence. I knew by private and official correspondence Lord Lawrence's views on this particular point, and I was thoroughly of opinion that the view of Lord Lawrence as to the impolicy of making an advance on Quetta beyond the Frontier of British India was a sound view. But that was under a state of things wholly different from the state of things which now prevails; it is not that my opinion has changed, it is the state of things that has changed; and when we are quoting Lord Lawrence and what is called the policy of masterly inactivity, allow me to say that that policy was not confined to a simple determination to sit still within our limits and to take no steps beyond them. On the contrary, it was a policy which was founded upon premisses and principles going beyond that point, because not only was it the policy of Lord Lawrence to keep within our own Frontiers as far as our own troops were concerned, but I assert, in spite of all that has been said by the noble Lord and others, it was his policy to maintain a proper and legitimate British influence in Afghanistan. It was his policy to exclude Russia from any interference with the Afghan people; it was his policy to strengthen, as far as possible, the *de facto* Government of Afghanistan; and it was his opinion that we should, with reference to Russia, make such diplomatic arrangements as would insure her not interfering with Afghanistan, and that we should give her to understand that if she gave us any trouble there we would attack her in Europe. Are we to go upon those principles now? In the first place, is not one great factor in Lord Lawrence's policy entirely taken out of the case—I mean the existence of a strong, united, and friendly Afghanistan which should be exempt from Russian influence? Can anybody who knows what the history of the last few years has been say that there is any longer a possibility of such a factor being brought into consideration? We are told that Russia was not to blame—that she was in her right when she made the movement in Afghanistan which caused us so much uneasiness, because Russia was then in a condition of strained relations with this country. We are told that, although the overtures she made to the Ameer were of a character hostile to us, she was perfectly justified in making them. Well, but if she were justified, that proves our case; it proves that though you are not afraid of Russia when you are at peace with her, and when you have no objects that are at all adverse to her's, yet that if you ever come into difficulties with Russia, if she ever wants to embarrass you, it is in her power to interfere with you in a very inconvenient way in Afghanistan. When we talk of the interference of Russia in Afghanistan, we do not mean what the noble Lord was talking about just now. Did you ever hear, he says, of a Russian force invading Afghanistan? No; of course not. That is not what we are afraid of. What we are afraid of is the intrigue of Russia and the possible friendly intervention of Russia with Afghanistan—friendly to some Rulers there, but unfriendly in a very deadly way to the British Power. Now, we have a great population in India for whom we have become responsible. The hon, Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Symth), who always enchants us with his eloquence and courage, told us we were altogether wrong in our Indian policy from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings down to those of Dalhousie and Lytton. This is a question we might discuss on other occasions; but we cannot conveniently do it now. Hon. Gentlemen opposite justly contend that we must look to our obligations to the people of India, and that we must consider that, being placed in the situation in which we are, it is our duty to preserve them, as far as possible, in peace and happiness and contentment. Now, our contention is, that if you allow danger and mischief to come close to your Frontier, and if you allow Russia to advance and make overtures there, and to stir up mischief in that country, you will produce serious evil there, and you will produce disorder and discontent and anxiety amongst our people in India. Well, now you say that these are views of alarmists, and of those people who want an excuse for enlarging our Dominions. I do not know anybody who wants to enlarge our Empire. I can only say for myself, it is that which I most shrink from, if it can be in any way avoided. But I will not appeal to an alarmist; I will appeal to an authority which cannot in the least be suspected in this matter. I will appeal to Lord Lawrence. Lord Lawrence himself always held the opinion that if there was any danger whatever that the tribes or Chiefs in Afghanistan would shake themselves off from our influence and call in the assistance of any other Power—Russia more especially—then it would be our duty to interpose. I dislike reading anything to the House, and especially at this hour (1.20); but what I have here is so interesting that I will read it, although I have read it to the House on a former occasion. It is a portion of a private letter written to me by Lord Lawrence at the time I assumed the Office of Secretary of State for India; and I think the House will feel that it is not inexpedient or out of place to read it now, inasmuch as it refers to the state of things existing in Afghanistan at that time, and to the state of things which will be reproduced the moment we leave the country now. Sir, at that time there was a great contest going on between Shere Ali and, I think, Abdurrahman himself; and Lord Lawrence, writing to me on the subject, said—

> "Hitherto we have steered clear of all Afghan troubles; we allow the contending factions to fight out their own battles with their own resources."

Then he gives his view of the position of Shere Ali, and goes on to say—

> "He has now sent down one of his Envoys to the Commissioner of Scinde; but until I hear what this gentleman has to say I can come to no definite conclusion. Now, it is one thing to leave the Afghans alone to fight out their own battles, and to stand by when others are interfering. I do not think there is much to choose between the two parties in Afghanistan. I do not think that either of them is in the least degree to be trusted if any strong inducement were to arise. I do not think that any one Chief, if he were to obtain supreme authority, could count on retaining it for six months."

Lord Lawrence thought—

> "It would be the best course if Shere Ali adopted the policy I have indicated. I shall tell him that, although we have taken no part on the other side, we still cannot consent to send him aid to support Herat; we will recognize him as Ruler of Herat; but if he should resolve to call in the aid of Russia and Persia, he would compel us to give assistance to the two brothers who are now in possession of Cabul."

Lord Lawrence again communicated with me; and so strongly did he appear to feel the necessity of keeping Russia out of the field, that he was prepared, if assistance were given by Russia to one pretender, to give his assistance to the other. Lord Lawrence felt that it was absolutely essential that Russia should be kept out of Afghanistan, even at this inconvenience of giving assistance to one of the pretenders. Now, let me ask these questions. Does anyone suppose that if we retire to-morrow from Candahar there will not be a struggle between the two Chiefs Abdurrahman and Ayoob Khan? Does anyone doubt that Ayoob Khan has as good a chance of obtaining success as Abdurrahman? Does anyone doubt that there will be a struggle between the two relatives, which will almost certainly lead to the beaten party invoking the aid of Russia? Does anyone doubt that when that takes place we shall be called upon to interfere and take some part in the quarrel? We want to know what is the view of the Government of what we should do in that case. The noble Lord tells us he means to sit still; but does he really mean that? What of the language of the Government in the Queen's Speech? What is the difference in the position now—why is it that it is now reasonable to do that which it was not safe to do then? You will have a most serious responsibility cast upon you if you withdraw from Candahar; and, as far I can see, you have not made out for yourselves at all clearly the answers to the questions you will have to meet. You may say you will leave these things to settle themselves by a process of natural selection; but the natural selection, as has been already said, will be the Russian selection—the power will be selected which gives assistance first. If we are to sit still within our boundaries, we shall only allow an appeal to be made to the Power that is ready to give assistance. And does anyone doubt that that assistance will come from Russia? I have no doubt there is a desire on the part of the Russian Government that the present Czar shall do nothing to interfere with the proper relations between England and Russia with regard to Afghanistan. The late Czar, too, had every desire not to interfere with those relations; but he could not help it, and the present Czar will be in the same position. Do you trust to your being strong enough to prevent the interference of Russia in the affairs of Afghanistan? Well, but if so, what is to happen? Are we to go back again? You have had a pretty good experience of what it costs to fight your way into Afghanistan, even with advantages which you would not have again. You have had the advantage of being able to say to people dissatisfied with the Cabul Government—"We will deliver you from the yoke that you dislike." You have had from them assistance that enabled you to execute great military operations in Afghanistan. You have with great difficulty got there; but you will have a much more difficult task if, after having gone out and, perhaps, having been out some months, you attempt to force your way in again. You may find that preparations have been made against you, and that your friends are embittered by your desertion. Something has been said about prestige, and we have been asked what prestige means. I do not attempt to give a full definition of it, and I do not wish to prophesy; but I will venture to say that your prestige will seriously suffer if you get the character of being people who are ready to abandon your friends, to whom you have pledged your assistance—to abandon them to the enemies from whom you professed to deliver them. There are many ways in which your prestige would suffer; and I believe that your retirement now would lead to a thorough misconstruction of your action. It would not be believed that you retire now because there has been a General Election in England, and the Liberal Party are in power. We are told that that is the solution of this question—that a united Liberal Party feel dissatisfied with the conduct of the late Government, and insist that the policy of that Government shall not be carried out. But will you get that belief out there? What will the Candaharis, the Cabulis, the Punjaubis, or the people of India know of the exigencies of Party in England? They will know as little of the real merits of the case as the humble elector referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General. "But," says the right hon. Gentleman, "the humblest elector will have the satisfaction of thinking that by his vote he has supported this act of justice and honesty." Well, I have no doubt that the British elector would at any time be ready to give a vote in favour of what he believes to be for the sustainment of justice and the national honour; and I am not for a moment disputing that this consideration was pressed upon many of them, at the time of the General Election, under circumstances of misrepresentation and misconstruction. We have denied, we have all along denied, and we do still deny, that there is any truth in the allegation that we undertook an unjust war. We say it was an unfortunate war that was forced upon us; but I will not go into that question at this moment. What I want to ask is this—Is it wise, is it safe, is it possible, that we can govern a country—at a distance from us of half the globe, and with a population of 250,000,000, whose circumstances are as different as light from darkness from the circumstances of the average electors in this country—on principles that are to make the whole of our Indian policy depend from one six years to another upon the result of a particular Election? I undertake to say that in adopting such a course you are attempting one of the rashest and maddest feats that are possible. The people of India will not understand that this is simply a question upon which the Liberal Party are united; and how will they be able to understand the few words sent by telegram giving the result of this debate? Remember how much is at stake, and what is likely to be the effect upon their minds of the withdrawal from Candahar. They will point to the reverses you have met with, and the difficulties you have experienced, and will say you have found your resources unequal to the task you have set yourselves. We are told that the disaster of Maiwand has been entirely wiped out by the brilliant and successful march of Sir Frederick Roberts. Yes; that is perfectly true if you remain, with the results of that march and victory still in your possession; but if you retire from the battle-field, though your success may be fairly set against the defeat of Maiwand, it will remain in the minds of many people of that country, and will be impressed on them effectually from without, that though you were successful in action, your strength was insufficient to enable you afterwards to reap the fruits of your success. The disasters of the first Afghan campaign in 1841 were wiped out by subsequent victories; but the impression left on the Native mind by the British defeat was greater than that left by British successes. As you lose your prestige—if it is thought you have begun to retire, feeling yourself unable to hold your own, then ten-fold will be the prestige of Russia, who is advancing, and whose advance, moreover, is heralded and magnified by every one of rumour's thousand tongues in the bazaars, the Courts of the Native Princes, and elsewhere. The story will go forth that England has begun to retire because she feels herself unequal to the great task which is involved in an expenditure of £1,500,000, and because she is shrinking from the great burden that is thrown upon her shoulders. Depend upon it that when that comes to pass, unless you are prepared finally to retreat from a large part of that Empire you hold in India, you will not escape from that expenditure, but will, on the contrary, have to incur a still larger expenditure on the force you will have to employ in the defence not only of your Frontiers, but of your rule in India itself. The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), in his able speech last night, told us that he looked forward to the continuance of the Liberal Government in power for the next 20 years. Well, should they remain in power, and should they continue to carry out their present policy, I am afraid that at the end of that period there will be very little of the British Empire left for them to govern. I must apologize for having detained the House so long upon this question. We are about to come to a vote on which we shall be defeated; but we cannot help that. We think it to be our duty to raise our voices and to protest against a policy which we believe and are convinced is risky, dangerous, and unsafe. We leave the responsibility upon the Government. But we say the Government have failed to lay upon the Table of the House, or to inform those opposed to them, with anything like the amount of information we have a right to demand. If you like to say that these matters are to be dealt with by Governments, Councils, and Indian authorities, well and good—let them take the responsibility; but if you take the line which we are now led to believe you are about to take, and if you are acting not on the mere responsibility of a Ministry, not on the advice of Viceroys and Councils, but on the mere promptings and exigencies of Party, I confess it seems to me the result will be disastrous.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 216; Noes 336: Majority 120.

AYES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, Capt. J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, Col. F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. de la P.
Biddell, W.
Birkbeck, E.
Birley, H.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.

Burghley, Lord
Burnaby, General E. S.
Burrell, Sir W. W.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Close, M. C.
Cobbold, T. C.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cowen, J.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, rt. hon. G.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hn. L. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Egerton, Sir P. G.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Major-General R. J.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Helmsley, Viscount
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon, E.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holker, Sir J.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Captain D. M.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lee, Major V.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Col. R. L.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, hon. W.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
March, Earl of
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hn. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, H. S.
Northcote, rt. hn. Sir S. H.
O'Donnell, F. H.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Palliser, Sir W.
Patrick, R. W. C.
Peek, Sir H.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Powell, W.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W
Ritchie, C. T.
Rodwell, B. B. H.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
Sandon, Viscount
Schreiber, C.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.
Storer, G.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Watney, J.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Agar-Robartes, hn. T. C.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Allman, R. L.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barran, J.
Bass, A.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Bradlaugh, C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Buxton, F. W.
Byrne, G. M.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Carington, hn. Colonel W. H. P.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Cavendish, Lord F. C.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Chitty, J. W.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Col. D. la T.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowan, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.

Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dickson, J.
Dilke, A. W.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, rt. hon. M. E. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. H. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grenfell, W. H.
Grey, A. H. G.
Guest, M. J.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Holms, W.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
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Hughes, W. B.
Hutchinson, J. D.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johnson, E.
Johnson, W. M.
Joicey, Colonel J.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Law, rt. hon. H.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Laycock, R.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Leeman, J. J.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Litton, E. F.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M‘Arthur, A.
M‘Carthy, J.
M‘Coan, J. C.
M‘Intyre, Æneas J.
M‘Kenna, Sir J. N.
M‘Lagan, P.
M‘Laren, C. B. B.
M‘Laren, J.
M‘Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, Sir D. C.
Marjoribanks, E.
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, R. B.
Mason, H.
Massey, rt. hon. W. N.
Maxwell-Heron, J.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Milbank, F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Major J. P.
O'Beirne, Major F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Conor, D. M.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Otway, A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, J. W.
Peddie, J. D.
Peel, A. W.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hon. L.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pugh, L. P.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, Lord A.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smyth, P. J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Story-Maskelyne, M. H.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan A. M.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M‘C.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, G. O.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, H. H.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Waugh, E.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Whalley, G. H.
Whitbread, S.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, B. T.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.
Woolf, S.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

BLIND AND DEAF MUTE CHILDREN BILL.—[BILL 85.]

(*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Brydges Williams, Mr. Montagu Scott.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Woodall.*)

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he did not think it was right that at that late hour (2 o'clock), any hon. Member should ask the House to go into Committee upon a Bill. If there was any intention of proceeding with the Bill in Committee, he should feel it his duty to oppose the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

LAND TAX COMMISSIONERS' NAMES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill to appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts for granting a Land Tax and other rates and taxes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 126.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock
till Monday next.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLIX.

THIRD VOLUME OF SESSION 1881.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—1*st. Div.*, 2*nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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Afghanistan

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Speech of Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Mar* 4, 326

The Native Population, Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 14, 915

Africa (West Coast)—Rumoured Hostilities on the Gold Coast
Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 10, 735

Agricultural Statistics—Unoccupied Land (England)
Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 24, 1806

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bill (*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. James Cowan, Mr. J. C. Lawrance, Mr. Birkbeck*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 23, 1731
After debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Rodwell*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 10]

Agricultural Tenants' Compensation (No. 2) Bill (*Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Evans, Mr. Hussey Vivian, Lord Moreton, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Rodwell, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Story-Maskelyne*)
c. Read 2°* *Mar* 23 [Bill 31]

Agriculture and Commerce, Minister of
Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 17, 1229

Alexander, Colonel C., *Ayrshire, S.*
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Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Bill [H.L.] (*The Marquess of Huntly*)
l. Committee, after short debate *Mar* 8, 534 (No. 29)
Report *Mar* 15, 1050 (No. 33)
Read 3a* *Mar* 17 (No. 49)
c. Read 1°* (*Mr. Dodson*) *Mar* 18 [Bill 119]

Ancient Monuments
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 11, To leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should take steps to provide for the protection of Ancient Monuments" (*Sir John Lubbock*) v., 867; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 56, N. 79; M. 23 (D. L. 155)
Words added; main Question, as amended, put and agreed to

Anderson, Mr. G., *Glasgow*
Parliament—Rules and Orders of the House—Chairman of Committees, 1251
Presumption of Life (Scotland), 2R. 366
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ARGYLL, Duke of (Lord Privy Seal)
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Arms Bill
(*Mr. Callan, Mr. Martin*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Callan*) *Mar* 10, 774; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°* [Bill 109]

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MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
Abolition of Corporal Punishment—The Troops in Natal, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 14, 921
Army Discipline Act—Courts Martial, Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 24, 1814
Army Enlistment Acts, Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 7, 426
Army Medical Department (Retirement), Question, Mr. Findlater; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 21, 1498;—*Supply of Medicines*, Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 7, 421
Army Pay Department, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 4, 329
Long and Short Service, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 21, 1510
Longford Barracks, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 7, 419
Mounted Officers in the Field, Question, Mr. Hussey Vivian; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 10, 729;—*Exposure of Officers*, Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 11, 813
Native and Colonial Levies, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 3, 132
Non-Commissioned Officers of Engineers, Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 24, 1814
Quartermasters, Question, Mr. Ross; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 17, 1243
Retired Army Captains, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 10, 716
Sergeants—The Defaulter List, Question, Sir William Palliser; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 10, 739
Staff Paymasters, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 14, 902
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Small Arms — Magazine Rifles, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 15, 1056

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Army Organization
Departmental Statement, Mr. Childers *Mar* 3, 190; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Secretary Childers*); after debate, Motion withdrawn
Questions, General Sir George Balfour, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Mr. Childers *Mar* 7, 424
The New Territorial System, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 17, 1244
Artillery Militia, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Colonel Alexander; Answers, Mr. Childers *Mar* 10, 727
The New Regulations—Regimental Field Officers, Question, Observations, Viscount Hardinge; Reply, The Earl of Morley *Mar* 11, 785;—*Master Gunners*, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 15, 1056;—*The Guards*, Question, Colonel Digby; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 8, 549;—*Seconded and Supernumerary Officers*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 8, 550

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Adjutants of Volunteers, Question, Mr. Rowley Hill; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 25, 1931
Allowances to Volunteer Corps, Question, Sir John Kennaway; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 7, 425
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Issue of Martini-Henry Rifles to the Volunteers, Question, Colonel Walrond; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 8, 546
The Revised Volunteer Regulations, Question, Mr. Macliver; Answer, Mr. Childers *Mar* 15, 1055

Army—Army Accoutrements
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 17, To leave out from "That," and add "the present conspicuous and tight-fitting dress and accoutrements of the British Army places it at a serious disadvantage when opposed to troops armed with weapons of accuracy, and causes the unnecessary loss of many valuable lives" (*Colonel Barne*) *v.*, 1252; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Army Re-organization—Battalions Abroad
Address for Return (similar to No. 70 of 1879) of all non-commissioned officers and privates of each battalion under orders for or sent to South Africa since the 1st of January of the present year, as they embarked, showing ages, length of service, and number who have not completed their drill and musketry instruction; also similar Return of all drafts to complete other battalions than those sent from home stations; also number drawn to complete for service from other than their own brigades, in tabular form similar to that of the above-named Return (*The Viscount Bury*) *Mar* 11, 794; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) Bill (*Mr. Secretary Childers, The Judge Advocate General, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 123]

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Ashley, Hon. E. M. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Isle of Wight*
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Assessment and Redemption of Tithe—Extraordinary Tithe Rent Charges
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Attorney General, The (Sir H. James) *Taunton*
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    Evesham and Oxford Elections, 1229
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Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 24, 1801

Aylmer, Captain J. E. F., *Maidstone*
Africa, South—The Transvaal—Negotiations, 1819
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Balfour, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
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BARCLAY, Mr. J. W., *Forfarshire*
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BARNE, Colonel F. St. J. N., *Suffolk, E*
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BAXTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Montrose, &c.*
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BEAUMONT, Mr. W. B., *Northumberland, S.*
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BELLINGHAM, Mr. A. H., *Louth*
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BERESFORD, Mr. G. De La Poer, *Armagh*
Ireland, State of — Kerry Assizes—Tralee Land Leaguers, 1813

BIDDELL, Mr. W., *Suffolk, W.*
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BIGGAR, Mr. J. G., *Cavan Co.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1703
Ireland—Poor Law—Alleged Mismanagement of the Belfast Workhouse, 1495
Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act—Drainage, &c. Works at Duhallow, Co. Cork, 1506
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  - Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1612
  - Public Buildings, 931
  - Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, Ireland, 1128
  - Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1572
  - Stationery and Printing, 957
  - Surveys of the United Kingdom, 932
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Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Fry, Mr. Barran*)
- *c.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 7, 525
- After short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. R. N. Fowler*); Question put; A. 19, N. 93; M. 74 (D. L. 116)
- Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 16]
- Committee*; Report; Bill re-committed *Mar* 8
- Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Mar* 24, 1916; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Committee—R.P.

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., *Norfolk, N.*
- Mercantile Marine—Lights on German Fishing Boats, 715
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1827
- Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1016

BIRLEY, Mr. H., *Manchester*
- French Commercial Treaty — Negotiations, 1651

BLAKE, Mr. J. A., *Waterford Co.*
- Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 613, 616
- Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. Ireland, 1109
  - Land Judges' Offices, Ireland, 1130

BLENNERHASSETT, Mr. R. P., *Kerry*
- Law and Justice—Cost of Litigation, 328
- Poor Law (England)—St. Olave's Workhouse, 136

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill
(*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Bridges Willyams, Mr. Montagu Scott*)
- *c.* Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Mar* 25, 2036; Motion withdrawn; Committee deferred [Bill 85]

BORLASE, Mr. W. C., *Cornwall, E.*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease — Orders in Council, 1817, 1818

BOURKE, Right Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
- Houses of Parliament—Telephonic Communication, 1245
- India—Afghanistan—Candahar, 1509
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BRABOURNE, Lord
- Africa, South—Basutoland, 1797
  - Transvaal (Negotiations), 1786

BRADLAUGH, Mr. C., *Northampton*
- Navy Estimates—Miscellaneous Services, 1469
- New Zealand—Illegal Detention of Natives, 710
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- Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 473
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BRAND, Mr. H. R., *Stroud*
- Supply—Public Buildings, 929
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- Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 1431, 1437, 1443
  - Scientific Branch, 1464, 1465, 1467

BRETT, Mr. R. B., *Penryn, &c.*
- India — Afghanistan — Withdrawal of British Troops from Southern Afghanistan, Res. 1967

BRIGHT, Mr. J., *Manchester*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1716, 1719

BRINTON, Mr. J., *Kidderminster*
- Commercial Treaty with France—New French Tariff, 1361

BRISE, Colonel S. B. RUGGLES-, *Essex, E.*
- Exemption from Distress, Comm. *cl.* 4, 103 5

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Broadhurst, Mr. H., *Stoke-on-Trent*
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Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar* 10, 717

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Companies Acts, 1868—*Trinity College, London*
Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 21, 1511

Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Frederick Cavendish*)
c. Resolution [March 21] reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 22
Read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 23, 1785
Committee *; Report *Mar* 24
Read 3° * *Mar* 25

Contagious Diseases Acts—The Select Committee
Moved, "That Dr. Cameron and Dr. Farquharson be added to the Committee" (*Mr. Childers*) *Mar* 10, 774; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-9—*London Lock Hospital*
Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Osborne Morgan *Mar* 22, 1653

Contagious Diseases (*Animals*) *Acts*
Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 25, 1937;—*The Orders in Council*, Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Sir William Welby-Gregory, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Borlase; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 24, 1815
Importation of Cattle from the Dominion of Canada, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 18, 1367

Contagious Diseases (*Animals*) *Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease*
Moved, "That this House is of opinion that the recent outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease has been entirely caused by the importation of diseased animals into this Country from abroad
"That it is proved by experience that compulsory slaughter on landing does not afford security against the introduction of contagious cattle diseases from Foreign Countries
"And that the landing in England, Scotland, or Ireland of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from countries which are known to be infected, or as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the Laws thereof relating to the Importation and Exportation of Animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased into this Country" (*Mr. Chaplin*) *Mar* 22, 1662; after long debate, Question put; A. 147, N. 205; M. 58 (D. L. 167)

Conveyancing and Law of Property Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. H. Fowler*) *Mar* 7 [Bill 101]

Co-operative Supply Associations—Civil Servants of the Crown
Questions, Mr. Firth, Mr. Macdonald; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 22, 1654

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Waugh*, *Mr. George Howard*, *Mr. Stafford Howard*, *Mr. Ainsworth*, *Mr. Ferguson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 16 [Bill 117]

Copyright Bill (*Mr. Hastings*, *Mr. Hanbury-Tracy*, *Sir Gabriel Goldney*)
c. Ordered * *Mar* 15
Read 1° * *Mar* 18 [Bill 121]

CORBET, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow Co.*
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Coroners (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Healy*, *Mr. Gray*, *Mr. Barry*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 4, 371
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°, and committed to a Select Committee [Bill 73]

COURTAULD, Mr. G., *Maldon*
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(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Mar* 4 (No. 42)
Read 2ª * *Mar* 7
Question, Observations, The Earl of Rosebery; Reply, The Lord Chancellor *Mar* 10, 697
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" *Mar* 22, 1616; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The Lord Moncreiff*); Motion agreed to; Further debate adjourned sine die

COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
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  India—Afghanistan—Withdrawal of British Troops from Southern Afghanistan, Res. 1977
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Dundalk Water Bill (by Order)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*) *Mar* 21, 1485
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Callan*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

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Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H., *Kent, Mid*
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Ecclesiastical Courts
Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, as created or modified under the Reformation Statutes of the 24th and 25th years of King Henry the Eighth and any subsequent Acts (*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*) *Mar* 7, 378
Amendt. to leave out after ("That,") and add ("whereas a Royal Commission in the year 1831, consisting of the then Archbishop of Canterbury and four other Bishops, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Chief Justice of Common Pleas, besides several other learned judges, was appointed to inquire into the practice and jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England and Wales, which Commission, after mature deliberation, presented a report in 1832: And whereas in the late matter of the Rev. P. T. Dale and the Rev. R. W. Enraght before the High Court of Judicature, the judges, after giving careful consideration, unanimously declared that the 'Court under the Public Worship Act was the same which had existed from the time of Lord Coke downwards, and was neither a new court nor had any new jurisdiction,' it is the opinion of this House that it is not desirable that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as proposed" (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*); after debate, Question, That the words, &c. put; resolved in the affirmative
Original motion agreed to
Queen's Answer to Address reported *Mar* 14, 890

Edmonton Local Board Bill (*by Order*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *Mar* 11, 797
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Sir Henry Tyler*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Education Department
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Rural School Boards, Question, Mr. Roundell; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 22, 1654
School Fees, Question, Mr. W. Newzam Nicholson; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 3, 143; —*Bye-Laws of School Boards—School Fees*, Question, Mr. Tillett; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 24, 1807
Spalding School Board Election, Question, Mr. Mellor; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 21, 1499
Stratford-on-Avon School Board, Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 21, 1506
Voluntary and Board Schools, Question, Mr. Lyulph Stanley; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 24, 1803

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Wales—Report of the Departmental Commission, Question, Sir Robert Cunliffe; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 7, 422
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Exemption from Distress Bill
(*Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Joseph Pease, Mr. Cropper*)
c. Read 2° * *Mar* 2 [Bill 92]
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Mar* 14, 1031; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report

Extraordinary Tithe Rent Charges — Assessment and Redemption of Tithe
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Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. J. W. Barclay*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 227, N. 33; M. 191 (D. L. 166)
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Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey to Her Majesty the expression of the indignation and deep concern with which this House has learned the assassination of Her Majesty's relative and ally His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and to pray Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to express to His Majesty the present Emperor, on the part of this House, their abhorrence of the crime, and their sympathy with the Imperial family of Russia and with the Government

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His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias—cont.
and people of that country" (*The Earl Granville*) *Mar* 15, 1042; after short debate, on Question, agreed to, nemine dissentiente
Moved to resolve, "That this House do condole with Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia, on the heavy loss which she has sustained in the death, under circumstances of so painful a character, of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias" (*The Earl Granville*) *Mar* 15, 1045; on Question, agreed to, nemine dissentiente
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Moved, "That it be ordered, That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, and that the Marquess of Tavistock and the Earl Percy do attend Her Royal and Imperial Highness with the said Message" (*Mr. Gladstone*), 1066
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(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 11 [Bill 111]
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(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 15 [Bill 115]

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(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
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Mac Iver, Mr. D., ***Birkenhead***
Commercial Treaties—Reciprocity Duties, 1052, 1053
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Macliver, Mr. P. S., ***Plymouth***
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Africa, South—The Transvaal—Alfred Aylward, 545
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McKenna, Sir J. N., ***Youghal***
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Local Taxation Returns (Scotland), 2R. 1030, 1031, 1474
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  Education Act, 1872—School Children—The Census, 907
  Lottery Acts — "Whisky Wapinschaw," 1800
  Poor Law—Inspectors of the Poor, 726
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  Sasine Office, Edinburgh, 813, 1497
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Magniac, Mr. C., *Bedford*
Assessment of Lands, 1057
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1726
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Russia and China—The Recent Treaty, 736
Supply—Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1601

Maintenance Law Amendment Bill
(*Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Mr. Serjeant Simon*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. A. M. Sullivan*) *Mar* 10, 776; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°* [Bill 110]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 18, 1476
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Whitley*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Moved, "That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee;" Motion agreed to

Maintenance of Children Bill [Bill 59]
(*Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Thomasson*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 16, 1214
After short debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Lewis*); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after further short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Brodrick*); Question put; A. 71, N. 141; M. 70 (D. L. 162)
Question again proposed, "That 'now' &c.," 1218; after short debate, Debate adjourned

Makins, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
Coroners (Ireland), 2R. 375
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 492
Public Worship Regulation Act—The Rev. S. F. Green, 1655
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Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 4, 701; *cl.* 47, 708; 3R. 1222

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R. *Leicestershire, N.*
Africa, South—The Transvaal—Negotiations, 1820, 1821
India—Afghanistan—Candahar, 1509
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Parliament—Business of the House, 1831
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1586, 1591, 1594, 1595

Marjoribanks, Mr. E., *Berwickshire*
Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1016, 1017; *cl.* 9, 1028

Married Women's Property Bill
(*Mr. Hinde Palmer, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Horace Davey*)
c. Select Committee, Mr. Shaw Lefevre added *Mar* 7
Report of Select Comm.* *Mar* 10 [No. 124]

Marum, Mr. E. P. M., *Kilkenny Co.*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 450; *cl.* 5, 642

Massy, Lord
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Maxwell, Sir H. E., *Wigton*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1695

Maxwell-Heron, Captain J. M., *Kirkcudbright*
Army—Staff Paymasters, 902
Navy Estimates — Miscellaneous Services, 1471
Wellington College—Annual Report, 809

Meldon, Mr. C. H., *Kildare*
Dundalk Water, 2R. 1491
Floods (Ireland)—River Barrow, 1935

Mellor, Mr. J. W., *Grantham*
Education Department — Spalding School Board Election, 1499
High Court of Justice — The Cause Lists, 1806

Merchant Shipping—Lights on German Fishing Boats
Question, Mr. Birkbeck ; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 10, 715

Metropolis
Miscellaneous Questions
Attempt to Blow up the Mansion House, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar* 17, 1250
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Metropolitan Board of Works — Subways, Question, Sir Harry Verney ; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg *Mar* 3, 138
Middlesex Magistrates—Music Licences (*Good Friday*), Question, Mr. Bryce ; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 3, 139
Poor Law Guardians—Nominated Guardians, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith ; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 21, 1501
Street Traffic—Wood Pavement in Piccadilly, Question, Mr. Carington ; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg *Mar* 22, 1656

Metropolitan Commons Supplemental Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Mar* 2 [Bill 99]
Read 2°* *Mar* 14

Midleton, Viscount
Alkali, &c. Works Regulation, Comm. 534 ; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 535, 536, 537 ; Report of Amendts. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1050, 1051

Mines Regulation Acts—The Cleveland District—Use of Blasting Powder
Question, Mr. Macdonald ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar* 10, 716

Mint, The Royal—The Annual Report
Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 25, 1931

Molloy, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 515

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Morgan, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), *Denbighshire*
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Municipal Corrupt Practices Act—Liverpool Municipal Election
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Municipal Franchise (Scotland) Bill
(*Dr. Cameron, Colonel Alexander, Mr. Duncan M'Laren, Mr. M'Laren*)
c. Committee* (*on re-comm.*); Report *Mar* 23
Read 3^{o}* *Mar* 24 [Bill 82]
l. Read 1^{a}* (*Earl of Camperdown*) *Mar* 25 (No. 55)

Murray, Mr. C. J., *Hastings*
Africa, South—The Transvaal—Negotiations, 1819, 1820

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ment, Questions, Mr. Baxter, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 21, 1497;—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 22, 1729;—*Order of Business,* Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote; Reply, Mr. Childers *Mar* 23, 1785

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"*Draft Editorials*"—*The Government and the Press,* Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 3, 135

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Printing for the House of Commons—Messrs. Hansard's Contract, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 10, 711

Securing Seats in this House, Questions, Mr Montague Guest, Mr. Macartney; Answers, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 25, 1936

Palace of Westminster—Statue of Earl Russell, Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Mar* 21, 1511

Parliamentary Papers — Distribution, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 10, 712;—*Delay in Delivery,* Questions, Mr. Hermon, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 10, 721

Premature Publication of Documents, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 24, 1815

The Houses of Parliament—Telephonic Communication, Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 17, 1245

Parliament—Business of the House

Ordered, That the Notices of Motions be postponed until after the Notices of Motions for an Address to the Crown and a Message to Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh on the Assassination of the Emperor of Russia (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 15

Moved, "That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notice of Motion relating to Afghanistan" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 24, 1826; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the Standing Order relative to Supply or Ways and Means standing the first Order of the Day on Friday be read and suspended:—That the Committee of Supply be deferred until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Afghanistan" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 25, 1937; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—Business of the House (Urgency)—Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill

Committee, Notice of Motion, Sir William Harcourt; Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 8, 657

Moved, "That in Committee, this day, at Three o'clock, the remaining Clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments and New Clauses then standing upon the Notice Paper, be put forthwith" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 9, 659; Question put; A. 253, N. 17; M. 236 (D. L. 127)

Notice of Motion, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 9, 697

Moved, "That, upon the Consideration of the Bill, as amended, this day, at Ten o'clock, any New Clauses and Amendments then standing upon the Notice Paper be put forthwith" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 10; Question put; A. 347, N. 30; M. 317 (D. L. 141)

Parliament—Business of the House (Urgency)

Additional Rules framed by Mr. Speaker, for the Regulation of the Business of the House, while the state of Public Business is Urgent *Mar* 11, 888

Ordered, That the said Rules be printed [No. 73]

Mr. Speaker stated, That the House having passed the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, it becomes my duty to declare, in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of the 3rd February, that the state of Public Business is no longer urgent

Moved, "That the state of Public Business is urgent" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 14, 922; Question put; A. 296, N. 212; M. 84
Div. List, A. and N., 923

Parliament — Order — Suspension of a Member

Mr. SPEAKER having Named Mr. Healy as continually disregarding the authority of the Chair, Moved, "That Mr. Healy be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 3, 168; Question put; A. 233, N. 15; M. 218 (D. L. 106)

Parliament — Parliamentary Oaths—Mr. Bradlaugh

Mr. Bradlaugh having risen to present Petitions in favour of the Motion for inquiry into Perpetual Pensions—Mr. Gorst objected that the hon. Gentleman is not a Member of this House; short debate thereon *Mar* 14, 892

Mr. Speaker having stated that until the House shall otherwise order he should feel obliged to look upon the hon. Gentleman as filling the seat for Northampton

Mr. Bradlaugh thereon presented the Petitions

Parliament—Privilege (Mr. Bradlaugh)—New Writ for Northampton

Notice of Motion, Mr. Gorst *Mar* 11, 802
Postponement of Motion, Mr. Gorst *Mar* 14, 921
Questions, Earl Percy, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Gorst *Mar* 21, 1514

Parliament—Privilege—The Chairman of Committees

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 21, To leave out from "That," and add "Mr. Chairman of Committees, in the proceedings in Committee on the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, on Tuesday March 8th, was under an erroneous impression in informing the Committee that the Member for Dungarvan was disregarding the authority of the Chair" (*Mr. O'Donnell*) *v*., 1515; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writ Issued

Mar 7—*For* Coventry, *v.* Sir Henry Mather Jackson, baronet, one of the Justices of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice

New Members Sworn

Mar 3—George James Howard, esquire, *Cumberland County* (Eastern Division)
Mar 14—Henry William Eaton, esquire, *Coventry*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act, 1880—*Election Charges*

Question, Mr. Hinde Palmer; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 17, 1246

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt Practices Commissions)

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, a Return to be made by the Commissioners who have recently sat or are still sitting for the purpose of inquiring into Corrupt Practices in the Cities of Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, and Oxford, and in the Boroughs of Boston, Knaresborough, Macclesfield, and Sandwich, of the actual places or premises in which bribery has been carried on, specifying shops, private houses, public institutions, public houses, stables, solicitors' offices, the open street, and all other places and premises (if any), and giving the number of persons bribed, and the amount of money laid out in bribery in each kind of place or premises respectively" (*Mr. Warton*) *Mar* 24, 1920; after short debate, Question put, and negatived

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork*

Navy Estimates—Navy Supplementary Estimate, 1554
Parliament—Business of the House, 334
 Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 823, 826, 828
Parliament — Privilege — Chairman of Committees, Res. 1537
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 183, 184, 187, 188, 336, 349; Comm. *cl.* 1, 491, 508, 509; *cl.* 3, 603, 604; *cl.* 5, 630, 637; Motion for reporting Progress, 638, 639, 651, 689, 690; *add. cl.* 694; Consid. *add. cl.* 751, 754; Amendt. 763, 764, 767, 773, 774; 3R. Amendt. 829, 840, 841, 843
Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Arrests, 658
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Offices of the, 961, 966, 967
 Constabulary Force in Ireland, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1135, 1136, 1138
 Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1083; Amendt. 1084
 Local Government Board (Ireland), 1068
 Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, Ireland, 1129

Patent Law Reform—Legislation

Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 10, 719

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*

Ancient Monuments, Res. 877

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill
(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. William Edward Forster*)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 2, 2
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *Mar* 3, 150
Mr. Speaker having Named Mr. Healy as continually disregarding the authority of the Chair, Moved, "That Mr. Healy be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of this day's sitting" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question put; A. 233, N. 15; M. 218 (D. L. 106)
Question again proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Secretary Childers*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 277, N. 28; M. 249 (D. L. 107); Debate further adjourned
Deposit of Arms and Ammunition, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar* 4, 334
Debate resumed *Mar* 4, 335; after long debate, Question put; A. 144, N. 37; M. 107 (D. L. 108)
Main Question put; A. 145, N. 34; M. 111 (D. L. 109); Bill read 2° [Bill 98]
Committee—R.P. *Mar* 7, 433
Committee—R.P. *Mar* 8, 533

Peace Preservation (*Ireland*) *Bill*—cont.
  Urgency—Committee, Notice of Motion, Sir William Harcourt ; Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Callan ; Answers, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 8, 657
  Vote of Urgency, Moved, "That, in Committee, this day, at Three o'clock, the remaining Clauses of the Bill, and any Amendments and New Clauses then standing upon the Notice Paper, be put forthwith" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 9, 659 ; Question put ; A. 253, N. 17 ; M. 236 (D. L. 127)
  Committee ; Report *Mar* 9, 659
  Urgency, Notice of Motion, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 9, 697
  Vote of Urgency, Moved, "That, upon the Consideration of the Bill, as amended, this day, at Ten o'clock, any New Clauses and Amendments then standing upon the Notice Paper be put forthwith" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 10 ; Question put ; A. 347, N. 30 ; M. 317 (D. L. 141)
  Considered *Mar* 10, 741 [Bill 105]
  After long consideration, Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of the Amendment to Clause 1, relating to Compensation, now standing upon the Notice Paper" (*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*) ; Motion agreed to ; Bill re-committed ; Committee ; Report ; Considered
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Mar* 11, 829
  Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Parnell*) ; Question proposed, "That 'now' &c. ;" after long debate, Question put ; A. 255, N. 36 ; M. 219 (D. L. 152)
  Main Question put ; A. 250, N. 28 ; M. 222 (D. L. 153)
  Motion made, and Question put, "That the Bill do pass ;" A. 236, N. 26 ; M. 210 (D. L. 154)
L. Read 1^a * (*Lord President*) *Mar* 14 (No. 46)
  Read 2^a *Mar* 15, 1046
  Committee * ; Report *Mar* 17
  Read 3^a, after short debate *Mar* 18, 1352
  Royal Assent *Mar* 21 [44 *Vict.* c. 5]

Peace Preservation (*Ireland*) [*Compensation*]
  Matter considered in Committee *Mar* 8, 656
  Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of compensation for arms and ammunition voluntarily surrendered, in pursuance of the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the Preservation of the Peace in Ireland
  Resolution reported *Mar* 9, 696
  Resolution read 2° ; after short debate, Moved, "That the House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution ;" objected to ; further Proceeding thereupon adjourned
  Further Proceeding resumed *Mar* 10, 740
  Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution ;" Question put, and agreed to

Pease, Mr. J. W., *Durham, S.*
  Ancient Monuments, Res. 879
  Exemption from Distress, Comm. *cl.* 4, 1035
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1068
  Railways—Select Committee, Motion for an Instruction, 1036
  Supply—Post Office, 1001

Peddie, Mr. J. Dick-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
  Education (Scotland) Act, 1872—School Children—The Census, 907
  Elementary Education (Scotland), 1500
  Local Taxation Returns (Scotland), 2R. 1031
  Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1593
    Local Government Board, 950, 951
    Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1612
    Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1560, 1569, 1570
    Temporary Commissions, 996
    Treasury, &c. Amendt. 978, 981

Peek, Sir H. W., *Surrey, Mid.*
  Livings (Metropolis)—St. Margaret Pattens, 540
  Post Office—Forging Impressed Stamps, 1653

Pell, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
  Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1680, 1721
  Exemption from Distress, Comm. 1031 ; *cl.* 3, 1033 ; *cl.* 4, 1035

Percy, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
  Ancient Monuments, Res. 881
  Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, Comm. Preamble, 1919
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1829
    Orders of the Day, 1937
  Parliamentary Oath—Mr. Bradlaugh, 1514
  Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 182
  Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Treatment of Arrested Persons, 1235
  Railways, Committee on—Constitution of the Committee, 724 ; Motion for an Instruction, 1037
  Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1019
  Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1589
    Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1604
    Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1557, 1560, 1574
    Post Office, 1001, 1002

Peterborough, Bishop of
  Ecclesiastical Courts, Motion for a Royal Commission, 398

Playfair, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
  Dundalk Water, 2R. 1491
  Edmonton Local Board, 2R. 800
  Navy Estimates, Men and Boys, 1396
  Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 443, 444, 456, 457, 466, 467, 469, 477, 483, 489, 501, 502, 524; *cl.* 2, 565, 566, 567, 568, 573; *cl.* 3, 580, 588, 589, 593, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603; *cl.* 4, 609; *cl.* 5, 619, 625, 627, 632, 633, 647, 649, 650, 679, 690, 691, 692, 693; *add. cl.* 694, 695
  Privilege — Chairman of Committees, Res. 1522
  Supply—Afghan War (Grant in Aid), 1173
    Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Offices of the, 962, 968
    Criminal Prosecutions, &c. 1084
    Houses of Parliament, 1593
    Law Officers, &c. 980
    Local Government Board, 951
    Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1610
    Police, Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain), 981
    Post Office, 1003
    Public Buildings, 928
  Thames River, 2R. 319

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
  Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 615
  Privilege — Chairman of Committees, Res. 1530

Poor Law (England)
  New Workhouse at Dulwich, Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 10, 725
  St. Olave's Workhouse, Question, Mr. Blennerhassett; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 3, 136
  The Strand Union, Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 22, 1651

Poor Law Officers (Scotland) Superannuation Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 14 [Bill 113]
  Read 2° *Mar* 21, 1614

Portugal—The Lorenço Marques Treaty—Cessation of Portuguese Territory
  Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 11, 815

Post Office
Miscellaneous Questions
  Assistants, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 8, 542
  Forging Impressed Stamps, Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 22, 1653
[*cont.*

Post Office—*cont.*
  Letter-Carriers' Christmas-Boxes, Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 21, 1493
  The New Postal Orders, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 17, 1238; —*Postal Notes*, Question, Mr. Spencer Balfour; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 24, 1806
  Post Office Savings Banks—Factories, Question, Mr. George Russell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 8, 541
  Village Savings Banks, Question, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 10, 720

Telegraph Department
  Telegraph Clerks, Questions, Mr. Macliver; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 17, 1249; *Mar* 24, 1821
  Woolwich District Telegraph Office, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 17, 1239

Power, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
  Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Arrested Prisoners, 1650

Presumption of Life (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Preston Bruce, Mr. James Campbell*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate, and committed to a Select Committee *Mar* 4, 366
  Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee *Mar* 24, 1921

Price, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
  Navy—Coastguard Pay and Pension, 1360
    Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions, 1935
    Navigating Officers, 719
  Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1461
    Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1463
    Martial Law, &c. 1468
    Men and Boys, 1426
    Scientific Branch, 1465

Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Read 3ª * *Mar* 2 (No. 40)
  Royal Assent *Mar* 2 [44 *Vict.* c. 4]

Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—See under *Ireland*

Provisional Orders—Milton Abbas
  Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Mar* 8, 552

Public Health
Miscellaneous Questions
  Small-Pox (Boxley, Kent), Question, Mr. Ross; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 24, 1802
[*cont.*

Public Health—cont.
Small-Pox (Metropolis)—Metropolitan Asylums Board
Fulham Small-Pox Hospital, Questions, Mr. Firth; Answers, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 3, 141; *Mar* 7, 432; Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson; Observations, Mr. Firth *Mar* 25, 1929
Fever and Small-Pox Hospitals—Legislation, Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 14, 902
Fever Hospitals and Convalescent Homes, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 25, 1934
Hills v. The Metropolitan Asylums Board—Appeal, Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 22, 1659
Trichinosis—Importation of Pork from the United States, Question, Dr. Farquharson; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Mar* 8, 549

Public Worship Regulation Act—The Rev. S. F. Green
Question, Colonel Makins; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar* 22, 1655

Pugh, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 655
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 996
Prisons, England, 983

Puleston, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 1456

Pulley, Mr. J., *Hereford*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 5, 649

Railways
Miscellaneous Questions
Deal and Dover Railway, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 21, 1504
Landslip on the South Eastern Railway, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 24, 1805
West London Extension Railway—Dangerous Crossing, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 17, 1241

Railways (Rates on Fares)
Ordered, That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-three Members; List of the Committee *Mar* 3, 226
Constitution of the Committee, Questions, Mr. Stanhope, Earl Percy; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 10, 723
Motion for an Instruction, Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Railways Committee, that they do inquire into the existing regulations of the Board of Trade as affecting the making, opening, and working of railways, and into the Acts of Parliament which authorise such regulations, and into the manner in which such regulations are carried out and enforced" (*Mr. J. W. Pease*) *Mar* 14, 1036; after short debate, Question put; A. 9, N. 26; M. 17 (D. L. 159)

Railways (Rates on Fares)—cont.
Moved, "That the Select Committee on Railways do consist of Twenty-seven Members:—That Mr. Barnes, Mr. Caine, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, and Mr. Phipps be added to the Select Committee on Railways" (*Mr. Chamberlain*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Ramsay, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Supply—Local Government Board, 949, 951
Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1611
Telegraph Companies, Subsidies to, 991
Valuation of Land (England), 1226

Rankin, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Army (Auxiliary Forces) — Armouries for Volunteer Corps, 140
State-Aided Emigration, 1932

Redesdale, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Ecclesiastical Courts, Motion for a Royal Commission, 406
House of Lords — Committee Rooms — The Judges, 1219, 1220
Londonderry and Larne Railway, 2R. 1039
Parliament—Easter Recess, 1928
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. 699
South Garston Dock and Railway, Motion, 1484

Redmond, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 171, 186; 3R. 851

Reed, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 1406, 1410

Reid, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 517

Rendel, Mr. S., *Montgomeryshire*
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 1451
Miscellaneous Services, 1469

Richardson, Mr. J. N., *Armagh Co.*
Ireland, State of—Evictions, Co. Armagh, 739
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 761

Richmond and Gordon, Duke of
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 4, 701; *cl.* 9, 704; *cl.* 19, 707

Ritchie, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Africa, South—The Transvaal—Reported Armistice with the Boers, 429, 720, 739, 807
Parliament— Public Business — Supply and "Urgency," 918
Thames River, 2R. 320, 321, 740, 815

[*cont.*

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
l. Committee *Mar* 10, 699 (No. 39)
Report *Mar* 15, 1052 (No. 44)
Read 3^{a} *Mar* 17, 1221; after short debate, Bill passed
c. Read 1^{c}* (*Mr. Dodson*) *Mar* 18 [Bill 120]

Rodwell, Mr. B. B. H., *Cambridgeshire*
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation, 2R. Amendt. 1746, 1781
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1698
Controverted Elections—The Election Commissioners' Reports, 543

Rogers, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Ancient Monuments, Res. 876
Summary Jurisdiction Act—Maintenance of Children in Industrial Schools—Recovery of Cost, 1245
Supply—Houses of Parliament, 1594
  Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1598
  Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1567, 1573

Rosebery, Earl of
Court of Session (Scotland), 697; Comm. 1624

Ross, Major A. H., *Maidstone*
Army—Quartermasters, 1243
Public Health—Small-Pox (Boxley, Kent), 1802

Round, Mr. J., *Essex, E.*
Customs—Port of Maldon, 1656

Roundell, Mr. C. S., *Grantham*
Education Department—Rural School Boards, 1654

Russell, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Parliament—Business of the House, 417

Russell, Mr. G. W. E., *Aylesbury*
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 170
Post Office Savings Banks—Factories, 541

Russia—See title *His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, Assassination of*

Russia—Alleged Secret Treaty of May 31*st*, 1878
Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 10, 722

Russia and China—The Recent Treaty
Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 10, 736

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Ancient Monuments, Res. 874
Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate, 1545
Parliament — Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 825
Royal Mint—Annual Report, 1931
Supply—Board of Trade, 974
  Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Offices of the, 967
  Civil Service Commission, 948
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, 937
  Diplomatic Services, 987, 988
  Foreign Office, 942
  Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1599
  Police — Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain), 981
  Prisons, England, 982, 984
  Public Buildings, 931
  Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1561, 1571
  Science and Art Department Buildings, 933, 936
  Supreme Court of Judicature, Central Office, 981
  Temporary Commissions, 994
  Tonnage Bounties, &c. and Liberated African Department, 990
  Treasury, 938, 979

Salisbury, Marquess of
Africa, South — Transvaal — Armistice — Reported Interception of Supplies, 783
Alkali, &c. Works Regulation, Comm. *cl.* 27, 538; Report of Amendts. 1051
Candahar, Res. 113, 125, 266, 304
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 9, 705; *cl.* 19, 707; 3R. 1221

Samuelson, Mr. B., *Banbury*
Boundaries of Municipal Boroughs, 713

Sandhurst, Lord
Candahar, Res. 89

Sandon, Right Hon. Viscount, *Liverpool*
Bounties on Foreign Shipping—The United States and Italy, 332
India — Afghanistan — Candahar (Political Situation), 1809
Municipal Corrupt Practices Act—Liverpool Municipal Election, 1230

Sandwich, Earl of
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, 3R. 1223

Schreiber, Mr. C., *Poole*
Post Office—Letter Carriers' Christmas-Boxes, 1493

Science and Art
British Pottery at the Bethnal Green Museum, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 15, 1058
The Geographical Congress, Venice, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 11, 814

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation, 2R. 1757
Edmonton Local Board, 2R. 801

SCOTLAND
MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS
Education (Scotland) Act, 1872—*School Children—The Census,* Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 14, 907
Education (Scotland) Act, 1878—*Examination of Higher Class Schools,* Question, Mr. J. Campbell; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 25, 1932
Elementary Education, Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 21, 1500
Medical Poor Law Grants, Question, Mr. Crum; Answer, Lord Frederick Cavendish *Mar* 14, 916
Poor Law—Inspectors of the Poor, Question, Mr. P. Bruce; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 10, 726
Roads and Highways, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 14, 915
The Lottery Acts—A "Whisky Wapinschaw," Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 24, 1800
The Sasine Office, Edinburgh, Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 11, 813; *Mar* 21, 1497

Scotland—Herring Brand
Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed, "to inquire into the expediency of continuing the present system of branding herrings, and into the appropriation of the revenue raised from the brand fee (*Mr. Robert Duff*) *Mar* 7, 532; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Nomination of the Select Committee *Mar* 11, 884; Moved, "That Mr. Robert Duff be one other Member of the said Committee;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; remaining names agreed to; List of the Committee, 888

SCOTT, Lord H. J. M. D., *Hants, S.*
Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1019

SCOTT, Mr. M. D., *Sussex, E.*
Ireland, State of—Co. Longford—Ploughing of Grass Lands, 735

Sea Fisheries (Clam and Bait Beds) Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ashley*)
c. Committee; Report *Mar* 14, 1007
Considered * *Mar* 17
Read 3°, after short debate *Mar* 18, 1472
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *Mar* 21 (No. 53)

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J. *Essex, W.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Res. 1687, 1688
Supply—Science and Art Department Buildings, 934
Treasury, 939

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
Ireland—Compensation for Malicious Injury, 1800
Ireland, State of — Constabulary — Private Work, 1233
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 11, 14, 43; Comm. *cl.* 1, 447, 462, 465, 466, 482, 486; Amendt. 504, 506, 512, 513, 514, 520; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 554, 556; *cl.* 3, 577; Amendt. 580, 590, 593, 607; *cl.* 4, 608; Amendt. 609; *cl.* 5, 628, 634, 639, 653; Amendt. 659, 665, 674, 679, 692
Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation], 697
Sligo Borough Re-enfranchisement, 2R. 1782

SHIELD, Mr. H., *Cambridge*
India—Afghanistan—Retention of Candahar, 1242

SIMON, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
Ancient Monuments, Res. 880
Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, 2R. 527
Coroners (Ireland), 2R. 373
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 1454
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 516; *cl.* 3, 598; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 633; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 693; Consid. *add. cl.* 760

SLAGG, Mr. J., *Manchester*
Law and Police—Alleged Man and Dog Fight, 1367

Sligo Borough Re-enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. D. M. O'Connor, Major Nolan, Dr. Commins, Mr. T. P. O'Connor*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 23, 1782; after short debate, Question put; A. 30, N. 180; M. 150 (D. L. 168)

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
Africa, South—Transvaal (Military Operations)—Naval Detachment at Majuba, 148
Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate, 1543
Navy—Royal Marines—Pay and Pensions, 901
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1462
Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1463
Houses of Parliament, 1591
Maintenance and Repair of Public Buildings in Great Britain and the Isle of Man, 1598, 1607, 1611
Martial Law, &c. 1468
Men and Boys, 1396, 1460
Miscellaneous Services, 1468, 1472
Scientific Branch, 1466
Ordnance Committee, The New, 738
Poor Law Guardians (Metropolis)—Nominated Guardians, 1501

SMYTH, Mr. P. J., *Tipperary*
India — Afghanistan — Withdrawal of British Troops from Southern Afghanistan, Res. 1890

SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL), *Durham*
Maintenance Law Amendment, 2R. 1479

Solicitors' Remuneration Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1°* *Mar* 2 [Bill 100]

Somerset, Duke of
Parliament—Easter Recess, 1798
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 4, 699 ; *cl.* 9, 705 ; 3R. 1221

South Garston Dock and Railway Bill
l. Moved, "That the order made on Thursday the 3rd instant 'that the Bill be not further proceeded with during the present Session' be discharged and the Bill re-committed to the same Select Committee for the purpose of considering the question of awarding costs to the petitioners who appeared before the Committee" (*Earl Cadogan*) *Mar* 21, 1483 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to ; further debate upon the said Motion adjourned
Order for resuming adjourned Debate read, and discharged, and Motion withdrawn *Mar* 22

Speaker, The (Right Hon. H. B. W. Brand), *Cambridgeshire*
Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment, 2R. 525, 530, 532
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Orders in Council, 1818
Herring Brand (Scotland), Motion for a Select Committee, 534 ; Nomination of, 884
India—Raid of the Wageerees on Thull, 1825
India — Afghanistan — Withdrawal of British Troops from Southern Afghanistan, Res. 1902
Ireland, State of—Mr. John Devoy, 149
Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
Business of the House, 657, 658, 1730
Business of the House (Urgency), 888, 890, 918, 926
Parliamentary Oath—Mr. Bradlaugh, 893, 900
Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 822, 825, 827, 828
Rules and Orders—Chairman of Committees, 1252
Securing Seats, 1936
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 3, 29, 31, 47, 157, 160, 166, 167, 168, 176, 180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 352, 362, 365 ; Comm. *cl.* 3, 604, 605 ; *add. cl.* 695, 696 ; Consid. *add. cl.* 762, 763, 764, 765
Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation], 696, 697
Railways, Select Committee, Motion for an Instruction, 1037
Sligo Borough Re-enfranchisement, 2R. 1784
Thames River, 2R. 315

Spencer, Earl (Lord President of the Council)
Irish Quarter Sessions, 709
Londonderry and Larne Railway, 2R. 1042
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 1046 ; 3R. 1357
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 699, 701, 703 ; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*, 706 ; *cl.* 18, *ib.* ; *cl.* 19, 707 ; *cl.* 47, 708 ; Report of Amendts. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1052 ; 3R. 1222

Stanhope, Earl
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Comm. *cl.* 9, 706

Stanhope, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid.*
Ancient Monuments, Res. 874
Great North of Scotland Railway, 2R. 1641
Herring Brand (Scotland), Nomination of Select Committee, 887
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India — Afghanistan — Withdrawal of British Troops from Southern Afghanistan, Res. 1831, 1852, 1859, 1860, 1861
Private Bills—Gas and Water Companies—Court of Referees, 1053
Railways, Committee on—Constitution of the Committee, 723
Supply—Afghan War (Grant in Aid), 1155

Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
Africa, South—Transvaal—Reported Armistice with the Boers, 430
Army Organization, Statement, 213
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 186
Supply—Land Forces at Home and Abroad (Exclusive of India), 1263, 1348
Land Forces, Number of, 1258

Stanley, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*
Education Department—Voluntary and Board Schools, 1803

Stanley of Alderley, Lord
Candahar, Res. 286
Tunis—The Enfida Case, 1927

Storer, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Supply—Afghan War (Grant in Aid), 1178, 1180

Story-Maskelyne, Mr. M. H. N., *Cricklade*
Agricultural Tenants' Compensation, 2R. 1764

Stratheden and Campbell, Lord
Turkey and Greece—Frontier Question, Address for a Paper, 1223

Strathnairn, Lord
Candahar, Motion for a Return, 787

Sudeley, Lord
Londonderry and Larne Railway, 2R. 1042

Sugar Bounties—International Conference
Question, Mr. Whitley ; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 24, 1804

Sullivan, Mr. A. M., *Meath*
Coroners (Ireland), 2R. 375
Dundalk Water, 2R. 1490
Exemption from Distress, Comm. 1033
Maintenance Law Amendment, Leave, 776; 2R. 1476, 1477, 1480

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SULLIVAN, Mr. A. M.—*cont.*
Parliament — Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 827
Peace Preservation (Ireland), 2R. 188, 351, 352; Comm. *cl.* 1, 501; *cl.* 5, 625, 635, 656; 3R. 840, 842, 856
Peace Preservation (Ireland) [Compensation], 696, 697
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Offices of the, 969
Criminal Prosecutions, &c. Ireland, 1094, 1102
Houses of Parliament, 1590
Scientific Investigation, 985
Treasury, &c. 974, 978

SULLIVAN, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
Army Estimates—Army Supplementary Estimate, Amendt. 1551, 1552
Peace Preservation (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 753, 759, 762; 3R. 845
Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Mr. Dillon, 1813
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Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Mar* 14, 927; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Considered in Committee, 928—CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-81—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, £12,917—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, £84,119—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, £124,682—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, £1,503—CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES, £52,452—CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES, £11,000—CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES—CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, £7,035—REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, £73,590; Total, £367,298—CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES) 1879-80, £12,109 4*s.* 2*d.*
Resolutions reported *Mar* 15
Considered in Committee *Mar* 15, 1068—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1880-1—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE
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Considered in Committee *Mar* 16, 1148—£500,000, AFGHAN WAR (GRANT IN AID)—£3,560,250, CIVIL SERVICES ON ACCOUNT
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Resolutions reported, and agreed to *Mar* 21, 1613
Considered in Committee *Mar* 21, 1538—ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—£446,000, Additional Expenditure for Supplies and Warlike Stores for the Army—NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—£210,000, Extraordinary Transport Services in connection with the Outbreak of Hostilities in the Transvaal—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1881-2—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS
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(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 18 [Bill 118]

***Thames River Bill* (*by Order*)**
c. Order for 2R. read *Mar* 4, 314; Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° upon Tuesday the 15th of March" (*Sir Charles Forster*)
Amendt. to leave out from "That the," and add "Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be read and discharged" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; 2R. deferred till Tuesday 15th March
Questions, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 10, 740; *Mar* 11, 815; *Mar* 21, 1514; Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 25, 1937

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Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill (*Major Nolan, Mr. Corry, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Gray, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Collins, Mr. Litton*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 7 [Bill 102]
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Turkey and Greece—The Frontier Question
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(2.) Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1882, the sum of £11,819,046 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom
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